A

THIRD COLLECTION

OF

SCARCE and VALUABLE

TRACTS,

ON THE MOST

Intereſting and *Entertaining* Subjects:

But chiefly ſuch as relate to the

Hiſtory *and* Conſtitution *of theſe* Kingdoms.

Selected from an infinite Number in *Print* and *Manuſcript*, in the ROYAL, COTTON, SION, and other Public, as well as Private Libraries;

Particularly that of the

Late Lord SOMERS.

Reviſed by EMINENT HANDS.

VOL. IV.

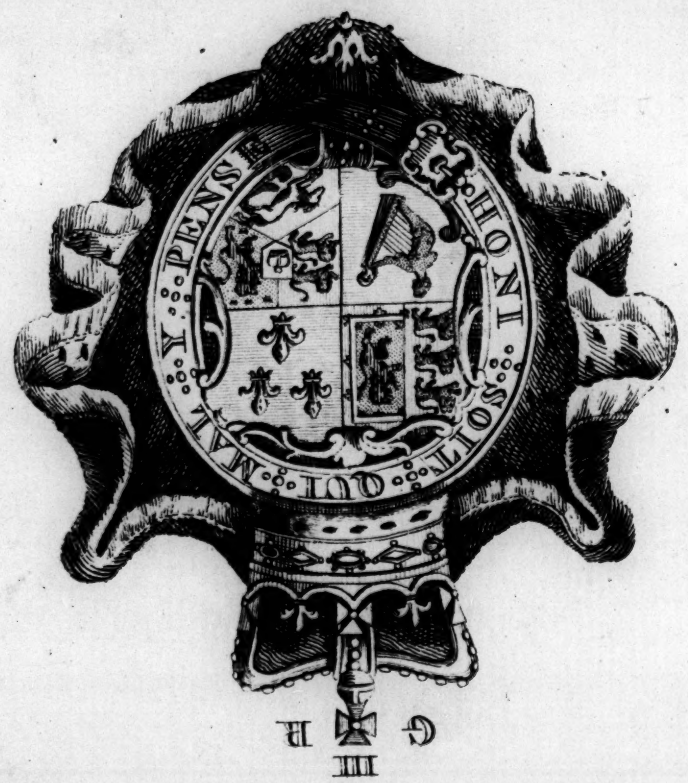
The Bent and Genius of the Age is beſt known in a free Country, by the Pamphlets and Papers that come daily out, as the Senſe of Parties, and ſometimes the Voice of the Nation. Preface to KENNET's Regiſter.

Judex qui aliquid ſtatuit, unâ parte auditâ tantum, & inauditâ alterâ, licet æquum ſtatuerit, haud æquus fuerit. *Ld.* COKE & JUST. *Inſt.*

LONDON:

Printed for F. COGAN, at the *Middle-Temple-Gate*, in *Fleet-Street*.

MDCCLI.


PENSE HONI
MAL MOI
GR
III

THE CONTENTS OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

An Eſſay upon the preſent Intereſt of *England*. By *George Stepney*, Eſq; To which are added the Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons in 1677, upon the *French* King's Progreſs in *Flanders*, printed 1701. *Page* 1

Short Remarks upon the late Act of Reſumption of the *Iriſh* Forfeitures, and upon the Manner of putting that Act in Execution. 1701. 42

The Original of Biſhops and Metropolitans, briefly laid down by *James* Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, printed 1703. 53

The Apoſtolical Inſtitution of Epiſcopacy; demonſtrated out of the Premiſſes, by *William Chillingworth*, 69

A general Abſtract of the Receipts and Iſſues of the Publick Revenue, Taxes and Loans, during the Reign of his late Majeſty King *William*, from the 5th of *November* 1688, from which Time the Parliament appointed the ſaid Accounts ſhould commence, to the 25th of *March* 1702, being the firſt Determination of the Accounts after the Demiſe of his ſaid late Majeſty, which happen'd on the 8th of *March* preceding. 1702. 72

An Account of the *Scotch* Plot. In a Letter from a Gentleman in the City, to his Friend in the Country. 1704. 73

An Account of Capt. *Simon Frazer* of *Beaufort*, who has been carrying on a Plot in the Highlands of *Scotland*, againſt the Government: And, at the ſame Time, was engaged in another wicked Deſign, to ſuborn Witneſſes againſt ſeveral great Families in *Scotland*, as if they were in a Correſpondence with the Courts of *France* and *St. Germains*. 1704. pag. 77

A ſober Enquiry, Whether it can be for the Intereſt of any People in *England*, to have the pretended King *James* III. advanced to the Throne of this Kingdom. 1704. 90

The Diſſenting Miniſters Vindication of themſelves from the horrid and deteſtable Murther of King *Charles* I. of glorious Memory, with their Names ſubſcribed, about the 20th of *January* 1648, printed 1704. 107

The Memorial of the State of *England*, in Vindication of the Queen, the Church, and the Adminiſtration: deſign'd to rectify the mutual Miſtakes of Proteſtants, and to unite their Affections in Defence of our Religion and Liberty. By the Earl of *Nottingham*. 1705. 112

Civil Comprehenſions, *&c.* in a Letter to a Friend, from one who wiſhes the general Good of *England*, and particularly well to the Eſtabliſhed Church. By *Charlwood Lawton*, Eſq; 1705. 172

An Abſtract of a Treatiſe, Intitled, Free Parliaments. Written by Sir *Humphrey Mackworth*, in Defence of the Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, in the Caſe of *Aſhby* and *White*. With ſome Additions in Defence of their Commitments, and other Proceedings on the late Writs of *Habeas Corpus*, and Writ of Error. 1705. 180

Scotland's great Advantages by a Union with *England*, ſhewn in a Letter from the Country to a Member, &c. 1706. 190

The

D 4

The CONTENTS of the FOURTH VOLUME.

The *Scotch* Echo to the *Engliſh* Legion; or the Union in Danger; from the Principles of ſome old and modern Whigs in both Nations about the Power of Parliaments. Being every Word collected from their own Writings; and here publiſh'd for the Conſideration of thoſe who are capable of forming a Teſt to ſecure the Union, from the dangerous Conſequences of ſuch Principles. 1707. 196

An Account of the *Scotch* Invaſion; as it was open'd by my Lord *Haverſham* in the Houſe of Lords, on *Friday*, *Feb.* 25. 1708-9. with ſome Obſervations that were made in the Houſe of Commons, and true Copies of authentick Papers. In a Letter from a Gentleman in *South-Britain*, to his Friend in *North-Britain*. 1709. 209

An Univerſity Oration concerning the different Fates of the Chriſtian Religion. Spoke in the Publick Act of the Univerſity of *Geneva*, the 11th of *May*, 1708, by *John Alphonſus Turretin*, Paſtor, Profeſſor of Divinity and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and Deputy Rector of the Univerſity 231

Magnatum apud Anglos Privilegia; or the Privileges and Preheminence belonging to our *Engliſh* Peerage. Extracted from the Writings of the moſt celebrated Authors, ancient and modern. Together with ſeveral Remarks relating to our Temporal Peerage, by way of Introduction, 1712. 266

The Mitre and the Crown; or a real Diſtinction between them: In a Letter to a Reverend Member of the Convocation. By Dr. *Atterbury*, 1711. 302

A Continuation of the Mitre and the Crown; or, a real Diſtinction between them: In a Second Letter. 1712. 311

The miſerable Caſe of poor Old *England* fairly ſtated. In a Letter to a Member of the Honourable Houſe of Commons. Or, the moſt powerful and convincing Reaſons, why the *Emperor*, the *Dutch*, the reſt of the Allies, the late Miniſtry and the Low-Church, are againſt making a General Peace with *France*; and all their main Objections in Oppoſition to it fairly anſwered. 1712. 339

Her Majeſty's Reaſons for Creating the Electoral Prince of *Hanover* a Peer of this Realm; or the Preamble to his Patent as Duke of *Cambridge*, in *Latin* and *Engliſh*, with Remarks upon the ſame. 1712. 349

Engliſh Advice to the Freeholders of *England*, by Bp. *Atterbury*. 1714. 353

Engliſh Advice to the Freeholders of *England*. In Anſwer to the above, 1714. 379

A Secret Hiſtory of one Year, by *Robert Walpole*, Eſq; 1714. 401

The Life of *Ariſtides* the *Athenian*; who was decreed to be baniſhed for his Juſtice. 1714. 421

Reaſons againſt Reſtraining the Preſs, 440

The Allies and the Late Miniſtry defended againſt *France*, and the preſent Friends of *France*. 1711. 446

A ſhort and ſure Method propos'd for the Extirpation of Popery, in the Space of a few Years. 1716. 471

Reflections on a late Pamphlet, intitled, Prieſtcraft in Perfection. By *A. Collins*, Eſq; 1710. 485

Caſe of the Church of *Scotland*, 1718. 489

A THIRD COLLECTION OF TRACTS.

An Eſſay upon the Preſent Intereſt of *ENGLAND*.

By GEORGE STEPNEY, Eſq; 1701.

To which are added, The Proceedings of the HOUSE of COMMONS in 1677. upon the *French* King's Progreſs in FLANDERS.

Nulla eſt acerbitas, quæ non omnibus hac Orbis terrarum perturbatione, impendére videatur. Cic. Epiſt. Famil.

THE Peace of *Riſwick* had ſcarce compos'd the Differences of Chriſtendom, when the King of *Spain*'s Sickneſs, who is at length dead without Iſſue, alarm'd it afreſh. The Uncertainty of who ſhou'd ſucceed to the vaſt Dominions he was Maſter of, ſome of which furniſh all this Part of the World with Gold and Silver, cou'd not but give great Concern to all his neighbouring States and Princes. The known Competitors for this great Inheritance were, the preſent Emperor, the Dauphin, and the Prince Electoral of *Bavaria*. The former is by all own'd to be the next Heir Male of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which has reign'd in *Spain* near two Ages, and wou'd be allow'd, even by the *French*, to have an unqueſtionable Title, if the Salique Law, which excludes Females from the Government, were of Force in *Spain* as it is in *France*. But that wiſe Conſtitution in the *French* Government prevails not amongſt its Neighbours, who will blindly perſevere to give *France* the ſame Advantage over them, which the Church enjoys over the Laity in Popiſh Countries, *viz.* That it may ever be acquiring, and can never alienate. The Defect of it in *Spain*, will, I fear, coſt Chriſtendom very dear at this Conjuncture, ſince it opens a Door to the *French* Pretenſions; it being well known that the Dauphin's Claim was by his Mother, who was Daughter to *Philip* IV. Siſter to the deceas'd King, and

marry'd to the preſent King of *France* immediately after the *Pyrenean* Treaty; by which Treaty moſt ſolemnly ſwore to by both Kings, the *Spaniards* thought they had ſufficiently ſecured themſelves from the *French* Domination: And indeed ſo they had, if Oaths or Treaties, hitherto accounted the moſt ſacred Tyes that God cou'd enjoin, or Mankind cou'd deviſe, were of any Force. For 'tis notorious, that *Lewis* XIV. and his Queen, did, upon their Marriage, in the moſt ſolemn Manner, renounce all Pretenſions that might accrue by it to them and their Children upon the *Spaniſh* Dominions. And 'tis as notorious that the ſame *Lewis* XIV. did, within theſe two Years, order the Count *d'Harcourt*, his Ambaſſador at *Madrid*, to aſſert the Right of his Son the Dauphin to the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion. The Occaſion for his ſo doing was, that the King of *Spain* had made a Will, declaring the Prince Electoral of *Bavaria*, the third Pretender I mention'd, Succeſſor to the whole Monarchy. The *French* Embaſſador obey'd his Orders, and gave in a Memorial, complaining of it as an Injuſtice done to the Dauphin, whom he aſſerted to have an undoubted Right to ſucceed to that Crown. The Memorial I mention the rather, becauſe it ſhews what a Deference his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had at that Time for the King of *Spain*'s Will. The young Prince dy'd ſoon after, which put a Stop to the *French* Inſtances, otherwiſe the Peace of *Europe* might have been diſturb'd before the *Spaniſh* Throne had been vacant. His Death left the Competition between the Houſes of *Auſtria* and *Bourbon*, and all the Potentates of Chriſtendom full of Care for this great Deciſion. The boundleſs Ambition of the *French* King, who has been long obſerv'd to aim at Univerſal Monarchy, gave the World reaſon to fear that he would attempt the Union of both Monarchies, which, if compaſs'd, would make it very eaſy to execute the remaining Part of his vaſt Projects. His Power ſo lately felt in a ten Years War, wag'd againſt a Confederacy of the moſt powerful States of *Europe*, made it evident, that the Emperour alone wou'd not be able to defeat his Enterprize, eſpecially if we conſider the Advantages the Situation of *France* gives him over his Competitor, whoſe Territories are not immediately contiguous to any Part of the *Spaniſh* Dominions; whereas *France* is not only contiguous to *Spain*, but ſeperates it from the reſt of the World, with no part of which, except *Portugal*, it can have any Commerce, otherwiſe than by Sea; but the Emperor has not a Seaport, nor a Ship in the World, and muſt therefore be beholden to others, whenever he will attempt any Thing upon *Spain*. Thoſe others cou'd be only the *Engliſh* or *Dutch*, they alone being able to cope with *France* at Sea; ſo thoſe two Nations ſeemed to be under a neceſſary Dilemma whenever the King of *Spain* ſhould die, either to ſit ſtill and ſee the *French* quietly take Poſſeſſion of *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*, or to renew an expenſive and hazardous War; unleſs ſome Expedient were found out before the Caſe happened, to ſatisfy the Pretenders in ſuch a Manner as ſhould be leaſt prejudicial to ours and the *Dutch* Intereſt. Such an Expedient the Treaty of Partition was thought to be, and as ſuch agreed to by *France*, the King of *England*, and the *Dutch*. The Advantages which redounded to the *French* by the Treaty, whieh annexed to their Crown the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*, with the Provinces of *Lorrain* and *Guipuſcoa*, beſides ſome Seaport Towns in *Italy*, made it reaſonable

to

to believe they wou'd have ſtuck to it rather than have ventured to draw on themſelves another general War.

The King, who had the Intereſt of *England* and *Holland* to manage on this Occaſion, was unwilling to engage 'em in a new War, which they would have been neither overwilling, or able to ſuſtain, if the King of *Spain* had dy'd ſoon after the Peace; and therefore thought it moſt adviſeable to yield up to *France*, ſuch Provinces of the *Spaniſh* Dominion as wou'd be leaſt prejudicial to theſe Nations: And ſuch 'tis evident thoſe above-nam'd are, which if any one doubt, let him but conſider whether the ſingle Town of *Cadiz* in *French* Hands, wou'd not prove more deſtructive to us than all we have nam'd; to ſay nothing of *Flanders*, or the *Weſt-Indies*; all which, with the Body of *Spain*, could have been ſecur'd to the Houſe of *Auſtria* no other Way than by a War, or ſuch a Treaty.

I am not ignorant that many Objections have been made againſt it, to anſwer all which were a proper Taſk for one throughly acquainted with all the Steps and Tranſactions of that Negotiation, which I profeſs I am not, and I ſhall therefore in Vindication of it only repeat that it was deſigned and calculated purely to preſerve the Peace of theſe Countries; which ſingle Argument ought ſurely to reconcile to it all thoſe who were weary of the laſt War, who complain'd of the heavy Taxes it occaſioned, and of the great Debt it hath left the Nation loaded with, and who out of their great Tenderneſs to *England*, oppoſing all ſuch equal and eaſy Methods of raiſing Money as wou'd have kept us out of Debt, took care the War ſhou'd be felt, leſt, ſaid they, the King, whoſe Ambition and Delight was to head Armies, might by the Eaſe he ſhould find, in paying them, be tempted to perpetuate the War.

If then the Neceſſity of our Affairs, flowing from the miſtaken Meaſures they took in furniſhing Supplies to his Majeſty upon Land-banks, and other deficient Funds, forced him to make a Peace, which by this Treaty, he has endeavoured to perpetuate, will they find Faults? And complain of the Moderation of a Prince, who has done Violence to his own Martial Inclinations for the Eaſe of his People? Or are the Gentlemen I ſpeak of on a ſudden become ſuch Champions for the Honour of *England*, and the Intereſt of *Europe*, as to object, that the Continuation of a Peace ſhou'd not have been purchas'd at ſo inglorious a rate; as by giving up to *France*, *Naples*, *Sicily*, &c. whereby the Ballance of *Europe* wou'd be greatly endanger'd, which 'tis our chief Intereſt to ſupport? If ſo, I heartily congratulate with them their new magnanimous Reſolutions, which they may ſoon have an Occaſion to exert, the Treaty of Partition being now quite out of Doors; and the Ballance of *Europe* in far greater Danger by the Duke of *Anjou*'s Acceſſion to the Crown of *Spain*.

But 'tis objected, that the Danger we are now in is a Conſequence of the Treaty, which compell'd the King of *Spain* to make a Will in favour of *France*. Now granting this to be true, I appeal to any reaſonable Man, whether he ought from thence to infer, that we ſhou'd ſit ſtill and ſuffer *France* quietly to reap the Fruit of its Perfidiouſneſs. Does not Experience teach us, that Meaſures concerted with the greateſt Prudence, at leaſt with the beſt Intentions, do

often fail of Succeſs? Or ſhall the Falſhood of our Enemies, which has defeated the End of a well-meant Treaty, furniſh us with an Argument to neglect our own Safety? I hope no *Engliſhman* will reaſon ſo extravagantly, nor be ſo blind, as to revenge upon himſelf and his Country a ſuppos'd Miſmanagement of the Court; were it not far better, if on all Sides waving an invidious Retroſpection of paſt Miſcarriages, we conſulted with as much Unanimity, as our common Danger requires, what Meaſures are to be taken for our future Security?

That we are in the greateſt Danger of loſing our Trade, our Liberty, and our Religion, will hardly be denied by any Man who will ſeriouſly reflect on the Conſequences likely to attend the preſent Union of *France* and *Spain*; unleſs he can ſuppoſe the *French* King's Ambition ſatiated with this great Succeſs; and that as his Power to do Miſchief ſhall increaſe, his ill Will to us, and his Hatred to our Religion ſhall be leſſened. Or will it be ſaid to remove our Fears, that he ſhall have no Influence on the *Spaniſh* Counſels; that the Intereſt of *France* and *Spain* will remain diſtinct; and that the new King, forgetting his Country, his Obligations to his Grandfather, nay, and his own Intereſt, (for Kings and their People may ſometimes have different Intereſts) ſhall become a perfect *Spaniard*, and cultivate the old Alliances of his Crown? Will the Examples of the Dukes of *Burgundy* formerly, and of the Dukes of *Holſtein*, who prov'd the moſt bitter Enemies to the Houſes of *France* and *Denmark*, of which they were deſcended, be alledged as Proofs that Brothers and Kinſmen, when Princes, do not agree better than mere Strangers. This Argument I own may be of Force to prove, that hereafter the *French* and *Spaniſh* Branches of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, if they continue ſeparated, may have Quarrels and bloody Wars. Nay, 'tis very likely that the Deſcendants of the Duke of *Burgundy* (if he have any) may after their Grandfather's Example proteſt againſt the Validity of his Renuntiation to the Duke of *Anjou*: But 'tis our Misfortune that ten Years good Agreement between the Grandfather and Grandſon, may do our Buſineſs, and that the Differences which may fall out afterwards between the two Branches of the Houſe of *Bourbon* will come too late to retrieve our loſt Religion and Liberty.

It behoves us therefore chiefly to take care for the preſent, and to conſider whether it be not moſt likely that Nature and Education, back'd with the ſtrongeſt Ties imaginable of Gratitude to a Grandfather, who has not ſtuck at violating two moſt ſolemn Treaties*, and hazarding a War, which may prove the Ruin of his own Country, and to a Father who has renounc'd his own Right to aggrandize this new King, will not incline him to have the utmoſt Deference for his Benefactors. Or ſhou'd we ſuppoſe him ſo very a King as not to be acted by any Principles of Nature or Gratitude, we muſt believe him alſo very blind to his own Intereſt, if he does not ſee that he will for a conſiderable Time ſtand in need of his Grandfather's Aid and Protection, to ſecure both himſelf and his new Dominion againſt foreign Enemies, and thoſe inteſtine Diſturbances which generally attends Changes of Government in all

* *Pyrennees*, and that of *Partition*.

Countries.

Countries. The Fear of the *French* Arms induc'd the late King's Council to dictate a Will in favour of a *Frenchman*, and has compell'd the *Spaniards* to acquieſce in it, and ſo conſequently gives to the Duke of *Anjou*'s Title all the Strength it has: Let that Fear be once remov'd, and 'twill be impoſſible for him to defend *Milan* and *Flanders* againſt the Emperour, or even the Body of *Spain*, in the Condition 'tis now againſt the *Portugueſe*.

Which makes it evident, that he cannot depart from the Protection of *France*, without pulling on himſelf manifeſt Ruin. And the Continuation of that Protection he will certainly enjoy no longer, than while he deſerves it, by the moſt abſolute Compliance with the Directions he ſhall receive from thence. If he prove an undutiful Child and be refractory, will it not furniſh the Dauphin with a Pretence to aſſert his own Title, and invade *Spain* with the whole Power of *France?* While the Emperor endeavours to lop off ſome Limb.

Would he not beſides cut himſelf off from all Hopes of ſucceeding to the Crown of *France*, the Proſpect of which is not ſo remote, as not to deſerve his Conſideration. The Duke of *Burgundy* has no Children, and 'tis generally thought in *France* that he will have none; till he have a Son, I am ſure 'tis the preſent King of *Spain*'s Intereſt to be a *Frenchman*, and moſt dutiful to his Grandfather and Father, eſpecially ſince Kings are allow'd to have a Power of diſpoſing of their Crowns by Will; and conſequently, that upon any Diſguſt given his Parents, his youngeſt Brother the Duke of *Berry* might be declar'd Heir to the Crown of *France* to his Prejudice, as he has been to that of *Spain* to his Father's and elder Brother's.

It would be a Wrong offer'd to the Judgment of any impartial Reader, if I ſhould further inſiſt on this Argument, which but too plainly at firſt Sight evinces the Truth of what I would aſſert, to wit, That the Duke of *Anjou* will enjoy a Kingſhip for ſome Time purely Titular, and be in Effect no more than a crown'd Viceroy to his Grandfather.

Yet if any Man require a ſtronger Proof of what I here advance, I ſend him to the *French* King for Conviction: His Preference of the Will to the Treaty of Partition reſolves the Queſtion. For ſince 'tis well known that the ſtrongeſt Luſt of old Tyrants is to extend their Deſpotick Empire, and that notwithſtanding he has diſdain'd to accept of Kingdoms, which, by adhering to the Treaty, he might have annex'd to his Crown, can we ſuppoſe that he had leſs Proſpect in view, than at preſent to govern the whole Monarchy of *Spain?* And of taking ſuch Meaſures as ſhall hereafter annex that Empire to his own, or at leaſt the moſt conſiderable Members of it?

Now if it be granted, that he has obtained that End, as it muſt neceſſarily be if *England*, by acquieſcing to the Will, abandons her Allies, and ſuffers the new Domination of *France* to take Root; let us impartially conſider whether after ſuch an Acceſſion of Power to a Prince, already too formidable, the Loſs of our Religion, Liberty and Trade (as I have already ſaid) does not ſeem inevitable.

That it is the Intereſt and Deſire of the *French* to deſtroy both the *Dutch* and us, will eaſily be allow'd, ſince 'tis we who for a long Time have check'd

their

their Pride, and diſappointed their ambitious Deſigns. Our Maritime Power is terrible to her, nor will ſhe readily forget the Affront receiv'd at *la Hogue*, beſides that King's Affectation to be the Champion of Popery, and his Uſage of our Proteſtant Brethren in his Dominions, tell us ſufficiently what we are to expect from him.

The ſame ſuperſtitious Principle will not fail to make the *Spaniards* concur cheerfully with any Meaſures he ſhall propoſe to ruin our Trade, which, being the great Source of our Wealth, is conſequently the greateſt Support to the Proteſtant Religion, ſo much abhorred by them. And what Opportunities they have of doing it, is but too obvious to any Man that knows what a vaſt Coaſt they poſſeſs in both Worlds; to ſay nothing of the *Streights*-mouth, which, with the Help of a *French* Fleet, they command abſolutely.

Nor is there any Thing to hinder the *French* from monopolizing the Wool of *Spain*, which wou'd at once deſtroy our fine Drapery, which perhaps is the only conſiderable Manufacture in which we have no dangerous Rival. What Proportion this Part of it bears to the whole, I cannot determine; but certainly it is very conſiderable; ſince, beſides the vaſt Quantities of it exported to *Turky* and *Perſia*, we vent conſiderably of it every Year to *Hambourg*, *Holland*, &c. whereas we ſhall then be oblig'd to ſupply ourſelves with it from *France* for our own Conſumption.

Beſides, can we doubt that whenever the *French* ſhall deſire it, the *Spaniards* will clog our Trade to *Spain* with ſuch exorbitant Duties, and give us ſuch other Trouble and Vexations, that we ſhall be oblig'd to quit that gainful Commerce, which will be engroſs'd by *France*, where all the Money that comes from *America* will then center, in return for the Linnen and Woollen Manufactures, it will be able to ſupply their *Indies* and *Spain* withal. What if beſides theſe Advantages, all the *French* Subjects ſhall be naturaliz'd *Spaniards*; and as ſuch, have Liberty to trade freely from *France* to the *Weſt-Indies?* Is it not evident, that this ſingle Privilege will enable them to under-ſell us? Though we ſhou'd be allow'd to trade on our old Foot to *Cadiz*; and that conſequently 'twill carry all the Treaſure of the New World to *France?* Or can we promiſe ourſelves the Continuance of that moſt beneficial Trade carry'd on of late Years by Connivance from *Jamaica*, directly to the Continent of their *America?* Can we, I ſay, promiſe ourſelves any Indulgences of that Kind from the frenchify'd *Spaniards*, who will be Governours in all their Ports?

I might dwell much longer on this Subject, but after what has been hinted, I appeal to any reaſonable Man, whether 'twill not be in the Power of the *French* King to impoveriſh us more by a ten Years Peace, as Things now ſtand, than 'tis probable a War of the ſame Continuance wou'd do.

When this Miſchief is felt, 'twill be in vain for us to repent our miſtaken Meaſures, in having preferr'd an ignominious and deſtructive Peace, to a War which might have been made with Advantage, Safety, and Glory. And if we ſhall then attempt a War againſt an Enemy, whoſe Wealth will be encreas'd in the ſame, or a greater Proportion than both ours, and the *Dutch* will be leſſen'd, 'twill be too late, ſince we ſhall be deſtitute of thoſe Allies

we firſt deſerted, and ſhall have ſuffer'd ſuch a Diminution of our Power at Home, that 'twill then be Madneſs to provoke an Enemy ſo much above our Strength. But there is no Fear of our being guilty of ſuch Raſhneſs; we ſhall then have learn'd humbler Thoughts, and think ourſelves happy, if that invincible Monarch will allow us peaceably to enjoy the Product of our own Iſland. But even that will in all Probability be deny'd us, and the Continuance of that inglorious Peace, which many are now ſo fond of, muſt be purchas'd at the Expence of our Religion and Liberty.

The abdicated Prince will be impos'd upon us, and if we are ſtubborn, we ſhall be us'd as Traytors to God, and our lawful King.

That the *French* King will attempt to re-eſtabliſh that Family, will eaſily be agreed to, if we conſider, that nothing can be imagin'd ſo agreeable to his Intereſt, his Reſentment, his Ambition, and his blind Zeal for Popery. To his Intereſt, by humbling a free and powerful State, the Liberty and flouriſhing Condition of which muſt be great Eye-ſores to a Tyrant who wou'd have all People as miſerable as his own Subjects, that they may more eaſily endure their Slavery; to his Reſentment and Intereſt, by revenging himſelf upon thoſe who have prov'd the main Obſtacle to his long-courted Univerſal Monarchy, and who, till they ſhall be humbled, will continue to be ſo. His Ambition, 'tis well known, was never ſince his Reign, ſo foiled, as by his forc'd Compliance to own our preſent King, after a ten Years War to ſupport King *James*, whoſe Intereſt he had ſo often publickly declar'd he wou'd never abandon. And 'tis now the common Diſcourſe in *France*, that nothing is wanting to compleat the Glory of *Lewis* the Great, and to raiſe his Name above *Charlemaign*'s, but the Re-eſtabliſhment of the King of *England*.

When therefore to theſe Conſiderations we add, that Inſtigations will not be wanting from *Rome* to proſecute ſo pious and religious a Work as the Reduction of *England* to the Catholick Faith (for that wiſe Court will not only find its Intereſt by our Converſion, but will ſecure the Peace of *Italy*, which is its great Aim, by procuring ſuch a Diverſion of the *French* Arms) when (I ſay) we conſider all theſe Matters ſeriouſly, we muſt be very Scepticks, if we can doubt that ſuch a Deſign will be ſet on Foot as ſoon as there ſhall be a Proſpect of its being carried on ſucceſsfully; that if as ſoon as we, by acknowledging the new King of *Spain*, and by refuſing to aſſiſt the Emperor in his juſt Pretenſions to that Monarchy, ſhall have forc'd both him and the *Dutch* to make the beſt Terms with *France* for themſelves, which, in their forſaken Condition, they can obtain. From that Day will ceaſe the Confidence ſo neceſſary to be kept up between us and our old Confederates, and we ſhall ſtand upon our ſingle Bottom, expos'd to the joynt Attempts of *France*, *Spain*, and *Flanders*; nay, perhaps of *Holland* too, if we by deſerting them at this Time ſhall either expoſe them to be conquer'd, or drive them to a Neceſſity of ſecuring themſelves from that Ruin, by throwing themſelves into the Protection of *France*. I aſk any reaſonable Man whether it is probable that in ſuch a Condition we can be thought able to withſtand their joynt Attempts, divided as we are at Home, and not ſo ſecure of the Affections of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as were to be wiſh'd.

So

So that in our preſent Caſe, I do not take the Queſtion to be, Whether we ſhall have War or Peace? but, whether we ſhall with a good Grace, begin a juſt and honourable War, with the Aſſiſtance of powerful Allies, or by declining it ſhamefully at preſent, be forc'd in a ſhort Time, for our own Defence, to make it with the utmoſt Diſadvantage? Every honeſt *Engliſhman* will readily anſwer this Queſtion when ſo ſtated, and conclude for War.

If it be objected, That the Queſtion is not fairly ſtated, one of theſe three Things muſt be urg'd againſt the foregoing Argument; either that *France* and *Spain* will not attack us, nor endeavour to re-eſtabliſh King *James* and Popery.

Or Secondly, That if they ſhou'd jointly attempt it, *England* alone wou'd be able to defend itſelf againſt them.

Or Laſtly, that though they ſhould attack us, we ſhall find Confederates able and willing to aſſiſt us.

As to the firſt Objection, *viz.* That *France* and *Spain* will not attempt us, I think enough has already been ſaid to prove, that it is the Intereſt and Deſire of *France*; it remains therefore only to conſider, whether it be not moſt probable that *Spain* will concur to an Undertaking ſo meritorious, according to the bigotted Principles of that People, whoſe blind Zeal will on ſuch an Occaſion, be rouz'd, and animated by all their Prieſts, and other Emiſſaries of the Court of *Rome*. Beſides, let any Man reaſonably ſhew how their preſent King and Miniſtry can deny to *France* this, or much more, if requir'd. It is by *France*, as we have already obſerved, that the Duke of *Anjou* muſt reign, his Miniſtry be ſupported, and their Monarchy be protected, all which will make their Dependance ſo abſolute upon that Crown, that they dare refuſe nothing; but 'tis needleſs by Argument to confirm Matter of Fact, they have already out-run our Fears and Jealouſies, nay, even the Deſires and Hopes of the *French* King, who has not at this Time in *France* Vaſſals more ſervily devoted to him, than the *Spaniſh* Council has ſhewn itſelf to be, by its late precipitate Meaſures.

The *Spaniards* will moreover, by ſo doing, ſatisfy their Reſentment conceiv'd againſt us, for having preſum'd to divide their Monarchy; for with what Diſdain and Indignation they received the Treaty of Partition, is apparent from the Meaſures they have taken to elude the Effect of it, ſince to preſerve their Monarchy entire, they have receiv'd a King from *France*, and thrown themſelves into the Protection of the Hereditary Enemy of their Monarchy and Nation.

I paſs now to conſider the ſecond Objection, which I heartily wiſh could be made good, *viz.* That *England* alone will be able to defend itſelf againſt the united Force of *France*, *Spain*, &c.

I have as honourable an Opinion of my Country as any Man, and do truly believe, that if by an abſolute Compoſure of our inteſtine Jealouſies and Diviſions, theſe Nations were put in a Condition to exert their full Strength, they might give Work enough to whatever Power ſhould dare to invade them. But ſince ſuch an Union and mutual Confidence is rather to be wiſhed for, than

be

be depended on, and ſince we are wrangling and diſputing in whoſe Hands 'tis ſafeſt to truſt our Arms; and are only agreed in this, to have neither a ſtanding Force, nor a well regulated Militia, we can hardly be thought to be in a good Poſture of Defence. I would not here be miſtaken, or thought to be arguing for a ſtanding Army; on the contrary I know, that in many ancient Governments, the whole Body of the People was ſo trained and diſciplined, as to anſwer all the Ends of the beſt diſciplined Army; and 'twere to be wiſh'd, that the People of *England* had Vertue enough to put themſelves on the like Foot, and that our Nobility and Gentry, remitting ſomething of their preſent Eaſe, and ſlothful Luxury, would vouchſafe firſt to be taught themſelves Martial Diſcipline, and afterwards with a generous Emulation would inſtruct others. If ſuch a Spirit were once ſeen amongſt them, the People would readily follow their Example, and it would in a little time be thought no Hardſhip, nor any way inconſiſtent with the Liberty of the Subject, if every Man were obliged to ſpend two or three Years of his Youth in qualifying himſelf to defend his Country; the Sword being thus in the Hands of the People, could never be employed to their Diſadvantage, and the Nation would be ſecure from all Foreign Attempts, ſince no Enemy would prove ſo adventrous as to attack ſo populous a Country as *England*, where every Man would be a Soldier. But till ſome ſuch Method be taken, I do not think 'tis reflecting upon my Country to ſay, that we ſhould be hardly put to it to defend ourſelves by our preſent Militia, againſt ſo formidable an Enemy as we ſhall have to deal with. I aſk them, if any prudent Man wou'd chuſe to hazard all that is dear to him upon dubious Events, when 'tis in our Power by a timely Reſolution to prevent our Enemies, and make their Countries the Seat of a War, which muſt otherwiſe be brought into *England.*

Or granting that we ſhould, upon ſuch an Emergency, defend ourſelves with ſo much Unanimity, Valour, and good Fortune, as to repell their firſt Aſſault, what will become of us when our Trade is loſt? Or will our Fleets avail us ought, when all the Ports betwixt *Oſtend* and *Sicily* ſhall be ſhut againſt them? For 'tis certain, that in ſuch a Conjuncture, neither *Portugal*, nor the little *Italian* Princes, will dare to receive our Fleets, when every Ship that would paſs the *Streights* muſt either fight its Way, or pay Toll, and when our *Weſt-India* Navigations will be rendred extreamly dangerous by the Number of Men of War and Privateers, which our Enemies will be able to maintain along the vaſt Continent they are Maſters of in *America*; when, I ſay, the Sinews of War will be cut off by ſuch a Diminution, if not a total Loſs of our Trade, muſt not our Maritime Power fall of Courſe? And our Iſland by Conſequence grow every Day more defenceleſs, and expos'd to freſh Attempts? Let us then look about and ſee what Aſſiſtance we ſhall find Abroad in our Diſtreſs.

This leads me to the third Objection I propos'd to conſider, *viz.* That tho' *England* ſhall acknowledge the new King of *Spain*, and refuſe to aſſiſt the Emperor in his Pretenſions to that Crown, we ſhall notwithſtanding find Confederates to aſſiſt us, whenever *France* and *Spain* ſhall endeavour to force

King *James* and Popery upon us: the contrary of which I fear will be too eaſy to be proved.

War being in itſelf an Evil, and no Ways deſirable for its own Sake, 'twill eaſily be granted, that no wiſe State or conſiderate Prince will engage in it, but with a Proſpect of ſhunning ſome greater Evil, or of gaining ſome Advantage ſo conſiderable, as to compenſate for the Miſchiefs which neceſſarily attends it. If therefore we conſider, firſt, what Advantages the Emperor propoſes by this War; then who will probably be his Allies in it, and what Motives will induce them to aſſiſt him; and that it be ſhewn afterwards, that our Refuſal to joyn with them will defeat all the Hopes of the Succeſs they aim at, it will, I think, follow naturally, that none of them will hereafter be over-forward to undertake for us what we ſhall now refuſe to do for them, eſpecially if the Aſſiſtance we may hereafter deſire of them will no way anſwer the End they now propoſe, but on the contrary will expoſe them to far greater Hazards than we ſhou'd now riſque by coming into their Aſſiſtance.

To begin then, The Emperor hopes by a War, with the Aſſiſtance of his Confederates, to get the Monarchy of *Spain* for one of his Sons, a Prize certainly worth contending for. He hopes in this Pretenſion, to have for Allies, all thoſe who were Guarantees of the *Pyrenean* Treaty, that is moſt of the Princes and States in *Europe*; and if the Reaſons which gave a Foundation to that Treaty, and particularly to that Article of it where *Lewis* XIV. and his Queen did renounce all future Pretenſions upon the *Spaniſh* Dominions, if, I ſay, the ſame Reaſons ſpecify'd in that Treaty, do ſtill ſubſiſt, (which will hardly be deny'd) the Emperor ſeems with Juſtice, to demand of the Guarantees, that they will make good their Engagements. But becauſe Treaties of late are found to be a very weak Security, let us conſider what more particular Intereſts are likely to engage many Potentates to aſſiſt him.

Firſt then, 'tis probable the whole Body of the Empire will aſſiſt him powerfully, ſince beſides the Reaſons common to them, and to other Powers, as their being Guarantees of the *Pyrenean* Treaty, and the general Intereſt to keep the Ballance even, if poſſible, between the two great Houſes; the Emperor has a Claim to *Milan*, which it concerns them to aſſert, it being a Fief of the Empire, and by Conſequence upon Default of Heirs Male, it muſt return to the Empire, * without the Conſent of which it cannot be alienated; inſomuch, that though even the Archduke had been call'd to the Crown of *Spain*, by the late King's Will, he cou'd not have enjoy'd *Milan* without a new Inveſtiture from the Emperor. And ſuch is the Conſtitution of the Empire, that every Prince and State is oblig'd to aſſert their own with the Emperor's Right in this Caſe. The great Security of each of them, conſiſting in the Obligation they are all under to defend each part of the Empire, and to ſuffer no Alienation from it, but by their own Conſent. And whoever ſhould oppoſe in a Diet their joint Endeavours to aſſert that Right, may be put to the Bann of the Empire, and be deprived of his Eſtates. Examples

* Vid. *Guicherdin Phil. de Commenis lib.* 1. *Tractatus varii de Principibus Italiæ*, 2 Ed. D. P. 163.

of

of which ſome of our Royal Family tranſplanted there, may furniſh us with. Some Princes of *Germany* are yet under ſtricter Engagements to the Emperor, as the King of *Pruſſia*, and Elector of *Hanover*, who in return for their new Dignities have obliged themſelves to furniſh on this Occaſion conſiderably more than their Quota's. The Circle of the *Lower Rhine* is highly concern'd to keep the *French* out of *Flanders*, ſince the Countries of *Liege*, *Cologne*, *Mentz*, *Treves*, *Juliers*, and *Cleves*, would be extremely expos'd by ſuch a Neighbourhood; there being Reaſon to apprehend, that the *French* King would thereby be tempted to endeavour at making the *Rhine* the Boundary of *France*, as it was of antient *Gaul*. And if we take a View of the whole Empire, we cannot doubt but 'twill act in concert, ſince all the great Powers of it are known to be abſolutely in the Emperor's Intereſt; and ſhould any petty Princes have a Mind to gainſay, a Majority in the Dyet concludes them.

The Emperor has great Reaſon to hope, that three other potent Nations will aſſiſt him vigorouſly, for their own Sakes, their Honour as well as Safety evidently requiring it: All three have been treated by *France* with ſo much Indignity, their preſent Circumſtances are ſo much alike, and the Danger with which they are otherwiſe very nearly threaten'd, is ſo much the ſame, that I ſhall not part them, as I wiſh they may not ſeparate from each other at this critical Juncture.

It will eaſily be underſtood by what has been ſaid, that I mean *England*, *Portugal*, and *Holland*; over the two laſt the King of *Spain* pretends a Right of Sovereignty, as the King of *France* keeps at *St. Germains* ſome, who have the like Pretenſions upon us. The Trade of all three becomes by this Junction equally precarious; or, if there be any Difference, 'tis to the Diſadvantage of *Holland*, ſince the *French*, who are now become their Neighbours in *Flanders*, may with great Eaſe open the Navigation of the *Scheld*, and reſtore the Commerce of *Antwerp* to its antient Luſtre, to the utter Ruin of the *Dutch*.

Holland and *Portugal* in one reſpect ſeem indeed to be more expos'd to their Enemies than we, ſince they are upon the ſame Continent with them; whereas our Azure Ramparts keeps them at a greater Diſtance; ſo that all the Reaſons urged to make *England* apprehenſive of this Union, ought more ſtrongly to influence them.

If any Man ſhall object, that the Conformity of Religion is a Security to the *Portugueſe* againſt the *Caſtilians*, let him conſider what an inbred Hatred there is, and has been for ſome Ages, between thoſe Nations, and how much the Indignation of the latter will be increas'd againſt a People, deem'd their Vaſſals, for their Preſumption in having concurred with us to diſmember their Monarchy, and he may then change his Opinion. It ſeems therefore indiſpenſibly to be the Intereſt of theſe three Nations to aſſiſt the Emperor in dethroning the Duke of *Anjou*, ſince they have no other Means to ſecure the Independency of their Governments. The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* are yet more nearly concern'd, ſince, upon their Refuſal, the Loſs of their Religion, (which ought principally to be conſider'd) muſt follow that of their Liberty.

Whether the Northern Crowns will be engaged in this Quarrel, or contribute any thing more than their Quota's, as Princes of the Empire, is uncertain. The young *Swediſh* Hero has his Hands full already; but 'tis not impoſſible that he may ſoon make a glorious End of his own War, and then come or ſend to our Aid, in return for the good Office we lately did him; this we may be ſure of, that we ſhall not have both thoſe Crowns either for or againſt us.

The Duke of *Savoy* we muſt believe to be very uneaſy, and 'tis probable that he deſires nothing more than ſuch an Opportunity to declare againſt *France*, as will not expoſe him to manifeſt Ruin, which wou'd certainly be the Conſequence of his declaring for the Emperor, before there be a Power in *Italy* to ſupport him. But, if the leaſt favourable Succeſs of the League ſhou'd ever open him a Door to come into it, we cannot think him ſo blind as to ſtand out for the following Reaſons:

Firſt, Becauſe 'tis his Intereſt, that there ſhou'd be a Power in *Italy* to protect him againſt ſuch ill Uſage for the future, as his Anceſtors and himſelf have heretofore frequently received from *France*, which at preſent there is not, the *Milaneſe* being now full of *French* Troops.

Secondly, The *French* being already poſſeſſed of thoſe Countries near him, which are to be fought for, and being not of a Temper to part with any thing till they are forced to it, 'tis not probable that they will give him any Share of their new Acquiſition; whereas the Emperor, who is not yet poſſeſſed of any thing in *Italy*, and whoſe Intereſt it is to engage that Duke, will eaſily be brought to make him conſiderable Offers, and to beſtow a great Part of the *Milaneſe* on him, if the War, he is about making, prove ſucceſsful.

The other Powers of *Italy* will probably be neutral, and do all they can to avoid taking any Side, till they are forced to it by the ſtrongeſt Party.

The *Switzers* alſo will be Lookers-on, and ſell Troops to all Buyers; and the moſt that can be expected from their Zeal to the Publick Intereſt, even amongſt the Proteſtant Cantons, is, that they ſhall ſell their Troops Five *per Cent.* cheaper to us than to *France*.

Having thus taken a ſhort View of the great Powers in *Europe*, and conſidered which of them will probably be induced to eſpouſe the Emperor's Quarrel, and what will be their Motives for ſo doing, to proceed in my Argument I am to ſhew, that without the Aſſiſtance of *England*, the Emperor and his other Confederates will not be able to compaſs the End they propoſe.

That End I take to be the Diſpoſſeſſing the Duke of *Anjou* of the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy; or at leaſt of *Spain*, the *Weſt-Indies*, and *Flanders*; and placing the Arch-Duke in his Room. That a War ought not to be undertaken with any leſs Proſpect, is evident from this Reaſon, *viz.* That nothing leſs than ſuch a Succeſs can anſwer the main Proſpect of the Confederates; for ſo long as the *French* ſhall rule in *Spain*, which neceſſarily carries along with it the Dominion of *America*, can *England*, *Holland*, and *Portugal*, (but *Portugal* chiefly) think their Liberties ſecure, and their Trade not merely precarious? Or ſo long as the *French* ſhall remain in *Flanders*, will not *England*, and *Holland*, and all the Princes bordering on the *Rhine*, think themſelves in the greateſt Danger? The Commons of *England* certainly reaſoned thus, in King

Charles

Charles the Second's Time, when ſo many Addreſſes were preſented by them: And the many Millions given by them in this Reign for the ſame Purpoſe, do ſufficiently juſtify this Opinion.

The Emperor and his Partizans will, I believe, carry the Thing further; and ſay, That ſo long as the *French* ſhall have *Naples*, *Sicily*, and *Milan*, the Ballance will be too much on their Side, even tho' an *Auſtrian* Prince were poſſeſſed of *Spain*, *Flanders*, and the *Weſt-Indies*.

Suppoſing then that the Deſign of the Confederates is by a War to diſpoſſeſs the new *French* King of *Spain*, it is aſked, Whether, without the Aid of *England*, 'tis probable they can ſucceed in that Undertaking? To which Queſtion, I am confident, that all who are againſt a War will readily anſwer, No: And probably aſk, Whether, with the Aſſiſtance of *England*, 'tis an Undertaking poſſible to be compaſſed? That Queſtion I mean to conſider in another Place: And ſince 'tis ſufficient for my preſent Purpoſe to have it agreed to, that without us they will in vain undertake ſuch an Enterprize, I will, with my Adverſaries, take it too for granted, and from thence conclude, That ſince our Refuſal to joyn with them, will defeat all the Hopes of the Succeſs they aim at, it follows naturally, that none of them will hereafter be forward to undertake for us, if we ſtand in Need of their Help, what we ſhall now refuſe to do for them.

But becauſe it may be objected againſt my Concluſion, that Reſentment and Paſſion ought not to influence the Councils of wiſe Governments, that particular Piques are ever ſacrificed to the Intereſt of State, and that therefore the Powers above-named, finding it to be their Intereſt, may be induced to aſſiſt us hereafter in our Diſtreſs; notwithſtanding the Diſſatisfaction which our preſent Deſertion of them may occaſion.

To remove the Force of this Objection, let us particularly examine what Powers 'tis reaſonable for us to expect will engage in our Defence. Will the Emperor turn Champion for the Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberty of a People, who will have ſo highly diſobliged him? When his Hope of preſerving the *Spaniſh* Monarchy in his Family by our Aſſiſtance, will be for ever defeated; which Hope was the main Reaſon that has kept him our Ally ſo long. Is it not more reaſonable to apprehend, that the Pope may mediate an Accommodation between him and *France*, by intermarrying, or procuring to him perhaps ſome Province, which is more than he can ever, by his own Force, wreſt from *France*, if he ſhould obſtinately make War by himſelf. On the contrary, ſuch a War wou'd ruine him, and diſable him from aſſiſting us ever, if he ſhou'd have the Will to do it.

Can any Proteſtant, without Horror, reflect on the fatal Conſequences which wou'd attend ſuch an Accommodation.. I ſhall not, for Brevity's Sake, repeat any thing on that Subject, which ſeveral Pamphlets have already taken Notice of, but proceed to examine from what other Allies we may hope for Aſſiſtance.

As for the Proteſtant Princes in *Germany*, 'tis not ſure that they will preſerve themſelves free; or if they do, is it probable that they can give *France* ſuch a Diverſion as wou'd be neceſſary to ſave us? Eſpecially when ſuch an

Alliance

Alliance would furniſh the Emperor with a Pretence to forward ſo Holy a Work, as the Deſtruction of Hereſy; towards which Deſign 'tis moſt probable that his Zeal and Ambition will then direct him, when his other great Hopes are vaniſh'd.

The Northern Crowns are too remote, and too poor, to give any timely or effectual Aid.

'Tis highly probable, that the *Hollanders* will be able to preſerve their Government no other way, than by throwing themſelves into the Protection of *France*; and in this Caſe their whole Power by Sea will be always ready to act againſt us at the Will of *France*; and their Situation will beſides cut us off from all Communication with *Germany*. But if any one can ſuppoſe, that they will be able to preſerve their Government upon eaſier Terms, it muſt be ſo precariouſly, that they will not dare to give the leaſt Jealouſy to their watchful Neighbour by coming to our Relief.

From theſe Conſiderations 'tis, I think, evident, that if ever we want Help, we ſhall not find Allies able or willing to defend us. But it has been proved in the foregoing part of this Diſcourſe, from the Conſideration of the Intereſt, Will, and Power of our Enemies to attack us, and from our Inability to defend ourſelves, that we ſhall ſtand in need of Alliance; therefore the Concluſion is too plain, We ſhall be a Prey to our Enemies.

Having thus, from Principles which to me ſeem undeniable, ſhewn what will be the neceſſary Conſequences of a Peace, *viz.* The utter Ruin and Deſtruction of our Trade, Liberty and Religion: I would proceed next to offer ſome Thoughts concerning a War, but that I have lately heard of an Expedient propoſed by ſome to ſalve all, without the Hazard and Expence of it. The Rank of the Perſons, I heard quoted for it, and the Approbation which I found it met with from ſome, who paſs for Men of good Underſtandings, induced me to offer it to the Conſideration of my Reader. But I do beforehand beg their Pardons, if after having thus raiſed their Expectations, they ſhall judge it to be the Mountain's Birth. 'Tis propoſed then, for our Security againſt the Dangers we apprehend, That a Treaty ſhall be made with *France* and *Spain*, wherein it ſhall be expreſly ſtipulated, That neither of thoſe Crowns ſhall make any Innovation, or give the leaſt Diſturbance to our Trade. On the contrary, 'tis ſaid that *France* is ſo deſirous to preſerve the Peace of *Europe*, that rather than diſoblige us, 'tis to be hoped they will condeſcend to make new Treaties of Commerce with us more to our Advantage than thoſe which now ſubſiſt. It ſhall be moreover eſpecially provided, that no Attaeks ſhall be made on the *Hollanders*, who, for their greater Security, ſhall be allow'd to maintain Garriſons in ſome of the ſtrong Towns of *Flanders*, which, being in *Dutch* Hands, will be ſo many Pledges of the punctual Execution of whatever ſhall be agreed on; and to enforce the more the religious Obſervation of ſuch a Treaty, we are to put ourſelves in a Poſture of defending ourſelves againſt any Breach thereof, which our Enemies might offer.

Now, of ſuch who propoſe this noble Expedient, I will crave leave to aſk one Queſtion, that is, Who ſhall be Guarantee of ſuch a Treaty? It muſt either be God or Man. But if the *French* wou'd have accepted of God Almighty

mighty for Guarantee of their Treaties, or be bound by the Reverence which even Heathens pay to Oaths, they durſt never have broke the *Pyrenean* Treaty, which perhaps was the moſt ſolemnly and religiouſly covenanted of any that Hiſtory mentions. From their Violation of that, and, I believe, we may truly ſay, of all thoſe ever made by their preſent King, 'tis manifeſt, that the *French* exclude God Almighty from being Guarantee of their Treaties.

If Man ſhall be Guarantee of ſuch a Treaty, I demand who this Man, or Men, ſhall be? Will the Emperor be one? But by the very State of the Queſtion, we are ſuppoſed to have deſerted him and his Intereſt, and to have left him to ſhift for himſelf the beſt he can: Without him, is there a Power in *Europe* ſufficient to give the Law to *France* and *Spain* united? Or granting there be, ſhall we be ſure that all the Princes, who muſt compoſe ſuch a Guarantee, will, on a ſudden, reconcile their different Intereſts, and engage themſelves in a War to make it good, purely for the Sake of two Nations, who will have ſet them a Pattern to ſlight ſuch Engagements, by having ſo readily acquieſced in the notorious Indignity ſo lately put upon them. Is it not therefore evident, that ſuch a Treaty will only expoſe us to the Deriſion of our Enemies? Who having thus clinched the firſt Trick put upon us, by a worſe, will have reaſon to make Sport of our fond Credulity.

As to putting ourſelves in a Poſture of Defence, it can only mean, increaſing our Forces by Sea and Land; that is, putting ourſelves to near the ſame Expence which would defray a War, to do nothing.

To evince more fully the Inſufficiency of any ſuch Project, and to ſhew, on the contrary, how ſubſervient it wou'd prove to the Deſigns of thoſe who mean to introduce Popery and Slavery, I will beg leave to make one Suppoſition, which, for the better Information of my Reader, and for Arguments ſake, I hope I may be allowed to do.

Let us ſuppoſe then, that *France*, ever watchful, and ready to promote its Intereſt in foreign Countries, ſhould have thought it adviſable to entertain Emiſſaries among us, whoſe Buſineſs it ſhould be not only to ſend over faithful Advices of all that paſſes here, but likewiſe by the Credit they ſhould endeavour to gain with People of ſeveral Ranks, to prepare the Way for King *James*; and ſuppoſing that ſome *Engliſhmen*, either corrupted with *French* Money, or acted by miſtaken Principles of Zeal and Loyalty, to what they call the Right Line, ſhould prove baſe or blind enough to undertake ſuch a Part: how ought we reaſonably to imagine, that ſuch Men wou'd act and ſpeak? Do we not believe, that in all their Converſations they wou'd cry up the Advantages of Peace? Wou'd they not diſplay their Eloquence in ſetting forth the deplorable State of the Nation, already exhauſted by the great Taxes of the laſt War, and made thereby unable to contribute towards the Expences of a new one? Would not the peaceable Diſpoſition of the King of *France*, ſhewn by his Willingneſs to purchaſe the Peace of *Reſwick* at a very dear Rate, furniſh them with ſpecious Arguments to prove, that we have nothing to fear from an old Prince, abandoned to the Counſels of an older Woman? If theſe, or the like Arguments failed of Succeſs; wou'd they not endeavour to beget in People a Diffidence of his Majeſty, by inſinuating,

That

That we know not what ſecret Practices have been manag'd between Him and *France?* Or how far both Kings are agreed to enſlave all *Europe?* That a ſham War is neceſſary to blind Folks, and to get a Standing Army, which is ſtill the Bottom of this whole Deſign.

Such Chimera's, whiſpered with a ſeeming Concern for the Liberty and Good of *England*, might deceive the Unthinking. But if any ſuch Emiſſaries, as I have ſuppoſed, ſhou'd have had ſo much Art and Dexterity as to get Acceſs to his Majeſty's Perſon and Councils, how is it probable they wou'd then direct their Batteries?

If they had not to do with a Prince, whoſe great Wiſdom makes him as uncapable of miſtaking his own and his People's Intereſt, as his high Spirit makes it impoſſible that he ſhou'd ever condeſcend to any Meaſures that might leſſen that Glorious Character he is ſo juſtly in Poſſeſſion of, they wou'd certainly adviſe ſuch a Treaty with *France*, and boldly preſs to have the Duke of *Anjou* owned King of *Spain* immediately. Their Advice might be inforeed by creating a Diffidence of the Parliament's Readineſs to vindicate the Honour of his Majeſty, and to provide for the common Security. Which Diffidence might be founded on this falſe Ground, That becauſe the Commons of *England* wou'd not in Time of Peace keep up Standing Armies, nor overlook the many Abuſes put upon His Majeſty by hungry Courtiers, who wanted not a Stomach to ſwallow all the Eſtates of *Ireland*, if their Rapine had been tolerated; it ſhou'd therefore follow, that the ſame Commons wou'd not take greater Care to prevent King *James*'s making Grants of all the Eſtates in *England:* Or that the ſame Zeal that moved them to take ſuch wiſe Precautions, to prevent our own Kings from bringing in *Slavery* upon us, by Standing Armies, wou'd not warmly inſpire them with ſuch vigorous Reſolutions, as may diſappoint our Enemies, who wou'd force it upon us from Abroad.

If, by ſuch Miſrepreſentations of *Engliſh* Parliaments, a Jealouſy of them could once be raiſed, more Troops, and a Treaty with *France*, were a ready Salvo; nor wou'd there be wanting Preſidents in our own Hiſtory to back their Advice.

But His Majeſty's ſublime Genius being ſuch as would certainly awe the moſt impudent and corrupt Councellors from propoſing ſuch wicked and ſhallow Meaſures, and which proved ſo fatal to his Predeceſſor, let us conſider what other Miſchiefs their ſurreptitious Favour might enable them to compaſs. Why? We may be ſure they wou'd affect Popularity, by talking againſt Taxes, and arguing againſt the Neceſſity of a War, which would have this good Effect; That the Multitude judging of the Situation of Affairs by the Countenances of thoſe who were at the Helm, and finding all about Court ſerene and unconcerned, wou'd conclude, they were in no Danger; which Miſtake they might be confirmed in by the unſhaken and ſteady Temper of His Majeſty, whoſe Magnanimity ſo often tryed in great Adverſities might, by the Unthinking, on this Occaſion, be miſconſtru'd as a certain Symptom of Security: Whereas, it ſeems to import extremely at this Juncture, that People be made thoroughly acquainted with their Danger, leſt by ſome haſty

and

and precipitate Reſolutions, they put it out of their Power to provide againſt it.

The ſame Emiſſaries would undoubtedly obſtruct, as much as in them lay, any Offers made by His Majeſty, or his Parliament, at repairing, if poſſible, the great Loſs this Nation has had by the Death of His Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Glouceſter*, ſince the Proteſtant Succeſſor, that ſhou'd be appointed, might prove a Rub in the Way of the Frenchified Family; beſides, that the Concurrence which his preſent Majeſty ſhou'd give to ſuch a Proviſion for the Settlement of our Religion and Liberty upon a firm Baſis, wou'd intirely ſecure to him the Affections of his People, and deſtroy the falſe and malicious Inſinuations they and their Partiſans wou'd ſuggeſt; as if His Majeſty had no farther Concern for our Safety, than during his own Life; the contrary of which is ſo maniſeſt, by the great Things he has already done for us, that it argues an incurable Perverſeneſs to ſurmiſe otherwiſe. For ſhou'd Men deny this Truth, our Records will tranſmit down to Poſterity, with a Multitude of wholeſome Laws, and Conſtitutions, the Memory of this illuſtrious Hero, who never thought it beneath his Kingly Dignity to gratify the juſt Deſires of his People, even by the Diminution of his own Prerogative.

But ſuch is the Levity of Mankind, that groundleſs Suſpicions are often received as clear Proofs; and ſhould the Penſioners above-mentioned prove ſo induſtrious and ſucceſsful as to get the Places of greateſt Truſt filled with Men, who thought their Rightful Maſter were beyond Sea, whoſe nice Conſciences cou'd never be reconciled to His preſent Majeſty's Title, and who were known Enemies to thoſe popular Principles, which gave a Birth and Foundation to our preſent Government, and by which alone it can, for the future, be ſupported.

Would not ſuch unexpected Meaſures ſeem to authoriſe very extravagant Jealouſies, and might they not ſtartle Men the beſt affected, by making them apprehenſive, that ſome ſuch Bargain were driving on, as our Hiſtories give us an Example of in King *Stephen?* Would not the fearful Prudence of many rich Men incline them in ſuch a Caſe, to make their private Peace, and to be reconciled to thoſe who might become our Maſters, (for there are not wanting Examples of Men, who even, during a War, have made private Treaties of Peace with the Enemies of their Country) and would not the Multitude, judging itſelf abandoned by thoſe from whom it expected Protection, be prepared without Oppoſition to wait for a new Revolution.

If it be true, That Men paid from *France*, and directed from *St. Germains*, would uſe ſuch, or the like Artifices, to bring about their wicked Purpoſes, it is certainly incumbent on an *Engliſh* Parliament, by taking oppoſite Meaſures, to leave no Room for ſuch Practices.

Our Enemies deſire to ſee ſuch Men amongſt us advanced to Places of Truſt and Dignity, as are Enemies to His Majeſty's Perſon, and to that Liberty he has ſo wonderfully ſecured to us. Since therefore the High State of Kings make it difficult, if not impoſſible, for them, to be throughly acquainted with the Principles of all thoſe who have the Honour to approach their Perſons, if ever it ſhould happen that any ſuch, with miſchievous Inten-

tions, ſhould inſolently intrude themſelves into Poſts of the greateſt Truſt, does it not ſeem conſiſtent with the Allegiance and Zeal a Parliament ought to have for their Prince, in the moſt humble Manner, to lay before him, the Danger his Perſon and Government might be expoſed to by a miſplaced Confidence.

The Enemies of our Religion and Liberty wiſh, that we may be as careleſs in providing for the Succeſſion of *England*, as our late Allies the *Spaniards* were for theirs. Such an Omiſſion would furniſh our Good Ally the King of *France*, with a fair Opportunity of ſhewing us as great Marks of his Friendſhip, as he has done to *Spain*, by ſupplying us in Time of Need with a King of his own breeding up. What though he ſhould exact of us to pay the Charges of his Education, and ſend us in a Bill for the Expence he has been at in attempting to reſtore him ſooner; Can we in Gratitude do leſs than ſatisfy ſo juſt Demands? And tho' we ſhould not have Ready Money enough to pay immediately ſo juſt a Debt, would it not be reaſonable to give our obliging Friend, the King of *France*, Cautionary Towns for a Security, till it were punctually diſcharged; and to poſtpone upon ſuch a Conſideration, all the Publick Debts, contracted in Defence of an Uſurpation? Will an *Engliſh* Parliament leave the leaſt Door open to ſuch Miſchiefs? Sure it will not, but rather take Warning from the Example of a Neighbouring Nation, and take Care that Count *Tallard* be not made a Duke for Services of the ſame Nature in *England*, with thoſe of the Duke *D'Harcourt*'s in *Spain*.

If ſome Proviſion be not made at their next Seſſion, will not our Enemies both at Home and Abroad look upon ſuch an Omiſſion as a tacit Indication, that the Nation is prepared to receive a Prince that ſhall be nameleſs? And wou'd not ſuch a Delay prove by ſo much of more fatal Conſequence to us, than the King of *Spain*'s Will did to that Country, as that our Religion runs the greateſt of Hazards by ſuch a Turn.

I know there are ſome, who wou'd be thought Proteſtants and Freemen, who fondly flatter themſelves, that a Boy baniſh'd by *England*, almoſt as ſoon as born; who with his Milk ſucked in Popery, and an Averſion to *England*, which have been ſtrongly inculcated into him till the Age of Thirteen by two moſt zealous, ſtubborn and revengeful Parents, will forget that his Great Grand-Mother and his Grand-Father had their Heads cut off by the People of *England*. That the ſame People have twice forced his Father into Exile, depoſed him, and reduced himſelf with both his Parents to beg their Bread in a Foreign Country; That I ſay, forgetting all This, and laying aſide all Thoughts of promoting the ſame Religion, and the ſame Sort of Government he has been taught in *France*, he will prove a Defender of the Proteſtant Faith and the Liberties of *England*.

Men ſo infatuated, God only can reſtore to their right Senſes by reſtoring Him they wiſh for: Unleſs the Sins of this Nation ſhou'd ſo far provoke Divine Vengeance as to bring ſuch a Revolution upon us, I deſpair theſe Men can ever be perſuaded of the Neceſſity we are under to entail the Crown of *England* upon Proteſtants.

But

But leſt any Man of Principles quite oppoſite, ſhou'd be made a Tool to them, and join with them in oppoſing the Settlement of our Succeſſion, I beg Leave to addreſs myſelf to ſuch as imagine, that when our preſent Settlement is run out, a Common-Wealth may be ſet up, and are therefore againſt enlarging it. Their Hopes I conceive to be ill founded for the following Reaſons.

Firſt, Becauſe there is a great Majority againſt them throughout the People of *England*, nine in ten of which are for ſticking to the ancient Conſtitution.

Secondly, Becauſe there are not ten Common-wealths-Men in *England* agreed upon any Scheme or Plan of Government, for which Reaſon 'tis impoſſible they ſhou'd ever act with ſo much Steadineſs and Unanimity as wou'd be requiſite. This Truth is manifeſtly confirmed by the Experience of that Variety of Governments which were ſet up ſucceſſively after *Cromwell*'s Death; and which all ended in bringing in King *Charles* the Second of pious Memory.

Thirdly, Becauſe their Adverſaries wou'd act in Concert, being united under one Head; and whatever may be objected againſt Monarchy when ſettled, 'tis certainly, in turbulent Times, the Government moſt likely to prevail.

Fourthly, If by a Common wealth they mean a free Government, and wou'd be ſatisfy'd with the Thing, tho' it want the Name of Republick, 'tis far more probable to attain that End by Settling the Succeſſion, than by any other Way; ſince it may be done with ſuch Limitations as will abundantly ſecure our Freedom. 'Tis therefore to be hoped that the preſent Parliament will take this Matter into their ſerious Conſideration, and by complying with the earneſt Wiſhes of all honeſt Men who expect it, defeat the Artifices of our moſt dangerous Domeſtick Foes.

Our Enemies wiſh the King may be diſabled from reſenting the moſt inſolent Affront put upon him, and that he may authorize their unparallel'd Perfidiouſneſs, by acknowledging the Duke of *Anjou*; hoping that ſuch a Condeſcenſion may leſſen that Reputation of Valour and Wiſdom, which has for ſo many Years proved the greateſt Obſtacle to their vaſt Deſigns.

Is it not therefore to be hoped, that an *Engliſh* Parliament will have a tender Regard for the Honour of a Prince, whoſe Reputation has hitherto ſtood us in ſuch Stead? For if ſo many Princes of different Religions and Intereſt, as were Confederated in the laſt War, armed in our Defence, and by a Perſeverance ſcarce to be parallel'd in any Hiſtory, remained in firm Union for Eleven Years; muſt it not be own'd, that his Majeſty's great Genius firſt gave Motion, and afterwards directed all the Springs of the complicated Machine? Shall not then the great Council of our Nation, when their Advice is aſked on this important Affair, diſſuade his Majeſty from making a Step, which, by leſſening his Character, will leſſen his Power to do us good.

If I ſhou'd ſay, that it nearly concerns the Honour of *England*, as well as the King's, to reſent the King of *France*'s Violation of the Treaty of Partition, I know 'twou'd diſoblige ſome Gentlemen, who are of a contrary Opinion; becauſe, ſay they, the People of *England* had no Hand in making

it. But of ſuch I will aſk, Whether, tho' it had been ratified by the Parliament, the King of *France* wou'd have had greater Regard to it? If not, and that *France* could not reaſonably conclude, but that it wou'd meet with a general Approbation, which ought certainly to be ſuppoſed, till the Legiſlative Power had declared otherwiſe; it is evident, ſhe has offered the higheſt Affront to the Nation, as well as to his Majeſty.

If it be objected, that it wou'd be of very evil Conſequence, that the Nation ſhould be obliged to make good, at the Expence of *Engliſh* Blood and Treaſure, all ſuch Treaties as future Kings may make, to the Diſadvantage of *England*; and that therefore we are to be no farther concluded by them, than our Parliaments ſhall judge them to be for the Honour and Advantage of the Publick. I anſwer, That no Nation we ſhall treat with, will for the ſame Reaſon, think itſelf bound by any thing ſtipulated with us, ſince whenever they ſhall be preſſed to execute any Treaty, which they ſhall think to their Diſadvantage, they may with Truth object, that Obligations, to be of force, ought to be mutual; whereas they can have no Security of a Compliance on our Side, ſince 'twill be in the Power of a Parliament, to diſable our King from performing his Part of the Covenant.

If it be from hence inferred, that all Treaties made between us and other Nations ſignify juſt nothing, it belongs to our Legiſlators to conſider whether this be one of the many Defects in our Conſtitution, which 'tis their Province to remedy; ſome Proviſion againſt ſuch Caſes for the future, is certainly more conſiſtent with their Wiſdom at this dangerous Conjuncture, than unſeaſonable Cavils againſt the Prerogative of a Prince who has already done ſo much to better our Conſtitution; that 'twill viſibly be no Fault of his, if under his Reign it be not brought to the greateſt Perfection 'tis capable of being improved to.

Our Enemies by a Peace deſire to ſecure themſelves in an undiſturbed Poſſeſſion of their ill gotten Acquiſitions, and building upon our Complaiſance, and perhaps upon Aſſurances given them from ſome *Engliſh Portocarrero*'s are already forming Projects to wreſt from us our Religion and Liberty. And we, good natured People, ſhall let the World ſee that *Spain* is not the only Country where *French* Money and Artifices have prevail'd over the National Intereſt. Will not the Parliament rather adviſe and enable his Majeſty once more to take upon him the glorious Taſk of reſcuing *Europe* from Bondage, and ſetting Bounds to the inſatiable Ambition of *France*.

How much ſuch an Enterprize, if it ſucceed, will redound to the Glory, Profit and Security of *England*, is needleſs to mention. It remains therefore only to conſider what Means we have to effect it; that is, what Forces our Confederates and we can bring to bear againſt *France*, and what ſhe can probably oppoſe to us.

To begin with *England*, 'twill be allowed that if ſhe think fit to engage in a War, ſhe can and will maintain a Naval Force; which, with the Aſſiſtance of *Holland* will be ſuperior to that of our Enemies in the Ocean, the *Mediterranean*, and in *America*. The Advantages which ſuch a Maſtery at Sea, well managed, may give us, are too many to be enumerated. That Eight or

Ten

Ten Thouſand Landmen on board our Fleet, may frequently be of very great Uſe, is likewiſe undeniable, and 150,000 *l.* a Year added to the preſent Eſtabliſhment of our Guards and Garriſons will enable us to ſpare ſuch a Force.

We are aſſured that the Emperor, before Spring, will have encreaſed the Troops he has on Foot, which now exceed 70,000 Men, to Ninety Six Thouſand, of which Seventy Thouſand will be employed offenſively againſt *France*, and in *Italy*. The remainder, with the Militia's of his Hereditary Countries, being a Force more than ſufficient to guard his Frontiers. And we are likewiſe aſſured that a Fund for the Maintenance of them is actually ſettled.

The Empire cannot be ſuppoſed to act with leſs than Sixty Thouſand Men, if we conſider how many great Princes of it are under ſtrict Engagements to the Emperor; and that others, as the Elector *Palatine* with all his Eccleſiaſtical Brothers, are moſt nearly concerned to remove the *French* from being their Neighbours in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. The King of *Pruſſia* and the Houſe of *Lunenbourg* alone are known to keep in Pay near Fifty Thouſand Men. It will therefore eaſily be allowed me, that if the whole Empire will exert its utmoſt Strength, it may bring into the Field a far greater Number, and there is no doubt but upon any Emergency it will. But I wou'd be now underſtood to ſpeak only of ſuch a Force as will be conſtantly kept on the Enemies Frontiers ready for Action, beſides the Garriſons which every Prince will be careful to provide for his own Security.

The *Dutch* have had on Foot ever ſince the Peace, Forty Thouſand Men, old Troops, which by filling up their Regiments as they were in time of War, will in ſix Weeks time make Sixty Thouſand as good Men and as well officered as any *France* can oppoſe to them. If that Number be not thought ſufficient for their Defence, it is reaſonable that *England* ſhou'd aſſiſt them with a Body of Twelve Thouſand Men at leaſt, or Money to pay ſuch a Body; or by encreaſing our own Naval Force, and taking upon us a greater Share of the War by Sea, than was done laſt War, eaſe them of ſo conſiderable an Expence as may be equivalent to ſuch or a greater Number of Troops, which by that Means they may be enabled to pay.

Thus we have already reckoned up above 200,000 Men, againſt which *France*, if it mean to have any Succeſs, muſt have at leaſt as many to oppoſe. For we have not found, during the laſt War, that ſhe ever boaſted of any Advantage got over the Confederacy with inferior Numbers.

If beſides theſe, the King of *Portugal* be aſſiſted by the Confederacy, and that to the 20,000 Men, which at leaſt he is allowed to have on Foot, 15,000 either *Germans*, *Engliſh*, or *Dutch* (tho' poſſibly poſſibly Popiſh Troops wou'd be moſt acceptable in that Country be added) and commanded by the Archduke in Perſon, whom with ſuch an Army it muſt be our Care to tranſport thither; let us conſider how *Spain* will be able to oppoſe the Impreſſion ſuch a Force wou'd make.

He that wou'd form a juſt Eſtimate of the Power and Wealth of *Spain* at this time, need only to conſider that *Ceuta* has been beſieged near ten Years by not above Five or Six Thouſand raſcally *Moors*. 'Tis true, ſometimes there

there has been a greater Force before it, but the greateſt Part of the Time, the Beſiegers have not exceeded that Number. And, to defend that Place, *Spain* did within theſe Four or Five Years deſire the Aſſiſtance of *Portugal*, which ſent ſome Companies thither, but they ſoon returned home half ſtarved for want of the Pay they had been promiſed.

Or if we will look back to *Barcelona*, we ſhall find a Town of that Importance, taken without ever having been beſieged; for it never was ſo, properly ſpeaking, the *French* Army being not numerous enough to inveſt it, nor to hinder Succours and Refreſhments of all Kinds, or ſo much as the Poſt from going in and out every Day; notwithſtanding which, and that the Garriſon as well as Townſmen defended it, with great Valour; it was forced to ſurrender, becauſe all *Spain* was not in a Condition to ſupply one ſingle Town with a ſufficient Garriſon. And I am now credibly inform'd, that excepting the *German* Body under the Prince of *Heſſe*, there are not Six Thouſand Men in all their Country, in a Condition to march.

But 'twill be ſaid, they may raiſe Men and have an Army of their own, before you can have tranſported the Force deſign'd for *Portugal*. To which I ſhall only reply, That Men are not to be rais'd without Money, and how much their Government wants that, is evident, by the Difficulties they have been at, to raiſe a ſufficient Sum, for the Reception of their New King; notwithſtanding their utmoſt Effort on ſuch an Occaſion, we are told, that the greateſt Part of his *Spaniſh* Family ſtayed at *Madrid* for want of it, and that thoſe who did go to meet him, made the Journey at their own Expence.

Nor let any Man believe, that their New King, had he the Wiſdom of his Grandfather, can ſo ſoon reform that unhinged Government, as to make it contribute any Thing conſiderable to its own Defence, eſpecially if a War be carried into the Bowels of it immediately. For 'tis certain, that *Spain* has ſubmitted to this Change, purely for fear of a War, which it is in no Condition to make. If therefore it find, that inſtead of Quiet and Eaſe, which was the End it propoſed, it has drawn on itſelf a more ſevere War than *France* could have made, is it not to be hoped, that the People will ſoon be very weary of their New King? That when the Arch-Duke, a Prince of the Family they have been ſo long governed by, ſhall appear among them, he will have a Number of Friends? For 'tis hardly to be imagined, that the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which has reigned there near 200 Years, ſhould ſo ſuddenly have loſt all its Intereſt in that Nation, as to have no Friends left, if they durſt declare and had a Head to reſort to. If we conſider the natural Antipathy, the People of *Spain* have to the *French*, this will appear more probable. And indeed, all Things conſidered, it is not eaſy to imagine, that *France* has any Friends there, except a Court Cabal. The Multitude tricked and betrayed by Courtiers, and finding no Aſſiſtance or Protection at hand, cou'd do no leſs than ſubmit patiently. But if ſuch an Army as is propoſed, were ready to give Countenance to their Male-contents, 'tis not to be doubted but that the Arch-Duke wou'd ſoon be ſaluted King, and the *French* Party either driven out of *Spain* immediately, or be oblig'd to maintain a great Army to

oppoſe

oppoſe the Confederates, who wou'd be daily ſtrengthned by *Spaniards* joining them, and in all Probability wou'd be able to beat the *French* out at laſt.

Thoſe who know how expenſive the laſt War in *Italy* proved to the *French* King, and that the ſmall Army he there maintained againſt the Duke of *Savoy* coſt him more than his vaſt Armies of *Flanders*, will eaſily perceive, that if he be obliged to carry the War to the Frontiers of *Portugal*, it muſt prove much more ruinous to him, ſince from his own Frontiers thither is a March of above 500 Miles, over many Mountains as rugged as the *Alps*, and through a Country barren and diſpeopled, and where ſuch a Force as he muſt bring, cannot ſubſiſt without Convoys from *France*.

If therefore he will ſend an Army of Force ſufficient to keep the Field againſt that of the Confederates, which I ſuppoſe to be of above 30,000 Men, he muſt have beſides his Army in the Field near half that Number diſperſed at convenient Diſtances to ſecure the March of his Convoys and Ammunition, which for the greateſt Part of ſo long a Tract muſt be carried on Mules-Backs over mountainous and narrow Paſſes, where the very Peaſants may intercept and plunder whatever is not ſtrongly guarded.

How prodigious an Expence ſuch a War muſt draw upon him, the moſt unexperienced Reader will readily judge; and I believe I may with great Modeſty affirm, that Forty-five Thouſand Men, which I ſuppoſe him obliged to maintain there, will coſt him much more than three Times that Number in *Flanders*. If to this we add, that the whole Coaſt of *Spain* will lie expoſed to the Inſults of our Fleet, that we may perhaps take *Cadiz* by the Aſſiſtance of our Confederate Army in *Portugal*, and put all *Andaluzia*, the richeſt Province in *Spain*, under Contribution; it ſeems reaſonable to believe that *Spain*, to be delivered from ſuch Miſchiefs, will ſide with the Confederates to drive out the *French*, who will not probably behave themſelves towards the *Spaniards*, ſo as to leſſen the natural Averſion they have for each other.

If to what has been ſaid, it be objected, that the King of *Portugal* has acknowledged the Duke of *Anjou*, and that therefore he will not join with us.

I anſwer, That till he cou'd be ſecure that *England* and *Holland*, who alone can aſſiſt him effectually againſt *Spain* and *France*, wou'd engage heartily in ſuch a War, 'twas the moſt adviſeable Courſe he cou'd take to court an Enemy he cou'd not ſingly deal with. But we cannot believe but that a Prince, who paſſes in the World to have Courage, muſt be highly provoked by the Slurr lately put upon him by the *French*, who having omitted no Arts to engage him to be a Guarantee of the Treaty of Partition, and promiſed him *Badajos* and *Alcantara*, two *Spaniſh* Towns on his Frontiers, have thus baſely tricked him. The Intereſt he has beſides to ſecure his Crown to his Deſcendants, is an invincible Argument for him to oppoſe the preſent Union of *France* and *Spain*.

For as high a Conceit as the *Portugueſe* have of their own Valour, they cannot be ſo extravagant as to think themſelves an equal Match to *Spain*, when it ſhall be governed by a wiſe and active Prince, backed with the Fleets and Armies of *France*. The Eaſe with which *Philip* the Second conquered them, and the Aſſiſtance they ſtood in Need of from *France* and *England* to

ſupport

ſupport their laſt Defection from *Spain*, tho' *Spain* was then engaged in a War with *France*, and that *Catalonia* was revolted at the ſame Time, make it evident that their great Security conſiſts in having for their Neighbour a King of *Spain*, who ſhall always have ſuch a Jealouſy of *France* as may divert him from the Thoughts of reducing *Portugal*, and againſt whom they may be ſure to be aſſiſted by *France*, if he ſhou'd attempt it. Which whether they are to expect hereafter, it behoves them to conſider now.

But is it not far more probable that the King of *France*, whom we may certainly conclude reſolved never to part with *Flanders* (even though we wou'd ſuppoſe him willing to part with the Body of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy) will propoſe the Conqueſt of *Portugal* for an Equivalent to the *Spaniards*; ſuch an Expedient will ſeem agreeable to the Intereſts and Inclinations of both thoſe Crowns. For *France* has for ſome Ages looked upon *Flanders* as a Province diſmember'd from its Patrimony, as it really was by the Dukes of *Burgundy*, and it has been long aiming to reunite it. And as for *Portugal*, its Situation contiguous to the Body of *Spain*, makes it of greater Conſequence to that Nation, than a Province ſo remote and expoſed as *Flanders*. Beſides, they will be pleaſed with the Thoughts of humbling, by the Help of *France*, thoſe proud Vaſſals they have ever hated, even more than their *Dutch* Heretick Rebels. Their having lately added *Portugal* to the Title of their new King, contrary to what was practiſed by his Predeceſſor, and the Arms of *Portugal* having been in ſome Scutcheons lately quartered with thoſe of the other Kingdoms of *Spain*, do ſufficiently tell the *Portugueſe* how the *Spaniards* are inclined to them.

Theſe Conſiderations ſeem then to put it out of Diſpute, that the *Portugueſe* will not miſs ſuch an Opportunity as now preſents itſelf of ſecuring, by our Aſſiſtance, their future Independency, by placing on the Throne of *Spain* a Prince, who will be ſo highly obliged to them for ſuch a Service, that he will never have any Deſire to hurt them; or who, ſhou'd he prove ungrateful, will not have it in his Power, ſince *France* will be ever ready to hinder ſuch an Increaſe of Dominion as *Portugal* wou'd be to the Arch-Duke, ſhould he become King of *Spain*.

Taking it therefore for granted, that the Powers above-named can, and will, bring ſuch a Force as has been mention'd, to bear againſt our Enemy, let us conſider how able he will be to furniſh out ſo many Land Armies, and provide at the ſame Time for the Defence of a Coaſt, ſeveral Thouſands of Miles in Extent. To make as near as may be a true Eſtimate of his Wealth and Power, I ſhall give my Reader an Account he may depend upon, of ſome Particulars relating to his Revenues, and the Number of his Forces at different Times.

His whole Revenue did, in the Year 1666, amount to 126 Millions of Livres, which reduced to *Engliſh* Money, according as the Exchange went then, that is, reckoning Thirteen Livres to the Pound Sterling, wou'd make Nine Millions and about Six Hundred Thouſand Pounds; it produced the Two laſt Years only One Hundred and Seven Millions, which reduced to *Engliſh* Money, according as the Exchange has gone for that Time, *viz.*

at

at Fifteen Livres to the Pound Sterling, (which Difference of the Exchange has been occaſion'd by the raiſing the Standard of his Coin) make about Seven Millions One Hundred and Forty Thouſand Pounds; by which Computation 'tis evident, they are ſunk above Two Millions Four Hundred Thouſand Pounds Sterling, that is at leaſt one Fourth Part of what they were at the Time before-mention'd; which plainly ſhews, that the People and Wealth of *France* are decreaſed ſince that Time, at leaſt in the ſame Proportion, ſince we may reaſonably conclude, that the King's Revenues have been managed as carefully, and collected as rigorouſly, in his late Times of Need, as they were heretofore.

The King's Income is diminiſhed in a far greater Proportion, it being clogged with a Debt of Five Hundred Millions only to the *Hoſtell de Ville*, or Town Houſe of *Paris*, for which he pays Intereſt at Five *per Cent.* Twenty-five Millions, that is near One Million Seven Hundred Thouſand Pounds Sterling. He pays beſides another Sort of Intereſt, by way of Salaries, for a conſiderable Multitude of new Offices erected and bought, many of them ſince the Beginning of the laſt War, which amounts at leaſt to ſo much as will make the Intereſt Money already mention'd, exceed Two Millions Sterling; ſo that he has coming in clear not full Five Millions Sterling.

'Tis farther obſervable, that ſince the Peace he has not paid One Shilling of the Capital, but inſtead thereof has taken up more Money, which indeed has not increaſed the Intereſt he pays (unleſs it may be what he has borrowed theſe laſt Twelve or Eighteen Months) becauſe he reduced the Intereſt payed to all thoſe, who lent their Money during his moſt preſſing Exigencies at Six, Seven and Eight *per Cent.* to Five; which Defalcation he has appropriated to pay the Intereſt of what he has ſince borrowed. 'Tis true he has ſuppreſſed ſome of the erected New Offices, which were moſt burthenſome to the People. But how? Why? It being unreaſonable, that ſuch as had aſſiſted him with Money during the War ſhou'd be Loſers, he has graciouſly condeſcended that ſuch Provinces or Towns, as were moſt grieved by theſe Offices, ſhou'd repay to the Perſons poſſeſſed of them, their principal Purchaſe Money.

Before I ſay any more on this Head, I will mention a Word about his Land Forces, which for ſome Time, during the War, are ſaid to have exceeded 300,000 Men, beſides thoſe on board his Fleet. But ſince the laſt Reduction, made about the latter End of the Year 99, they were brought to be barely 120,000 Men, and ſo continued till the King of *Spain*'s Death, juſt before which Orders were iſſued for an Augmentation to be made againſt *January* laſt, which was to have increaſed them to 156,000; and which is not yet fully perfected.

I know 'tis generally thought he was much ſtronger; but Liſts of all the Regiments are to be had with Eaſe; which, if Regard be had to the Reductions made at ſeveral Times, will be found to agree perfectly with the Account I give. Yet, notwithſtanding ſo great a Reduction of his Forces, which ought to have leſſened his Expence, 'tis moſt certainly known, that the very laſt Year his Expence exceeded his Income One Million Sterling.

'Tis true that, beſides his ordinary Revenue, he has had extraordinary Ways of Raiſing Money; as the Sale of Offices already mentioned, frequently Raiſing and Falling the Standard of his Money, *Dons gratuits*, which People are made to pay *per* Force, Regiſtring Titles of Gentility, Taxing Partizans, that is, thoſe who have had the Managing of his Revenues, who were laſt Year forced to refund near a Million Sterling, and many other Expedients, which in Time we may be better acquainted with, if we are pleaſed to let him go on quietly; but theſe have all been ſo often made uſe of, that they will be found to be of very ſmall Reſource for the future, in a Country ſo much exhauſted by them already.

What has ſtood him in greateſt Stead for ſome Years, during the laſt War, was the Capitation, which brought him in above Three Millions Sterling yearly, and which he muſt again have Recourſe to: But how grievous an Impoſition that was thought, and how ruinous it muſt prove to his Country, if he ſhou'd be under the Neceſſity of continuing it but a few Years, I appeal to any who have been there, and heard the heavy Complaints it occaſioned. But a ſtronger Proof cannot be required to ſhew how deſtructive the Continuance of it wou'd have proved, than that the King took it off. For his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty has generally been obſerved to lay as great a Load on his People as they cou'd bear. Since then he was pleaſed to eaſe them of this Tax, when he wanted not ſo ſpecious a Pretence to continue it, as the great Debts he had contracted, we may be ſure he knew it cou'd not be done without utterly ruining, and diſabling them to pay at all.

Having thus briefly touched upon the preſent Condition of *France*, and having a little before ſhewn that *France*, if it will make a ſucceſsful War, will, beſides the neceſſary Garriſons of his Sea-ports, be obliged to maintain 247,000 Men, *viz.* 60,000 againſt the Forces of the Empire, 40,000 againſt that Part of the Emperor's Troops which will act on the *Rhine*, 72,000 againſt the *Dutch*, 30,000 againſt the Emperor's Army in *Italy*, and 45,000 in *Spain*. If beſides Attention be made to what has been ſaid concerning the prodigious Expence of his laſt *Italian* War, which he muſt again renew, and to the Reaſons there are to believe that the War he muſt make in *Spain* will be liable to the ſame, and greater Inconveniencies, ſince the Seat of War will be three Times at leaſt more remote from his Frontiers than *Piedmont* was. Will not the greateſt Partizan of *France* own, that here is Work enough cut out for that Great Monarch, who muſt immediately raiſe or hire at leaſt 100,000 Men, and equip out a prodigious Fleet? Or, if he will decline the Expence of Naval Armies, he muſt conſiderably reinforce all his Sea-port Garriſons, and have a very great Number of Men to guard his Coaſts.

Then if it be true that his ordinary Revenue fell ſhort One Million Sterling of maintaining the ordinary Expences of his Government, and of 120,000 Men, muſt not that Million be made good, and muſt not near 200,000 Landmen more, beſides his Fleet and the other neceſſary Expences of a War, be defrayed out of the Capitation, and out of ſuch Money as he muſt borrow? But out of the Capitation, ſuppoſing that it may again raiſe Three Millions, there can be applied but Two Millions towards theſe vaſt Extraordinaries; which

which if, by a modeſt Computation, we ſhall reckon at Six Millions Sterling, it is evident that he muſt every Year contract a new Debt of Four Millions Sterling, beſides a Growing Intereſt, which added to his already immenſe Debt, muſt in a few Years abſorb the greateſt Part of his Revenue in Intereſt.

'Twill, I know, be objected, that the laſt War has ſhewn his Power to be matchleſs, that he then maintain'd 400,000 Men by Sea and Land, why therefore may he not do the ſame again? why? For that very Reaſon, becauſe a Man who has but One Thouſand Pound *per Ann.* has for Ten Years together ſpent Two Thouſand Pound Yearly, do's it therefore follow, that he may do ſo ten Years longer? States in this reſemble private Men, that if they for a conſiderable Time expend more than 'tis poſſible for their Subjects to furniſh Yearly, they may, nay muſt, inevitably be ruined. And that a State may become Bankrupt, *Spain* ſufficiently witneſſeth, which had once a Fund of Wealth thought inexhauſtible, and without Compariſon greater than that of *France*.

If I ſhould in the Sequel of this Diſcourſe, propoſe our paying Five Millions yearly towards a War, and our maintaining Eighty Thouſand *Engliſh* or Foreign Troops Abroad, becauſe we did ſo during the laſt War; the Weakneſs of ſuch an Argument wou'd be obvious, and I ſhou'd with Juſtice be anſwered, that we have thereby contracted a conſiderable Debt, which every honeſt *Engliſhman* ought to deſire to ſee pay'd off, rather than encreaſed. And yet the Parallel will not fully hold between *England* and *France*. Becauſe *England* never has been, and I hope never will be ſcrued up like *France*, to pay to the utmoſt Extremity of what it is able, and for that Reaſon might comparatively with Eaſe, get rid of a far greater Debt than it now owes; Whereas *France*, unleſs it ſhall by our Inactivity get the *Weſt-Indies*, will never be able to pay its principal Debt, but daily encreaſe it to its utter Ruin, if we neglect not this favourable Opportunity of preſſing her, before the Monarchy of *Spain*, which is at preſent a Burthen to her, be ſo modelled, as to make their United Power irreſiſtible.

From what has been ſaid I leave it to my Reader to draw Concluſions, being unwilling to foreſtal his Judgment, concerning the Succeſs of a War carry'd on in the Manner propoſed. His own Sagacity cannot but ſuggeſt to him many Reflections to the Advantage of *England*, which are naturally deducible from the foregoing Diſcourſe. I ſhall therefore haſten to the Concluſion of it, and only take Notice of the moſt material Objections which can be made againſt a War, *viz.*

Either the neceſſary Expence 'twill draw on us, or the Prejudice we may ſuſtain by the Interruption of our Trade.

To the firſt I anſwer, that in the Manner it has been propoſed, that *England* ſhall make a War, we may do it at an annual Expence, at moſt of One Million Eight Hundred and Fifty Thouſand Pounds, more than wou'd otherwiſe be levied. For we will take it for granted, that though we remain in Peace, we ſhould find it neceſſary to maintain at leaſt as great a Sea Force, as was done the Firſt Year after the Peace, that wou'd coſt us Eight Hundred

Thouſand Pounds, to which if we ſhall add One Million Two Hundred Thouſand Pounds for the War, 'twill abundantly ſtrengthen our Fleet; eſpecially if we conſider that out of the Forces now on Foot in the three Kingdoms, Eight or Ten Thouſand Men may be kept on board it, which will ſave the Expence of near ſuch a Number of Seamen. The Aid propoſed to be given the *Dutch* whether in Men or Money, or in taking upon us a greater Proportion of the War by Sea, will come within 200,000 *l.* The Addition propoſed to our Forces in the three Kingdoms to fill up Regiments to a neceſſary Complement may be limited to 150,000 *l.* And if beſides all this it be thought requiſite to furniſh 300,000 *l.* Yearly to enable the King of *Portugal* and Archduke to preſs our Enemies on their weak Side, this whole Additional Expence will amount to 1,850,000 *l.* which whether *England* be not better able to bear, than it has been ſhewn that *France* can the neceſſary annual Extraordinaries of 66,000,000 *l.* Sterling, which ſuch a War muſt force it to levy, let the moſt partial *Frenchman* determine.

I will not then ſuppoſe that any *Engliſhman* will think the Preſervation of his Religion and Liberty too nearly purchaſed at this Rate. Such an undervaluing of thoſe Bleſſings none can be capable of, whoſe Hearts are not hardened, and who are not doomed to utter Perdition. But that cannot be thought of a People whom the Hand of God hath ſo lately reſcued from the imminent Danger they were in of loſing both; nor can it be preſumed that they will now ſo far tempt his Providence, as to neglect the Opportunity he has viſibly put into their Hands; not only of ſecuring to themſelves for ever thoſe ineſtimable Bleſſings, but likewiſe of propagating his holy Goſpel, by procuring Eaſe to the many perſecuted Proteſtants both of *France* and *Germany*. For can the Emperor now refuſe us any Thing of that Kind, which we ſhall think fit to ſtipulate? and may we not promiſe ourſelves in a few Years, to have ſo far humbled *France* as will be neceſſary for ſo good an End? As to what may be objected concerning Trade, I anſwer, That granting our Trade to the *Streights* ſhould ſuffer an Interruption by the War, ſuch an Inconvenience wou'd be far leſs than the total Loſs of it, not only thither, but to the *Weſt-Indies*, beſides the Loſs of the Manufacture of our fine Drapery, which it has been proved, will be one of the neceſſary Conſequences of our ſitting ſtill.

Yet I can ſee no Neceſſity of granting that our *Turky* and *Italian* Trades will ſuffer by the War, if we will ſuppoſe our Maritime Affairs to be well managed. The War we are to make muſt be altogether by Sea, and conſequently implies a Neceſſity of our having every Summer a ſtrong Fleet in the *Mediterranean* to harraſs our Enemies there; why then our Traders thither may not be protected by that ſame Force, I cannot ſee. And if ſtrict Prohibitions be made againſt any Ships going thither, but under the Convoy of our Men of War at ſet Seaſons; 'tis probable much fewer will be loſt than were during the laſt War. For the Convenience of being ſheltered in *Spaniſh* Ports, proved a Temptation then for many Merchant Ships to run without Convoy: whereas none will now be ſo adventurous as to hazard a Run to *Turky* or to *Italy* along ſo vaſt a Tract of an Enemies Coaſt. Our Trade to

Spain

Spain itſelf, which I own to be very conſiderable, will indeed be at a Stand, till the Succeſs of our Confederate Armies and Fleets re-admit us thither; but then a moderate Strength well managed in *America* will abundantly compenſate for that Loſs.

Whoever knows the Weakneſs of the *Spaniards*, in thoſe Parts, and remembers that *Pointi* with a Handful of Men took *Carthagena*, a well fortified Town, and which had five Times the Number of Men to defend it that he had on board his Ships, cannot deny but there is a plentiful Harveſt for whoever can ſend a good Fleet to gather it. If we take Care to have a Force in thoſe Seas ſuperior to the *French*, our Plantations are ſo conveniently ſituated, that not a Galleon coming or going can eſcape us. How much ſuch an Interruption of all Commerce thither wou'd diſtreſs *Spain* is apparent, and it probably might be none of the weakeſt Reaſons to incline that People to ſide with us.

The Wealth we ſhall thereby acquire will not only defray the Expence of the Force we ſhall maintain there, but with good Management, may go a great Way towards the Charge of the whole War: and 'twill be the Fault of our Commanders if all the *French* Colonies there be not rooted out, which for theſe Reaſons we ought chiefly to aim at. 1*ſt*, It will greatly weaken the *French* Power at Sea, by deſtroying ſo great a Nurſery of their Seamen. 2*dly*, We ſhall loſe a dangerous Rival in our Sugar Trade as well as in ſome others, which they have common with us by Means of their Colonies in the Southern Iſles. 3*dly*, This will very much increaſe our Trade in *Africa*, for Negroes; and ruin that of the *French*. For every one knows that none can carry on a Trade for Negroes, but ſuch as have a Footing in *America*. The Conſequence therefore of our expelling the *French*, will be, that the *Spaniards* muſt depend abſolutely upon us for their Negroes, without which their Mines will be barren, beſides that, our Power being freed from ſuch a Rivalſhip, will be ſo much ſuperior to any Thing in thoſe Parts of the World, that the *Spaniards* can have no Ballance, nor Force there to protect them againſt us: ſo that for fear of their Plate Fleets, and of their very Empire in *America*, 'twill be always in our Power to obtain greater Privileges from them in our Trade thither, than any other Nation cou'd pretend to, for which Reaſons I ſubmit it to every *Engliſhman*, whether it ought not to be one of our great Aims, by this War, utterly to extirpate the *French* out of *America?* Such an Undertaking will appear more feaſible, if we conſider that Matters may be ſo carried, as to deprive the *French* from any Aſſiſtance from the *Spaniards*, which I believe may be done by conſenting to a Neutrality with all the *Spaniſh* Continent and Iſlands, on Condition they ſhall, during the War, allow us a free Trade with them.

If ſuch a Neutrality can be manag'd, we ſhall not only with greater Eaſe deſtroy the *French* there, which ought to be our principal Aim, but probably be greater Gainers by a free Trade, than by the Plunder of their Country; if we make War upon it, it wou'd certainly prove more beneficial to the Trading Intereſt and Manufactures of *England*. For if by our Naval Power there, we hinder that vaſt Country from being ſupplied with any *European* Commodities, from any other Hand, ſhall we not have a prodigious Vent for all the Manu-

factures of our own Growth, as well as for our *East-India* Commodities and Linnen, &c.

May not the Acceſs we ſhall thus get to thoſe People, introduce a Vent for many of our Commodities, which the *Spaniards* have always induſtriouſly kept from their Knowledge? Shall we not likewiſe trade to a far greater Advantage than has been done hitherto, ſince we have always been obliged to truſt the *Spaniards* at *Cadiz*, who certainly ſhared the Profit with us? beſides the Exorbitant Indulto's or Duties exacted by the Government both in *Europe* and *America*.

May we not thus during the War, give a Beginning to ſuch a Commerce directly from our Plantations to the *Spaniſh* Continent, as may be continued after a Peace, to the unſpeakable Benefit of *England?* for when once the *Americans* will have diſcovered at how much more eaſy Rates we can ſupply them than the *Spaniards* have done, will they not for their own Sakes endeavour to continue it? and ſhall we not have Reaſon to expect the Allowance of it, from the new King we ſhall have ſeated on the *Spaniſh* Throne?

This Notion of a Neutrality may diſpleaſe the *Buccaneers*, and perhaps our Sea Commanders, who wou'd find their Account better by plundering that rich Country. And it may perhaps be thought ridiculous to ſuppoſe that the Government of thoſe Provinces, who will have ſtrict Orders to do all they can to extirpate us, can ever be brought to conſent to it. But to that I anſwer, that if we have a Power ſufficient to burn and deſtroy their Country, 'tis much more probable that the preſent Terror of our Arms, will prevail with that wealthy, but defenceleſs People, than the Orders they ſhall receive from the unſettled Government of *Spain*; and that they will much more willingly part with their Gold and Silver, in return for our Commodities, which 'tis in our Power to hinder them from being ſupply'd with any other Way, than expoſe themſelves to be plundered of their Riches and their Maritime Provinces, to utter Deſtruction.

We know that the *French* Fleets during the laſt War have frequently been ſupplied with Refreſhments of all kinds, from the Governors of ſeveral Maritime Towns of *Spain* itſelf, how much more likely is it then, that the remote Provinces we are ſpeaking of, will, by a like Compliance, endeavour to ſhun their utter Ruin? Eſpecially when they will be in doubt of the Fate of their Mother Country; or to which of the Princes contending for the Empire of it, they will owe their Obedience: In ſuch an Uncertainty will not a weak and rich Country, incline to ſuch Meaſures as will bring Security and Profit? The Advantages that wou'd accrue to us from ſuch a Neutrality, appear to be ſo great, that we ought carefully to court them to it. And ſhou'd that Method fail, we ſhall ſtill have it in our Power, to make them repent their not accepting of it, and by harſher Means to acquire an immenſe Treaſure.

POST-

POSTSCRIPT.

SOME Addreſſes of the Houſe of Commons to King *Charles* the Second, relating to *Flanders*, have been mention'd in the foregoing Diſcourſe: Since the Printing of which, we have News from *Paris*, that Orders are ſent there to Mareſchal *Boufflers*, not only to take Poſſeſſion of all the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, but to diſarm and ſeize the *Dutch* Troops in Garriſon there; and we have Reaſon to fear, that thoſe Orders are already executed. It may therefore not be unſeaſonable to offer to the Publick, the very Addreſſes made to King *Charles*, with his Anſwers; by which it will appear, what was the Senſe of *England* at that Time, upon the Progreſs of the *French* Arms in thoſe Provinces.

March the 6th, 1676. The Houſe being reſolved into a Committee of the whole Houſe, to conſider of Grievances.

Reſolved,

That a Committee be appointed to prepare an Addreſs, to repreſent unto His Majeſty the Danger of the Power of France; *and to deſire His Majeſty, by ſuch Alliances as His Majeſty ſhall think fit, to ſecure His Kingdoms, and quiet the Fears of His People, and for the Preſervation and Securing of the* Spaniſh Netherlands.

March the 10th, Mr. *Powle* reported from the Committee the following Addreſs, which was preſented, read and agreed to, *Nemine Contradicente.*

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

WE Your Majeſty's moſt Loyal Subjects, the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes in Parliament Aſſembled, find ourſelves obliged in Duty and Faithfulneſs to Your Majeſty, and in diſcharge of the Truſt repoſed in us, by thoſe whom we repreſent, moſt humbly to offer to Your Majeſty's ſerious Conſideration, that the Minds of your Majeſty's People are much diſquieted, with the manifeſt Danger ariſing to Your Majeſty's Kingdoms by the Growth and Power of the French *King; eſpecially by the Acquiſitions already made, and the further Progreſs likely to be made by him in the* Spaniſh Netherlands, *in the Preſervation and Security whereof, we humbly conceive the Intereſt of Your Majeſty, and the Safety of Your People, are highly concerned; and therefore we moſt humbly beſeech Your Majeſty to take the ſame into Your Royal Care, and to ſtrengthen Your Self with ſuch ſtricter Alliances, as may ſecure Your Majeſty's Kingdoms, and preſerve and ſecure the ſaid* Netherlands, *and thereby quiet the Minds of Your Majeſty's People.*

Reſolved,

That the Concurrence of the Lords be deſired to the ſaid Addreſs; and that Mr. Powle *do go up to the Lords to deſire their Concurrence.*

And upon the 15th of *March*, the Lords ſent Word, *That they had agreed to the Addreſs, and that his Majeſty had appointed both Houſes to attend him, to preſent their Addreſs, to Morrow, at Three of the Clock in the Afternoon, in the Banqueting Houſe at* Whitehall.

March

March the 16th, The Addreſs was preſented to his Majeſty by both Houſes.

And *March* the 17th, Mr. *Speaker* reported to the Houſe, that according to the Order and Command of the Houſe, he had attended his Majeſty in preſenting the Addreſs; and that the Lord Chancellor having introduced it with a ſhort Preface, and then read it: His Majeſty was pleaſed to return his Anſwer to this Effect.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Am of the Opinion of my Two Houſes of Parliament, that the Conſervation of Flanders *is of great Importance to* England; *and therefore I aſſure you, I will uſe all Means for the Preſervation of* Flanders, *that can poſſibly conſiſt with the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom.*

March the 19th, A Motion being made for a farther Addreſs to his Majeſty, to enter into a ſtrict and ſpeedy Alliance with the Confederates.

Reſolved,

That the Debate of this Motion be adjourned till Monday *Morning next, at Ten of the Clock.*

Monday, March the 26th, The Houſe then proceeded upon the Debate of the Motion for a further Addreſs to his Majeſty, to enter into a ſpeedy and ſtrict Alliance with the Confederates.

Reſolved,

That a farther Addreſs be made to his Majeſty, giving Him Aſſurance that if (in Purſuance of the Addreſs, preſented to his Majeſty from both Houſes) His Majeſty ſhall find himſelf neceſſitated to enter into a War, this Houſe will fully aid His Majeſty from Time to Time, and aſſiſt Him in that War.

The 29th of *March*, The following Addreſs was reported, and agreed unto by the Houſe.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

WE Your Majeſty's moſt loyal Subjects, the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes in Parliament aſſembled, do, with unſpeakable Joy and Comfort, preſent our humble Thanks to Your Majeſty, for Your Majeſty's gracious Acceptance of our late Addreſs, and that Your Majeſty was pleaſed, in Your Princely Wiſdom, to expreſs Your Concurrence and Opinion with Your Two Houſes, in reference to the Preſervation of the Spaniſh Netherlands. *And we do, with moſt earneſt and repeated Deſires, implore Your Majeſty, That You would be pleaſed to take timely Care to prevent thoſe Dangers that may ariſe to theſe Kingdoms by the great Power of the* French *King, and the Progreſs he daily makes in thoſe* Netherlands *and other Places. And therefore that Your Majeſty would not defer the entring into ſuch Alliances as may obtain thoſe Ends; and in caſe it ſhall happen that, in purſuance of ſuch Alliances, Your Majeſty ſhall be engaged in a War with the* French *King, we do hold ourſelves obliged, and do with all Humility and Chearfulneſs aſſure Your Majeſty, That we Your moſt loyal Subjects ſhall always be ready, upon Your Signification thereof in Parliament, fully, and from*

Time

Time to Time, to aſſiſt Your Majeſty with ſuch Aids and Supplies, as, by the Divine Aſſiſtance, may enable Your Majeſty to proſecute the ſame with Succeſs.

All which we do moſt humbly offer to Your Majeſty, as the unanimous Senſe and Deſire of the whole Nation.

March 30, 1677.

IT was alledged againſt this Addreſs, that to preſs the King to make further Alliances with the Confederates againſt the *French* King, was in effect to preſs him to a War, that being the direct and unavoidable Conſequence thereof.

That the Conſideration of War was moſt proper for the King, who had Intelligence of Foreign Affairs, and knew the *Arcana Imperii*.

That it was a dangerous Thing haſtily to incite the King to a War.

That our Merchant-ſhips and Effects would be preſently ſeized by the *French* King within his Dominions, and thereby he would acquire the Value of, it may be, near a Million to enable him to maintain the War againſt us.

That he would fall upon our Plantations, and take, plunder, and annoy them.

That he would ſend out Abundance of Capers, and take and diſturb all our Trading Ships in theſe Seas, and the *Mediterranean*.

That we had not ſo many Ships of War as he, and thoſe thirty which were to be built with the 600,000 *l.* now given, could not be finiſhed in two Years.

That we had not Naval Stores and Ammunition, *&c.* ſufficient for ſuch a Purpoſe, and if we had, yet the Seaſon of the Year was too far advanced to ſet out a conſiderable Fleet: and we could not now lay in Beef, Pork, *&c.*

That when we were engag'd in a War, the *Dutch* would likely ſlip Collar, leave us in the War, and ſo gain to themſelves the ſingular Advantage of ſole trading in Peace, which is the Privilege we now enjoy, and ſhould not be weary of.

That it was next to impoſſible to make Alliances with the ſeveral Parties, as might be expected, ſuch, and ſo various were the ſeveral Intereſts and Croſs-biaſſes, of and amongſt the *Emperor*, the *Spaniard*, the *Dane*, the *Dutch*, the *Brandenburg*, and the ſeveral leſſer Princes of *Germany*, and others.

That we may eaſily enter into War, but it would be hard to find the Way out of it, and a long War would be deſtructive to us; for though the *Emperor*, *French*, *Spaniard*, &c. uſe to maintain War for many Years, yet a trading Nation, as *England* is, could not endure a long-winded War.

On the other Side it was ſaid;

That they did not addreſs for making War, but making Leagues, which might be a Means to prevent War.

That the beſt Way to preſerve a Peace, was to be in a Preparation for War.

That admitting a War ſhould enſue thereupon, as was not unlikely, yet that would tend to our Peace and Safety in Concluſion; for it muſt be agreed,

that if the Power of *France* were not reduced, and brought to a more equal Ballance with its Neighbours, we muſt fight or ſubmit firſt or laſt.

That it was commonly the Fate of thoſe that kept themſelves Neutral, when their Neighbours were at War, to become a Prey to the Conqueror.

That now or never was the Critical Seaſon to make War upon the *French*, whilſt we may have ſo great Auxiliary Conjunction; and if it were a dangerous and formidable Thing to encounter him now, how much more would it be ſo when this Opportunity was loſt, the Confederacy diſbanded, a Peace made on the other Side of the Water, and we left alone to withſtand him ſingle.

That as to his ſeizing our Merchants Effects, the Caſe was the ſame, and no other now than it would be three Years hence, or at any Time whenſoever the War ſhall commence.

That as to our Plantations and our Traders, we muſt conſider, though the *French* was powerful, he was not omnipotent, and we might as well defend them as the *Dutch* do theirs, by Guards, Convoys, *&c.* and chiefly when the *French* have ſo many Enemies, and we ſhall have ſo many Friends, as no other Time is like to afford.

That they were ſorry to hear we had no Ships, Stores, *&c.* equal to the *French*, and to our Occaſions, and hoped it would appear to be otherwiſe.

That the Seaſon was not ſo far ſpent but that a competent Fleet might be ſet out this Summer, and that however deficient we might be in this Kind, the *Dutch* were forward and ready to make an effectual Supplement in that Behalf.

That howſoever ill and falſe ſome Men might eſteem the *Dutch*, yet *Intereſt will not lie*, and it is ſo much their Intereſt to confine and bring down the *French*, that it is not to be apprehended, but they will ſteadily adhere to every Friend and every Alliance they ſhall join with for that Purpoſe.

That however croſs and diverſe the ſeveral Confederates and their Intereſts were, yet a common Alliance may be made with them againſt the *French*, and as well as they have allied themſelves together, as well may the Alliance be extended to another, to be added to them, *viz.* The King of *England*.

That a numerous and vigorous Conjunction againſt him, is the Way to ſhorten the Work, whereas, if he ſhould hereafter attack us ſingly, he would continue the War on us as long as he pleaſed, till he pleaſed to make an End of it and us together, by our final Deſtruction.

That if now we ſhould neglect to make Alliances, we had no Cauſe to expect to have one Friend, when the *French* ſhould make Peace beyond Sea, and ſingle us out for Conqueſt; for all that are conjoined againſt the *French* are provoked and diſobliged by reaſon of the great Number of *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, and *Iriſh*, which have ſerved, and do ſtill ſerve the *French*, and it was proved at the Bar of this Houſe within this Fortnight, That 1000 Men were levied in *Scotland*, and ſent to the *French* Service in *January* laſt, and ſome of them by Force and Preſſing.

Alſo

Alſo that it was underſtood and reſented, that we had mainly contributed to this overgrown Greatneſs of the *French*, by ſelling *Dunkirk*, that ſpecial Key and Inlet of *Flanders*, by making War on the *Dutch*, in 1665. Whereupon the *French* joined with the *Dutch*, under which Shelter and Opportunity the *French* King laid the Foundation of this great Fleet he now hath; buying then many great Ships of the *Dutch*, and building many others: As to which, but for that Occaſion, the *Dutch* would have denied and hindred him, but not obſerving the Triple League, and by our making a joint War with the *French* againſt the *Dutch*, in which the *French* yet proceeds and triumphs: So that in this Reſpect we have much to redeem and retrieve.

That Enmity againſt the *French* was the Thing wherein this divided Nation did unite; and this Occaſion was to be laid hold on, as an Opportunity of Moment amongſt ourſelves.

That the Bent and Weight of the Nation did lean this Way; and that was a ſtrong Inducement and Argument to incline their Repreſentatives.

That it had been made appear, and that in Parliament, that upon the Ballance of the *French* Trade, this Nation was determined yearly Nine Hundred Thouſand Pounds, or a Million, the Value of the Goods imported from *France*, annually ſo much exceeding that of the Goods exported hence thither; whereby it is evident, that ſuch a Sum of the Treaſure and Money of the Nation was yearly exhauſted and carried into *France*, and all this by unneceſſary Wines, Silks, Ribbons, Feathers, *&c.* The ſaving and retrenching of which Expence and Exhauſtion, will in a great degree ſerve to maintain the Charge of a War.

That the preſent was the beſt Time for the Purpoſe; and that this would give Reputation to the Confederates, and Comfort and Courage to our beſt Friends immediately, and Safety to Ourſelves in Futurity, againſt the *old perpetual Enemy of* England.

The Second Addreſs was preſented to His Majeſty *March* the 30th; and no Anſwer return'd till *April* the 11th. In which Interval the News came of the *French* taking of *Valenciennes* and *St. Omers*, and the Defeat of the Prince of *Orange* at *Mont-Caſſel.* Upon which this following Anſwer was offered to the Speaker from his Majeſty by Mr. Secretary *Williamſon.*

C. R.

HIS Majeſty having conſidered your laſt Addreſs, and finding ſome late Alterations in Affairs Abroad, thinks it neceſſary to put you in Mind, that the only Way to prevent the Dangers which may ariſe to theſe Kingdoms, muſt be by putting His Majeſty timely in a Condioion to make ſuch fitting Preparations, as may enable Him to do what may be moſt for the Security of them. And if for this Reaſon you ſhall deſire to ſit any longer Time, His Majeſty is content you may adjourn now before Eaſter; *and meet again ſuddenly after to ripen this Matter, and to perfect ſome of the moſt neceſſary Bills now depending.*

Given at Our Court at *Whitehall*, the 11th of *April* 1677.

This occaſioned a long Debate, and concluded in Voting the following Anſwer, which was preſented to His Majeſty by the Speaker and the whole Houſe, on *Friday*, *April* 13. 1677.

May it pleaſe Your moſt Excellent Majeſty,

WE Your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, do with great Satisfaction of Mind obſerve the Regard Your Majeſty is pleaſed to expreſs to our former Addreſſes, by Intimating to us the late Alteration of Affairs abroad, and do return our moſt humble Thanks for Your Majeſty's moſt gracious Offer made to us thereupon in your laſt Meſſage: and having taken a ſerious Deliberation of the ſame, and of the Preparations Your Majeſty hath therein intimated to us were fitting to be made in order to thoſe publick Ends, we have for the preſent provided a Security in a Bill for an Additional Duty of Exciſe, upon which Your Majeſty may raiſe the Sum of 200,000 l. *And if Your Majeſty ſhall think fit to call us together again for this Purpoſe, in ſome ſhort Time after* Eaſter, *by any publick Signification of Your Majeſty's Pleaſure, commanding our Attendance; we ſhall at our next Meeting not only be ready to re-imburſe Your Majeſty what Sums of Money ſhall be expended upon ſuch extraordinary Preparations, as ſhall be made in purſuance of our former Addreſſes; but ſhall likewiſe with moſt chearful Hearts proceed both then, and at all other Times, to furniſh Your Majeſty with ſo large Proportions of Aſſiſtance and Supplies upon this Occaſion, as may give Your Majeſty and the whole World an ample Teſtimony of our Loyalty and Affection to Your Majeſty's Service, and as may enable Your Majeſty, by the Help of Almighty God, to maintain ſuch ſtricter Alliances as you ſhall have entred into againſt all Oppoſition whatſoever.*

This Addreſs was preſented *April* the 13th; and upon *Eaſter Monday*, *April* 16th, another Meſſage in Writing from His Majeſty, was delivered by Secretary *Williamſon* to the Houſe of Commons, *viz.*

C. R.

HIS Majeſty having conſidered the Anſwer of this Houſe to his laſt Meſſage, about enabling him to make fitting Preparations for the Security of theſe Kingdoms, finds by it that they have only enabled him to borrow 200,000 l. *upon a* Fund *given him for other Uſes: His Majeſty deſires therefore this Houſe ſhould know, and he hopes they will always believe of him, that not only that* Fund, *but any other within his Power, ſhall be engaged to the utmoſt for the Preſervation of his Kingdoms; but as his Majeſty's Condition is (which his Majeſty doubts not but is as well known to this Houſe as himſelf) he muſt tell them plainly, that without the Sum of* 600,000 l. *or Credit for ſuch a Sum, upon new* Funds, *it will not be poſſible for him to ſpeak or act thoſe Things which ſhould anſwer the Ends of their ſeveral Addreſſes, without expoſing the Kingdom to much greater Danger: His Majeſty doth further acquaint you, that having done his Part, and laid the true State of Things before you, he will not be wanting to uſe*

uſe the beſt Means for the Safety of his People, which his preſent Condition is capable of.

Given at our Court at *Whitehall, April* 16, 1677.

Thereupon the Houſe fell into preſent Conſideration of an Anſwer, and in the firſt Place, it was agreed to return great Thanks to his Majeſty for his Zeal for the Safety of the Kingdom, and the Hopes he had given them that he was convinced and ſatisfied, ſo as he would ſpeak and act according to what they had deſired, and they reſolved to give him the utmoſt Aſſurance, that they would ſtand by him, and ſaid no Man could be unwilling to give a fourth or third Part to ſave the Reſidue. But they ſaid they ought to conſider that now they were a very thin Houſe, many of their Members being gone home, and that upon ſuch a Ground as they could not well blame them; for it was upon a Preſumption that the Parliament ſhould riſe before *Eaſter*, as had been intimated from his Majeſty within this Fortnight, and univerſally expected ſince: and it would be Unparliamentary, and very ill-taken by their Fellow-Members, if in this their Abſence, they ſhould ſteal the Privilege of granting Money, and the Thanks which are given for it; that this was a National Buſineſs, if ever any were, and therefore fit to be handled in a full National Repreſentative, and if it had hitherto ſeemed to go up Hill, there was a greater Cauſe to put the whole Shoulder to it, and this would be aſſuring, animating, and ſatisfactory to the whole Nation. But they ſaid it was not their Mind to give or ſuffer any Delay, they would deſire a Receſs but for three Weeks or a Month at moſt.

And the 200,000 *l.* which they had provided for preſent Uſe, was as much as could be laid out in the mean Time; tho' his Majeſty had 600,000 *l.* more ready told upon the Table.

And therefore they thought it moſt reaſonable and adviſable, that his Majeſty ſhould ſuffer them to adjourn for ſuch a Time; in the Interim of which his Majeſty might, if he pleaſed, make Uſe of the 200,000 *l.* and migh alſo compleat the deſired Alliances, and give Notice by Proclamation to all Members to attend at the Time appointed.

The Anſwer is as followeth, and was read and agreed to the ſame Day.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

WE Your Majeſty's moſt loyal Subjects, the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, having conſidered Your Majeſty's laſt Meſſage, and the gracious Expreſſions therein contained, for employing Your Majeſty's whole Revenue at any Time to raiſe Money for the Preſervation of Your Majeſty's Kingdoms; do find great Cauſe to return our moſt humble Thanks to Your Majeſty for the ſame, and to deſire Your Majeſty to reſt aſſured, that you ſhall find as much Duty and Affection in us, as can be expected from a moſt loyal People, to their moſt gracious Sovereign, and whereas Your Majeſty is pleaſed to ſignify to us, that the Sum of 200,000 *l. is not ſufficient without a further Supply, to enable Your Majeſty to ſpeak or act thoſe Things which are deſired by your People; We humbly take leave*

to

to acquaint Your Majeſty, that many of our Members (being upon an Expectation of an Adjournment before Eaſter) *are gone into their ſeveral Countries, we cannot think it Parliamentary in their Abſence, to take upon us the granting of Money, but do therefore deſire your Majeſty to be pleaſed that this Houſe may adjourn itſelf for ſuch a ſhort Time, before the Sum of* 200,000 *l. can be expended, as Your Majeſty ſhall think fit, and by your Royal Proclamation to command the Attendance of all our Members at the Day of Meeting. By which Time we hope Your Majeſty may have ſo formed your Affairs, and fixed your Alliances, in purſuance of our former Addreſſes, that Your Majeſty may be graciouſly pleaſed to impart them to us in Parliament; and we no Ways doubt but at our next aſſembling, Your Majeſty will not only meet with a Compliance in the Supply Your Majeſty deſires, but withal, ſuch farther Aſſiſtance as the Poſture of Your Majeſty's Affairs ſhould require. In Confidence whereof, we hope Your Majeſty will be encouraged in the mean Time, to ſpeak and act ſuch Things as Your Majeſty ſhall judge neceſſary for attaining thoſe great Ends, as we have formerly repreſented to your Majeſty.*

Upon this the Parliament was adjourned from *April* the 16th, to the 21ſt of *May* following, when they met, and adjourned till *Wedneſday May* the 23d, at which Time his Majeſty ſent a Meſſage for the Houſe to attend him preſently at the Banquetting Houſe at *Whitehall*, where he made the following Speech to them.

Gentlemen,

I Have ſent for you hither, that I might prevent thoſe Miſtakes and Diſtruſts which I find ſome are ready to make, as if I had called you together only to get Money from you, for other Uſes than you would have it employed. I do aſſure you, on the Word of a King, that you ſhall not repent any Truſt you repoſe in me, for the Safety of my Kingdoms; and I deſire you to believe I would not break my Credit with you; but as I have already told you, that it will not be poſſible for me to ſpeak or act thoſe Things which ſhould anſwer the Ends of your ſeveral Addreſſes, without expoſing my Kingdoms to much greater Dangers, ſo I declare to you again, I will neither hazard my own Safety, nor yours, until I be in a better Condition than I am able to put myſelf, both to defend my Subjects, and offend my Enemies.

I do further aſſure you, I have not loſt one Day ſince your laſt Meeting, in doing all I could for your Defence; and I tell you plainly, it ſhall be your Fault, and not mine, if your Security be not ſufficiently provided for.

The Commons returning to their Houſe, and the Speech being read, they reſolved into a Committee of the whole Houſe to conſider of it. There was an extraordinary full Houſe, and the following Vote paſſed, upon the Queſtion, with very general Conſent, there being but two Negative Voices to it.

Reſolved,

That an Addreſs be made to the King, that his Majeſty would be pleaſed to enter into a League offenſive and defenſive with the States-General *of the United Provinces, and to make ſuch other Alliances with others of the Confederates, as his Majeſty*

Majeſty ſhall think fit againſt the Growth and Power of the French *King, and for the Preſervation of the* Spaniſh-Netherlands; *and that a Committee be appointed to draw up the Addreſs, with Reaſons why this Houſe cannot comply with his Majeſty's Speech, until ſuch Alliance be entred into; and further ſhewing the Neceſſity of the ſpeedy making ſuch Alliances; and, when ſuch Alliances are made, giving his Majeſty Aſſurance of ſpeedy and chearful Supplies, from Time to Time, for ſupporting and maintaining ſuch Alliances.*

To which (the Speaker re-aſſuming the Chair, and this being reported) the Houſe agreed and appointed a Committee.

And adjourned over *Aſcenſion*-day till *Friday*.

In the Interim the Commiteee appointed met, and drew the Addreſs according to the above-mentioned Order, a true Copy of which is here annexed.

May it pleaſe Your Moſt Excellent Majeſty,

YOUR Majeſty's moſt loyal and dutiful Subjects, the Commons in Parliament aſſembled, having taken into their ſerious Conſideration, Your Majeſty's gracious Speech, we do beſeech Your Majeſty, to believe it is a great Affliction to them, to find themſelves obliged (at preſent) to decline the granting Your Majeſty the Supply Your Majeſty is pleaſed to demand, conceiving it is not agreeable to the Uſage of Parliament, to grant Supplies for Maintenance of Wars and Alliances, before they are ſignified in Parliament (which the two Wars againſt the States of the United Provinces, ſince Your Majeſty's happy Reſtoration, and the League made with them in January 1668. *for Preſervation of the* Spaniſh-Netherlands, *ſufficiently prove, without troubling Your Majeſty with Inſtances of greater Antiquity) from which Uſage, if we ſhould depart, the Precedent might be of dangerous Conſequence in future Times, though Your Majeſty's Goodneſs gives us great Security during your Majeſty's Reign, which we beſeech God long to continue.*

This Conſideration prompted us in our laſt Addreſs to Your Majeſty, before our late Receſs, humbly to mention to your Majeſty, our Hopes, that before our Meeting again, Your Majeſty's Alliances might be ſo fixed, as that Your Majeſty might be graciouſly pleaſed to impart them to us in Parliament, that ſo our earneſt Deſires of ſupplying Your Majeſty, for proſecuting thoſe great Ends we had humbly laid before Your Majeſty, might meet with no Impediment or Obſtruction; being highly ſenſible of the Neceſſity of ſupporting, as well as making the Alliances, humbly deſired in our former Addreſſes, and which we ſtill conceive ſo important to the Safety of your Majeſty and your Kingdoms, That we cannot (without Unfaithfulneſs to your Majeſty and thoſe we repreſent) omit upon all Occaſions, humbly to beſeech Your Majeſty, as we do now; to enter into a League, offenſive and defenſive, with the States General of the United Provinces, againſt the Growth and Power of the *French* King, and for the Preſervation of the *Spaniſh-Netherlands*, and to make ſuch other Alliances, with other ſuch of the Confederates, as Your Majeſty ſhall think fit and uſeful to that End; *in doing which (that no time may be loſt) we humbly offer to Your Majeſty theſe Reaſons for the expediting of it.*

1. *That*

1. *That if the Entring into ſuch Alliances ſhould draw on a War with the* French *King, it would be leſs detrimental to Your Majeſty's Subjects at this Time of the Year, they having now feweſt Effects, within the Dominion of that King.*

2. *That though we have great Reaſon to believe the Power of the* French *King to be dangerous to Your Majeſty and your Kingdoms, when he ſhall be at more Leiſure to moleſt us; yet we conceive the many Enemies he has to deal with at preſent, together with the Situation of Your Majeſty's Kingdoms, the* Unanimity of the People in this Cauſe, *the Care Your Majeſty hath been pleaſed to take of your ordinary Guard for the Sea, together with the Credit provided by the late Act, for an additional Exciſe for three Years, make the Entring into, and declaring Alliances very ſafe, until we may in a regular Way give Your Majeſty ſuch further Supplies, as may enable your Majeſty to ſupport your Alliances, and defend your Kingdoms.*

3. *Becauſe of the great Danger and Charge which muſt neceſſarily fall upon Your Majeſty's Kingdoms, if (through Want of that timely Encouragement and Aſſiſtance, which Your Majeſty, joining with the* States General *of the* United Provinces, *and other Confederates would give them) The ſaid* States, *or any other conſiderable Part of the Confederates ſhould this next Winter, or Summer, make a Peace or Truce with the* French *King* (the Prevention whereof muſt hitherto be acknowledged a ſingular Effect of God's Goodneſs to us) *which if it ſhould happen, Your Majeſty would be afterwards neceſſitated with fewer, perhaps with no Alliances or Aſſiſtance to withſtand the Power of the* French *King, which hath ſo long, and ſo ſucceſsfully contended with ſo many, and ſo potent Adverſaries; and whilſt he continues his over-ballancing Greatneſs, muſt always be dangerous to his Neighbours, ſince he would be able to oppreſs any one Confederate, before the reſt could get together, and be in ſo good a Poſture of offending him, as they now are, being jointly engaged in a War. And if he ſhould be ſo ſucceſsful as to make a Peace, or diſunite the preſent Confederation againſt him, it is much to be feared, whether it would be poſſible ever to re-unite it, at leaſt it would be a Work of ſo much Time and Difficulty, as would leave your Majeſty's Kingdoms expoſed to much Miſery and Danger.*

Having thus diſcharged our Duty, in laying before Your Majeſty the Dangers threatning Your Majeſty and your Kingdoms, and the only Remedies we can think of, for the preventing, ſecuring and quieting the Minds of Your Majeſty's People, with ſome few of thoſe Reaſons which have moved us to this, and our former Addreſſes, on this Subject; We moſt humbly beſeech Your Majeſty, to take this Matter into your moſt ſerious Conſideration, and to take ſuch Reſolutions, as may not leave it in the Power of any Neighbouring Prince, to rob your People of that Happineſs which they enjoy, under Your Majeſty's gracious Government; beſeeching Your Majeſty to reſt confident and aſſured, that when Your Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed to declare ſuch Alliances in Parliament, We ſhall hold ourſelves oblig'd, not only by our Promiſes and Aſſurances given, and now with great Unanimity renewed in a full Houſe; but by the Zeal and Deſires of thoſe whom we repreſent, and by the Intereſts of all our Safeties, moſt chearfully to give Your Majeſty ſuch ſpeedy Supplies and Aſſiſtances, as may fully and plentifully anſwer the Occaſions,

and

and, by God's Bleſſing, preſerve your Majeſty's Honour, and the Safety of the People.

All which is moſt humbly ſubmitted to your Majeſty's great Wiſdom.

Friday, May 25th, 1677.

Sir *John Trevor* reported from the ſaid Committee the Addreſs, which was read and agreed to, and ordered that thoſe Members of the Houſe, who were of His Majeſty's Privy Council, ſhould move His Majeſty to know his Pleaſure, when the Houſe might wait upon Him with their Addreſs.

Saturday, May 26th, 1677.

The Houſe being ſat, had Notice, by Mr. Secretary *Coventry*, That the King would receive their Addreſs, at Three in the Afternoon; at which Time they attended the King with it, at the Banquetting-Houſe in *Whitehall:* Which being preſented, the King anſwered, *That it was long and of great Importance, that he would conſider of it, and give them an Anſwer as ſoon as he could.*

The Houſe adjourned till *Monday, May* the 28th; when, being ſate, they received Notice by Secretary *Coventry*, that the King expected them immediately in the *Banquetting-Houſe.* Whither being come; the King made a Speech to them on the Subject of their Addreſs; which Speech, to prevent Miſtakes, his Majeſty read out of his Paper, and then delivered the ſame to the Speaker. And his Majeſty added a few Words about their Adjournment.

The KING's Speech is as followeth:

Gentlemen,

COuld I have been ſilent, I would rather have choſen to be ſo, than to call to Mind Things ſo unfit for you to meddle with, as are contained in ſome Parts of your late Addreſſes; wherein you have entrenched upon ſo undoubted a Right of the Crown, that I am confident it will appear in no Age (when the Sword was not drawn) that the Prerogative of making Peace and War hath been ſo dangerouſly invaded.

You do not content yourſelves with deſiring Me to enter into ſuch Leagues, as may be for the Safety of the Kingdom, but you tell Me what ſort of Leagues they muſt be, and with whom; and (as your Addreſs is worded) it is more liable to be underſtood to be by your Leave, than at your Requeſt, that I ſhould make ſuch other Alliances, as I pleaſe with other of the Confederates.

Should I ſuffer this fundamental Power of making Peace and War, to be ſo far invaded (though but once) as to have the Manner and Circumſtances of Leagues preſcribed to Me by Parliament, *it's plain that no Prince or State would any longer believe that the Sovereignty of* England *reſts in the Crown; nor could I think Myſelf to ſignify any more to Foreign Princes than the empty Sound of a King: Wherefore you may reſt aſſured, that no Condition ſhall make Me depart from, or leſſen ſo eſſential a Part of the Monarchy. And I am wil-*

ling to believe ſo well of this Houſe of Commons, *that I am confident theſe ill Conſequences are not intended by you.*

Theſe are, in ſhort, the Reaſons why I can by no Means approve of your Addreſs; and yet though you have declined to grant Me that Supply which is neceſſary to the Ends of it, I do again declare to you, That as I have done all that lay in My Power ſince your laſt Meeting, ſo I will ſtill apply Myſelf by all the Means I can, to let the World ſee My Care for the Security and Satisfaction of My People, although it may not be with thoſe Advantages to them, which by your Aſſiſtances I might have procured.

And, having ſaid this, he ſignified to them, they ſhould adjourn till the 16th of *July* next. And, upon meeting then, were Adjourned till the 3d Day of *December*.

May it not be worth Remembring, who adviſed His Majeſty to make ſuch an Anſwer to his Parliament.

England. - Laws & Statutes - VIII
[11 Will. III. c. 2]

Short Remarks upon the late Act of Reſumption of the Iriſh *Forfeitures, and upon the Manner of putting that Act in Execution.* 1701.

1. EVERY the leaſt Trade, or Body of Men in the Kingdom, when they find themſelves aggriev'd by a Law, are allowed the Liberty of plainly repreſenting their Grievance, and petitioning for Redreſs by the Repeal of that Law. I hope it will not be accounted a Crime, nor an unbecoming Aſſurance, in one who is a Sufferer by the late Bill for Reſumption of *Iriſh* Forfeitures, to lay before the Honourable Houſe of Commons a few ſhort Remarks upon that Bill, and the Manner of the Execution of it, whereby himſelf, and many others of his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects, whoſe Veins hold no other Blood than what is *Engliſh*, have ſuffered to a very great Degree, in hopes that the Houſe may think that Matter worthy of a Review and ſecond Conſideration.

2. I am firmly perſwaded, that if the Truth of the State of the *Iriſh* Grants, or any Thing near it, had been honeſtly repreſented to the Houſe of Commons, whatever Schemes of Affairs ſome particular enterprizing Gentlemen might have projected and framed to themſelves, it would have been impoſſible to have gain'd a Majority of that Houſe to have paſſed the Bill, at leaſt not in the Manner it is now framed.

3. As to the Bill now depending in the Houſe for the Reſumption of *Engliſh* Grants, altho' probably there is not one of the Grantees, who is not repreſented by a Member, in whoſe Election his Grant gave him a Right of Voting; and although the Matter being tranſacted here, it may reaſonably be preſumed that many Members of both Houſes are throughly acquainted with the

the Grants themſelves, and the Conſiderations for making them; the printed Votes tell us every Day, that as many Petitions as are offered againſt the Bill, are eaſily received, and referred to the Committee to whom the Bill is committed: But unhappy *Ireland* is to be bound by a Law made by Perſons never choſen to repreſent her, Perſons who cannot be preſumed to be truly acquainted, of their own Knowledge, with her preſent Circumſtances, Intereſts or Affairs, and this too without giving her any Opportunity of being heard for herſelf. It is not the Intent of this Paper to enter into the Queſtion of the Right (which ſome however think of conſiderable Weight and Conſequence in the Matter) but to conſider how a Thing ſo unuſual and extraordinary did prevail.

4. I do not preſume by any Means to arraign or cenſure the Proceedings of a Parliament; it is no Reflection upon them to do Things which carry a fair Appearance of Advantage to the Publick, as they are repreſented to them, though Deceits may be put upon them: And it's a ſufficient reconciling of their Proceedings to the Rules of Juſtice and Equity, that they uſed all the Caution that was neceſſary to obtain a true Information of the State of the Caſe; that they ſent over Commiſſioners, fortified with very large Power, to make Enquiries, and to report the Matter to the Houſe. It could not be preſumed (and therefore a Suggeſtion of that kind would have been ridiculed) that Perſons ſo employed would dare to make a Report to ſuch an Aſſembly without due Examination, and much leſs to affirm Facts contrary to plain Informations received; and it is no Wonder, as the Report ſtated Matters to them, that it ſhould move their Indignation to the higheſt Degree. I ſhall not offer to diſpute the Reaſonableneſs of any one Step taken by either Houſe in the Affair; I have learned to make my Underſtanding ſubmit to whatever the Parliament judge to be reaſonable and fitting to be done: But if many innocent Families muſt unavoidably be ruined by the Bill grounded upon that Report; and if that Information ſhall evidently appear to be groſly falſe in itſelf in many, nay moſt Particulars, and that thoſe Miſtakes were not due to want of Opportunities of being truly informed, but to a Reſolution to repreſent Things quite otherwiſe than the Truth was; perhaps the Houſe may think itſelf concern'd in Honour to expreſs ſome Reſentments, or a Diſlike at leaſt, of ſuch an Abuſe of the Confidence repoſed by them in their Commiſſioners, which produced a Bill ſo ſevere, to ſay nothing more of it.

5. The moſt avowed Enemies of that unfortunate Kingdom, though witty Gentlemen (who although they deſpiſe it, and all that belong to it, yet at the ſame Time, contrary to the Nature of Contempt, make it the very Mark of their Envy) muſt allow that the dull Proteſtants of *Ireland* were great Sufferers upon Account of their Religion and firm Adherence to the Intereſt of *England*; that ſuch of them as were forced to fly for want of Arms, or of a Force capable of making a Stand, were as forward to return and venture their Lives for the aſſerting the *Engliſh* Laws and Liberties as any Subjects whatever; and that ſuch of them as could get into a Body, and poſſeſs themſelves of Places of any Strength, did defend thoſe Places to the Wonder of Mankind.

And it cannot be denied, that by that Defence, and the Stand that they made there, the Ravages and Calamities that attend a War were kept in that poor Country, of which War (without that Oppoſition) *England* in all Probability had been the Seat.

6. Theſe Things could not ſoon ſlip out of Memory, or be forgotten; nor could the Intereſt that ſome of thoſe Sufferers, and the Proteſtants of *Ireland* had in thoſe Grants in general be unknown; and therefore the Gentlemen who projected the creating of beneficial Offices to themſelves, at the Expence of a poor Kingdom, were put to make Uſe of all their Skill to work up the Minds of People into ſuch a Ferment, as might maſter and over-power every Thought of Tenderneſs and Compaſſion: And it's pretty well known what Courſes they took to do it; but Time will quiet Paſſions, and diſcover Truth. Two of the three reporting Commiſſioners are ſoon to appear before the Houſe. I think it may not be improper to give ſome Hints of Enquiries, which the Members, if they pleaſe, may make, in order to their having ſome certain Meaſure of what they are to depend upon from the Act (for, as has been very well obſerved, the late Report ſkilfully avoids every Thing of this Kind) and that the poor Soldiers, the Perſons concerned in the Tranſport Debt, *&c.* after a tedious Waiting may not find themſelves deceived by ſuch a Fund, as to make ſelling their Debentures at Fifty *per Cent.* the moſt eligible Part.

7. I will for the preſent admit that the general Diſtaſte which this Bill has given to the Body of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, is not a falſe Step in Policy at this Time: I will ſuppoſe too, that the Apprehenſions which many there have taken up, that it looks like a very Breach of their Conſtitution, is perfectly groundleſs, and of no Conſequence (without doubt the Gentleman, who ſaid in Diſcourſe, that it were better the Bill ſhould be loſt, than the expreſs Repeal of an Act of their Parliament ſhould be omitted, as he ſeemed perfectly Maſter of the Conduct of the whole Bill, has ſome very extraordinary Reaſons for his ſaying ſo) yet I am fully perſwaded if *England* had been made ſenſible, that the Act would be a certain Ruin to ſo many *Engliſh* Proteſtant Families: that beſides the Reſumption itſelf, (which would lie heavy enough upon many of the Subjects of that Kingdom) the Charges of making and attending their Claims would be ſuch, as that Kingdom is not able to bear; and that the Effect of this would be only the creating Offices of Advantage to ſome particular Gentlemen, with a very little Return in Eaſe of the *Engliſh* Debts; I am perſwaded that an *Engliſh* Parliament would have ſcorned to take this Courſe in eaſing herſelf in an inconſiderable Sum, by laying ſuch an overload upon her Slave and Drudge; much leſs would it have committed into the Hands of ſome Gentlemen ſuch unlimited Powers over a Kingdom, as are without any Precedent in *Engliſh* Law or Hiſtory: and perhaps their Juſtice and Compaſſion may incline them yet to find out ſome Means of removing the Load, and relieving the poor Sufferers.

8. Inſtead of this, it's reported Abroad, that the Gentlemen employed are not content with their preſent Power, nor think themſelves yet Arbitrary enough, but ſollicit an Enlargement of their Authorities, as well as of their Time,

Time, and conſequently of their very good Salaries. Whether that, or the finding ſome Way of delivering a miſerable People of ſuch Maſters, be the more reaſonable, a ſatisfactory Anſwer to ſome few Queſtions may perhaps in ſome Meaſure determine.

9. The firſt Report is before the Houſe: It was that which raiſed the Expectation of the Parliament ſo high, that they thought reaſonable to vary from their general Courſe of Proceeding, and to do Things not common, by which ſeveral Members expreſſed themſelves ſenſible that ſome Hardſhips would unavoidably fall upon particular Perſons, but the general Good over-ruled ſuch Conſiderations; and they choſe rather to ſtrain a little, than not come at ſuch a Mine as was promiſed them towards eaſing a Burden which lay very heavy on *England*. Two of the three who ſubſcribed the firſt Report (as is ſaid before) are ſoon to attend the Houſe, particularly Mr. *Anſley*, who after having delivered that Report at the Bar of the Houſe, undertook to juſtify and anſwer all Objections that ſhould be made againſt it; for the Truth of which I am confident I may appeal to the Memory of ſeveral Members who heard him, although perhaps he might have Reaſon to be aſſured he did not run any great Hazard of being at that Time called upon to make good what he ſo ſtrongly promiſed. I think it may be immediately expected, after a full Years further Attendance upon that Enquiry, he ſhould be able to give a full, plain, and direct Anſwer how far that Revenue may be depended upon as a Fund for what is charged upon it (which are Debts of Honour and of great Compaſſion) and whether the Produce of it will be an Equivalent for the ſetting a Precedent of inveſting a few Gentlemen, not all of them perfectly ſkilled in the Laws, or of viſible Fortunes, with ſo arbitrary a Power of judging and determining the Property of a whole Kingdom, that the Wiſdom of the Laws of *England* has not thought it ſafe to intruſt the King, the Houſe of Peers, and all the Courts of Juſtice in this Land with any Thing like it.

10. The Eſtate commonly called the private Eſtate (thoſe Lands which were veſted in the Duke of *York* before his Acceſſion to the Throne, and afterwards granted to the Lady *Orkney)* I take to be out of the Compaſs of this Enquiry: there was no need of furniſhing out Commiſſioners at ſuch an Expence, and ſuch large Powers relating to that.

There were very few Claims to be heard; the Commiſſioners, as I have been well aſſured, had an Entry at large delivered to them, a perfect Rent-Roll of the Eſtate; the Gentlemen concerned in the Management of it put that Matter into ſuch Order for them, that Mr. *Hooper* (now a Commiſſioner, and their then Secretary, ſaid at the Board) that had the like Methods been obſerved in all Returns, three Months would have been ſufficient to have compleated their Buſineſs. So that a very ſmall Expence of Time and Pains might aſcertain the true State of thoſe Lands, as may be very eaſily judged, as well from what is aboveſaid, as from that very nice Account given of this Eſtate by a late Ingenious Author. If therefore there has been any conſiderable Waſte of Time and Expence in that Matter, it has had ſome other End in it, than barely to be informed of the Truth of that Revenue. I hear the Commiſſioners report thoſe Lands to be *Jus Regium.*

of

of a very extravagant Value; at preſent I'll not concern myſelf further about them, than to caution People againſt being deceived by the ſame Methods a ſecond Time, and to ſay that thoſe Lands may be diſpoſed of without the yearly Expence of Forty Thouſand Pounds in Salaries, and other Charges to effect it.

11. But it may be proper to have the Houſe truly informed what has been made of Things, properly called Forfeitures, in a Year's Time. There can have been but little Need of their judicial Power of hearing and determining Claims to perſonal Eſtates; and therefore it's to be preſumed that all thoſe Matters are over, and that they are able to give a perfect Account of them.

It may then be reaſonably demanded,

1*ſt*, What the Value of thoſe are? How much received, and what Proportion thoſe Receipts bear to the firſt Report? And in general how far the firſt Report will be verified, in what Particulars it will fall ſhort, and how much?

2*dly*, Whether they have made any Inventory of thoſe Perſonal Goods and Chattels that are veſted in them, to whom they have ſold them, and for how much?

The Neglect or Delay of doing this, is an Abuſe of the Favour intended by the Parliament to the Purchaſers of forfeited Intereſts, as to the third Part of their Purchaſe-Money, foraſmuch as they are to receive Part of the Twenty One Thouſand Pounds allotted to them out of the Produce of the perſonal Eſtates.

It may be demanded of them in general,

3*dly*, What Caſh remains now in the Hands of their Receivers, or Caſheers in *Dublin*, above the Charge of their Salaries and Management; and whether in their Accounts Credit is given by what is made by the Fees in ſeveral Offices? It is conceived this ought to be done, in regard the whole Expence is defrayed out of the Produce of the Forfeitures; and therefore it's reaſonable that the Fees ſhould be eſteemed ſo much neat Money, and ought to be accounted for as ſuch.

And it is to be hoped the Houſe will require their laying before them their Table of Fees, which (however moderate it may appear) is an exceſſive Charge to the Kingdom; for by the Act the Claimant is obliged in his Claim, to ſet forth his Title, and by what Deeds he derives it: So that where the Thing is of inconſiderable Value (which generally happens in Caſes of ſuch as are leaſt able to bear it) the Charge of Attendance, and paying the Court, exceeds the Value of the Intereſt claimed. The uſual Expence in the Offices for an ordinary Claim is about Ten Pounds, of greater Claims abundantly more.

4*thly*, Have they proceeded to ſell ſuch Part of the forfeited Lands, as have not been claimed, or ſuch as have been claimed, and diſcuſſed? If ſo, to what Value do the Lands ſold amount? If not, what is their Reaſon for delaying the Execution of that Part of the Act.

5*thly*, Whether

5*thly*, Whether they have given Certificates to intitle the Purchaſers to their reſpective Shares of the Twenty One Thouſand Pounds? If they have given ſuch Certificates, when did they give the ſame, and whether ſuch Certificates have not been demanded, and refuſed by them? If ſo, upon what Account was ſuch Refuſal? Whether by ſuch Refuſal the Purchaſers have not been hindred from receiving *All Saints* Rent, and will not alſo loſe the Rents becoming due this *May?* Have they allowed them Intereſt for their Shares of the Twenty One Thouſand Pounds? Have they not been delayed of the Advantage the Act intended them of demanding the Remainder of the Money from thoſe of whom they purchaſed, for want of ſuch Certificates? What was the Number of thoſe Purchaſers, and what was the Expence of proſecuting each Claim, in order to intitle ſuch Purchaſers to their Share of the Twenty One Thouſand Pounds.

12. This Right muſt be done to the Truſtees, That they have endeavoured in moſt Caſes to make the utmoſt of their Truſt; but whether by ſuch Methods and Courſes as the Honour of an *Engliſh* Parliament would endure, if they were acquainted with them, may be known by Anſwers to the following Particulars.

1*ſt*, The Act requires ſuch as are in Poſſeſſion of forfeited Lands to return a true Particular of the Value, under a great Penalty: Whether they have expected ſuch a Particular, according to the Value that a Tenant might reaſonably give for the Land to be ſet out to Farm, or whether according to the Rates which the loweſt under-Tenants, and ſmall Cotters (who work out all that which is called their Rent, and much more with their Landlords) do agree to pay to the Tenant, and what all ſuch under-Rent caſt up together amount to?

This is the Kind of Enquiry which has been made in the private Eſtate, to make its Value appear conſiderable.

2*dly*, Whether they have not contracted with Tenants for Leaſes for one Year, and what the Returns of ſuch Contracts were? Whether they have not frequently ſet the ſame Lands afterwards to other Tenants, notwithſtanding the former Agreements, for a little more than the firſt Tenant contracted for? And whether they have not diſpoſſeſſed the firſt Tenant, and compell'd him, and by what Means, to advance his Rent, or quit the Poſſeſſion?

3*dly*, Whether they have not order'd their Collectors, Managers, and Receivers, to demand more Rents than the Tenants contracted for, and not to allow what the Tenant paid for Quit-Rents, or the Land-Tax; and in Default of Payment, to diſtrain? Whether they have not directed their Receivers not to obey or regard any Replevins, if the Tenant ſhould ſue out ſuch, and require Sheriffs (particularly the Sheriff of the County of *Limerick*) not to iſſue or execute any Replevin againſt any Perſon diſtraining by their Order? Have they any Entries or Copies of the Orders given by them to their Collectors and Receivers? Theſe would be worth peruſal.

4*thly*, What

4*thly*, What is the Reaſon why Leſſees, who are not liable to pay Quit-Rent, or any more than a Moiety of the Land Tax, have been obliged to pay their whole Rent, without Allowance given for Quit-Rent, or for the Landlord's Part of the Land-Tax paid by them, only being promiſed an Allowance for the Money in ſome future half Years Rent? If the Intent of this Proceeding ſhould be to make the Rent-Roll as conſiderable as poſſible, that were a deceitful Repreſentation to continue the Houſe under the ſame Miſtake, into which the former Report led them, which the Houſe will hardly endure. It's paſt all Diſpute, that the incurring Intereſt of allowed Incumbrances, and Arrears due for Quit-Rent, and for the Land-Tax, mightily ſwell the Debt, and that they muſt be payed one Time or other, unleſs the Land be ſold, and by that Means, and by the Clauſe in the Act, the Quit-Rent, and Land-Tax be cut off; But this would be ſuch a Piece of Injuſtice, as it is to be hoped will not be ſuffer'd.

13. As to the Hardſhips put upon the Claimants, and the Burden upon the whole Kingdom, the Irregularity of their Proceedings, and the Liberty they take by their ſupreme Power of ſetting aſide formal ſettled regular Proceedings at Law; it may be worth enquiring,

1*ſt*, The Truſtees being by the Act impowered to ſend for Perſons as they ſhall think fit (which ſeems ſo great a Truſt and Authority, that it ought not to be put into other Hands) have they not committed that Power of ſummoning Perſons to any Clerk or Clerks, and to whom? Have not ſeveral Perſons been ſummoned from remote Parts of the Kingdom, and after long Attendance at *Dublin*, been diſmiſſed without being examined? Have not blank Summons been ſent into the Country, and filled up there? Have not Claimants attended with their Witneſſes at the Times their Claims were poſted to be heard, and been put off from Day to Day, yet obliged to attend at the Peril of their Claims, being diſmiſſed for want of Proſecution? Have they not been ſo delayed and put off upon Motion of the Truſtees Council, or of Mr. *White*, upon a bare Suggeſtion, that they ſhould have Evidence hereafter for the Truſt? Did the Truſtees in Caſes of this Nature, when the Claims had been regularly poſted, and the Times for their coming on were well known to Mr. *White*, require any Oath, or put them off upon bare Allegations, or ſhewing of Letters out of the Country? Was not this very expenſive to the Claimants? Was any Allowance made to them for ſuch their Loſs and Expence?

2*dly*, Where a Proteſtant was in Poſſeſſion before the 13th of *February*, 1688, or ſince that Time, upon Mortgages, Judgments, Extents, or otherwiſe, of Lands belonging to forfeited Perſons:

Whether the Truſtees have not diſpoſſeſs'd ſuch Proteſtants, and received the Profits, although ſuch Proteſtants recover'd at Law (after the Forfeiture) againſt the King or his Grantee, whilſt they had the Eſtate of the forfeiting Perſon in them, and were actually in Poſſeſſion when the Act paſt?

3*dly*, When

3*dly*, When ſuch Proteſtant Incumbrances have been allowed upon the Claims of ſuch Proteſtants, whether they have again been put into Poſſeſſion, or been paid any Part of the Intereſt of their Incumbrances by the Truſtees?

The Act veſting the Lands in the Truſtees, according to the ſeveral Intereſts of the forfeiting Perſons, with a Saving to the Rights of others, whether they do carry the equal and indifferent Hand which Perſons intruſted as Judges ought, if they do firſt by their Power firſt diſpoſſeſs him who had a lawful Title to the Poſſeſſion, becauſe the Act veſts the Lands in them, but afterwards, tho' the Claimant's Title be allowed, will not reſtore him to his Poſſeſſion, or allow him Intereſt for his Money?

14. The Property of the Subjects of *Ireland*, though not much valued and regarded by ſome People, is to them as dear as theirs is to the happier Men, whoſe Lot is fallen to them in *England*, and they wiſh for nothing more than to be ſubject to the ſame Laws as *Engliſhmen*. *Ireland* has been famous to a Proverb, for producing Witneſſes ready to aſſert any Thing that may give them a Proſpect of yielding Advantage: Such Witneſſes, and the Credit they deſerve are pretty well known to their Neighbourhood, the Inhabitants of that Country, who have been long under the afflicting Neceſſity of converſing with them: But they are not ſo unſkilful in their Trade, as not to be able to frame Stories ſo conſiſtent, that Strangers to them and their Behaviour (of which Kind of Perſons the Truſt is for the greateſt Part compoſed) may eaſily be impoſed upon by them. I mention not this out of a Deſire that more Truſtees of that Kingdom ſhould be appointed. That Nation has had too ſad Experiences of the Candour and good Will of ſome of her Natives already, to make that her Wiſh. But ſince the Matters ſubject to their Enquiry and Determination are of ſo great Value, and Property is ſo highly concerned, whether it might not have been reaſonable to have kept up to the old Law of *England*, of enquiring by Jury in ſome of the moſt difficult and conſiderable Caſes, if not in all, might ſurely be worthy of Conſideration, eſpecially if what I hear ſome of the Truſtees pretend unto, and aim at, be true.

In a Place that never had a Privilege of holding Parliaments of its own confirm'd to it, let it be never ſo intirely ſubjected to the Crown of *England* by an abſolute Conqueſt, or otherwiſe; yet if the Benefit of *Engliſh* Laws were once granted to it, I cannot believe that a Parliament of *England* would think it reaſonable to ſubject the Eſtates and Properties of Perſons living there, not guilty of any Crime, nor under any Accuſation, to the Arbitrary Will and Diſpoſal of any Number of Men: yet according to the Interpretation ſome of theſe Gentlemen put upon their own Authority, and which, as it is reported, they are endeavouring to get explain'd and eſtabliſh'd by new Clauſes, this ſeems to be the Caſe of *Ireland*,

15. The Words of the Act do veſt the Eſtates of forfeiting Perſons in the Truſtees, and impower them to diſpoſe of thoſe Eſtates. *A.* who is a forfeiting Perſon, has Lands called *D.* adjoining to the Eſtate of *B.* A forfeiting Perſon called *S. A.* is in Poſſeſſion of a Piece of Land, as parcel of his Eſtate, but *B.* laid Claim to it as a Parcel of *S.* The Truſtees in this Caſe are warranted by the Act to adjudge that *B*'s Eſtate called *S.* is veſted in them; but if they may go farther, and determine that that particular Parcel of Land, of which *A.* was in Poſſeſſion, is Parcel of that of *S.* (the Eſtate veſted in them) and thereupon ſhall diſpoſſeſs *A.* (ſuch Opinions and Caſes there have been) and this Proceeding ſhould be eſtabliſh'd, what Man in *Ireland* can be ſafe? Or what Eſtate is there in that Kingdom that is not ſubject to their Pleaſure, and arbitrary Determination, without Jury, or other legal Proceedings whatſoever, or any Appeal of Redreſs?

16. Might it not be of dangerous Conſequence to allow a Power to Perſons (ſome of whom have ſhew'd themſelves not very well vers'd in legal Proceedings) to ravel into the Acts of Courts of Juſtice, and unſettle legal Determinations, taking upon themſelves a Juriſdiction to determine between Party and Party, which of them has a Right to the Thing claimed, and by that Determination in effect reverſing a former Decree, or other legal Proceeding? For Example? A Debt claim'd upon a forfeited Eſtate by two ſeveral Claimants, both of them fully, and to Satisfaction, make the Debt appear to be due; ſo that the Truſtees are by the Act required to decree that it is a juſt Debt: but what are the Words of the Act, or was it ever the Intent of the Parliament to take from the proper Courts, and the ordinary Courſe of Law, the Power of deciding to which of the conteſting Parties the Debt belongs, and to make the Truſtees, the Judges and Determiners of that which in no Sort encreaſes or diminiſhes the Sum to be raiſed? Yet ſuch Caſes there are where the Truſtees have exerted their Power, and taken upon themſelves to adjudge (and that too contrary to former legal Determinations in proper Courts) to which of the Parties the Debt of Right belongs, and have refuſed to form their Decree in ſuch Terms as might have allowed the Debt, and ſaved the Right (whatever it was) of each Party.

17. A few Inſtances of this Kind may ſhew how dangerous a Thing the giving of a Power, which ſeems unlimited, may prove, and what the Conſequences of their obtaining a general Confirmation of their Proceedings, would be, which it ſeems they are endeavouring to procure.

18. The Truſtees by the Act have a Power to adjuſt Accounts on Penalties. A Proteſtant Incumbrancer is in Poſſeſſion by virtue of his Incumbrance (for Example, Tenants by *Elegit* or Statute) the Land is granted by the King in Fee, and the Grantee ſells it: The Purchaſer (whoſe Buſineſs and Intereſt it then was to be as ſtrict in exacting an Account as poſſible) accounts with the Tenant by *Elegit*, &c. and after the beſt Information he can get, ſettles the Land, as if it were worth two Shillings *per* Acre, during the Extent, and pays the Ballance of the Account ſettled: having now loſt two thirds of his Purchaſe Money at leaſt in effect, claims the Remainder of the Debt which he paid to the Creditor, and has not received out of the Profits of the Land.

The

The Maſter to whom the Account is referred, charges the Land as worth (by a Value new ſet upon it) four Shillings *per* Acre, ſo as the Debt is not only paid, but a great Ballance on the other Side. Were it not a ſtrange Way of accounting in this Caſe, to charge him that payed off the Debt for clearing his Purchaſe, with more Profits made of the Land than he could get allowed in his accounting with the Creditors, though he uſed his utmoſt Endeavours, and good Huſbandry, as it was his Intereſt, all that he could get allowed being for what appeared then ſo much ſaved in his Pocket; ſo that he may be concluded to have done his beſt?

19. Have not the Truſtees obliged all Perſons who had Money ſecured to them by Judgment, Statute, or Mortgage, ſince *May* 86, to prove the actual Payment and Loan of the Money, and adjudged all Securities on voluntary Conveyances within the Intent of the Act, where there has not been actual Proof of the Payment of the Money? And have not ſeveral Perſons loſt their Debts upon that Account, though there was no Ground of Suſpicion, or Pretence of Fraud, in acknowledging ſuch Statute or Judgment; but for want of Witneſſes directly proving the Payment of their Money, have had their Claims diſmiſſed?

20. Have not the Truſtees protected all Perſons from Arreſts, who either are ſummoned as Witneſſes, or pretend to be able to do Service by making out a Title to Lands in the Truſtees?

Have not ſeveral Debtors been thus protected, who never did or could do ſuch Service? Does not Mr. *Abraham White* their Clerk give ſuch Summons as oft as aſked, and enter any Man's Name as a Diſcoverer who calls himſelf ſo? That Entry makes his Perſon ſacred, till Application is made to the Truſtees, who it's true of late have been leſs fond of protecting ſuch Perſons than formerly: But the Expence of moving the Truſtees, and procuring a Report of the Matter is ſo great, that few complain of the Hardſhips of that Kind which they lie under.

21. Upon the whole Matter, if the Parliament ſhall upon Examination find the Reſumption itſelf, in the Manner it now ſtands, a great Blow to the Proteſtant Intereſt in *Ireland*, and a leſſening the *Engliſh* Intereſt there; if it be made evident to them, that the Expences of attending by Claimants and Perſons ſummoned to *Dublin*, by the Power of the Truſtees, will amount to a greater Charge upon that impoveriſh'd Kingdom, than the whole Enquiry will return neat to *England*; if they ſhall find that the Powers given the Truſtees, either really in themſelves, or as they are put in Practice, do put a Stop at preſent to the common Courſe of Juſtice in that Kingdom, ravel into, and unſettle legal Determinations as far beyond the common Senſe of the Words of the Act, as the Powers themſelves do exceed all that were ever yet granted; and if after all this the Continuance of this Act, and of the Execution of it, will prove at laſt only an enriching of ſome particular Perſons out of the Spoil of a poor harraſſed Kingdom, and giving to a few Opportunities of venting their private Piques and Animoſities, without turning to any conſiderable Advantage to *England:* It is humbly offered to the Conſideration of the Parliament, whether *England* will not think it worth its while to fall in with ſome more

tolerable Expedient of gaining out of thoſe Eſtates ſo much as they may bear, without the ruining many innocent Families who have been faithful to its Intereſts, and not inſiſt upon the exerting of ſuch an extraordinary Power, ſo unprecedented in its Frame, and fatal in its Conſequences?

22. The Writer of this Paper would not by any of his Expreſſions be apprehended to charge all the Truſtees with the Hardſhips and Severities of which *Ireland* complains. He believes there are among them ſome very honeſt Gentlemen who bear no particular Grudge, in whoſe Compoſition Malice has no Share, who are not ſo far engaged in point of Reputation to maintain the firſt Report, or linked with thoſe who are, ſo as to break through Rules of Juſtice to do it: He wiſhes there were a few more of the ſame kind. The different Carriage of thoſe Gentlemen upon the Bench, and their Candour in hearing fairly without aſking captious Queſtions, making ſuch Enquiries as ſhew that they ſearch after Truth, and are willing to hear the whole as well what makes againſt them as for them, does diſtinguiſh their Behaviour, and ſhew that they intend to put the Truſt repoſed in them honeſtly in Execution, and (as ſome People have expreſſed it) *to make no more hard Caſes than are made to their Hands.* But the Skill of the reſolved Gentlemen is ſuch, that there can be no publick Diſtinction made; their Debates and Votes, like thoſe of the Inquiſition, are private among themſelves, and the Sentence of the Majority there, is pronounced generally upon the Bench by one of them as the Opinion of the whole Number. I blame not the Proceeding, but mention the Courſe as an Excuſe for charging the Truſtees in general with Things which I am ſatisfied ſome of them do abhor, and cannot ſubmit to without Indignation.

Thus have I endeavoured with Candour and Juſtice to lay Things as they really are before the Great and Wiſe Legiſlators of this Nation, to whoſe Determination I do with all Humility ſubmit the ſame.

The Original of Biſhops and Metropolitans, briefly laid down by JAMES *Archbiſhop of* ARMAGH. *Printed* 1703.

To the READER.

OUR Preſbyterian Brethren do frequently pretend a greater Veneration for Archbiſhop Uſher *than for moſt of thoſe who in theſe later Times have* born *the* Epiſcopal Character. *They are not unwilling to allow, that he was a Perſon not only learned, but grave and pious, and moderate. 'Tis hop'd therefore, that it ſhall not be diſobliging to them, if this* ſhort *but* accurate Treatiſe *of his (which very well deſerves to be ſeriouſly conſidered) ſhall be again offered to their Conſideration. His Citations from Scripture and Antiquity, after the ſtricteſt Examination, will be found juſt and genuine; and his Reaſonings, from them, clear and natural. This* Edition, *indeed, in one Thing is defective, and ſhort of former*

former Editions. *It has not on the Margin the Citations in their Original Language; the Reaſon is, the Difficulty of printing ſo much* Greek. *This Defect, 'tis hop'd, ſhall be the more eaſily pardon'd, when the Reader is told, that the Places, where ſuch as are inclined to conſult the Originals, may find the Citations are faithfully marked at the Foot of every Page. There is alſo ſubjoyn'd, the Learned and Acute Mr.* CHILLINGWORTH'S Demonſtration of the Apoſtolical Inſtitution of Epiſcopacy. *Theſe two Treatiſes, as ſhort as they are, ſeem to have ſo much Evidence in them, as may make it ſeem reaſonable, if not to grant a* Toleration *to thoſe of the Epiſcopal Perſuaſion, yet to* pity *them, if they are refuſed it.*

THE Ground of Epiſcopacy is derived partly from the Pattern preſcribed by God in the *Old Teſtament*, and partly from the Imitation thereof brought in by the *Apoſtles*, and confirmed by *Chriſt* himſelf in the Time of the *New*. The Government of the Church of the *Old Teſtament* was committed to the *Prieſts* and *Levites*, unto whom the Miniſters of the *New* do now ſucceed; in like ſort as *our* Lord's-Day hath done unto their Sabbath, that it might be fulfilled which was ſpoken by the Prophet, touching the Vocation of the *Gentiles*, *(a) I will take of them for Prieſts and for Levites, ſaith the Lord.*

That the *Prieſts* were ſuperior to the *Levites*, no Man doubteth; and that there was not a Parity, either betwixt the *Prieſts* or betwixt the *Levites* themſelves, is manifeſt by the Word of God; wherein mention is made of the *Heads* and *Rulers* both of the one, and of the other, 1 *Chron.* xxiv. 6. 31. and *Ezra* viii. 29.

The *Levites* were diſtributed into the three Families of the *Gerſhonites*, *Cohathites*, and *Merarites:* And over each of them God appointed one *Archoon* or *Ruler*, *Num.* iii. 24, 30, 35. The *Prieſts* were divided by *David* into Four and Twenty Courſes; 1 *Chron.* xxiv. Who likewiſe had their Heads: who in the Hiſtory of the *New Teſtament* are ordinarily called *(b) Archiereis* or *Chief of the Prieſts*; and clearly diſtinguiſhed from that ſingular one, who was the Type of our *great high Prieſt, that is paſſed into the Heavens, Jeſus the Son of God. (c)* Yea in the xi. of *Nehemy*, we find two named *Biſhops*, the one of the *Prieſts*, the other of the *Levites* that dwelt in *Jeruſalem.* The former ſo expreſly termed by the *Greek* in the 14. the latter both by the *Greek* and *Latin* Interpreter in the 22. Verſe, and not without Approbation of the Scripture itſelf, which rendereth the *(d) Hebrew* Word of the ſame Original in the *Old*, by the *(e) Greek Epiſcope* in the *New Teſtament.*

Of *Levi* it was ſaid by *Moſes* the Man of God, *(f) They ſhall teach* Jacob *thy Judgments, and* Iſrael *thy Law*; *they ſhall put Incenſe before thee, and whole burnt Sacrifice upon thine Altar.* Becauſe this latter Part of their Office hath ceaſed with them, and the Levitical Altar (the Truth prefigured thereby being

(a) *Eſa.* lxvi. 21.
(b) *Matth.* ii. 4. and 27. *Act.* xix. 14, *&c.*
(c) *Heb.* iv. 14.
(d) *Pſal.* cix. 8.
(e) *Act.* x. 20.
(f) *Deut.* xxxiii. 10.

exhi-

exhibited) is quite taken away: May not we therefore conclude out of the former Part (which hath no ſuch typical Relation in it) that our *Biſhops* and *Preſbyters* ſhould be (as the Apoſtle would have them to be) *(g) Didactikoi apt to teach, (h) able by ſound Doctrine, both to exhort, and to convince the Gainſayers?* Nay, and out of the latter Part itſelf, where God had appointed that *(i) the Prieſts, the Levites, and all the Tribe of* Levi *ſhould eat the Offerings of the Lord made by Fire*; doth not the Apoſtle from juſt Analogy infer from thence, that for as much as *(k) they which waited at the Altar, were Partakers with the Altar*; *even ſo had the Lord ordained, that they which preached the Goſpel, ſhould live of the Goſpel.*

With what Shew of Reaſon then can any Man imagine, that what was inſtituted by *God* in the *Law*, for mere Matter of Government, and Preſervation of good Order (without all Reſpect of Type or Ceremony) ſhould now be rejected in the *Goſpel*, as a Device of *Antichriſt?* That what was by the I ord once, *(l) planted a noble Vine, wholly a right Seed*, ſhould now be ſo *turned into the degenerate Plant of a ſtrange Vine*; that no purging or pruning of it will ſerve the Turn; but it muſt be cut down Root and Branch, as *(m) a Plant which our Heavenly Father had never planted?* But nothing being ſo familiar now a days, as to father upon *Antichriſt*, whatſoever in Church Matters we do not find to ſuit with our own Humours: The ſafeſt Way will be, to conſult with Chriſt himſelf herein, and hear what he delivereth in the Cauſe.

Theſe Things ſaith he, that hath the Seven Stars, Revel. iii. 1. he *owneth* then, we ſee, theſe *Stars*; whatſoever they be. And the Myſtery of them he thus further openeth unto his beloved Diſciple. *The ſeven Stars which thou ſaweſt in my right Hand, are the Angels of the ſeven Churches*, Revel. i. 10. From which Words a learned Man, very much devoted to the now ſo highly admired Diſcipline, deduceth this Concluſion. *(n) How great therefore is the Dignity of true Paſtors, who are both STARS, fixed in no other Firmament than in the Right Hand of Chriſt; and ANGELS.*

He had conſidered well, that in the Church of *Epheſus* (one of the ſeven here pointed at) there were many *(o) Preſbyters*; whom the HOLY GHOST *had made Biſhops and Overſeers, over all that Flock to feed the Church of God, which he had purchaſed with his own Blood.* And withal he ſaw, that by admitting one *Angel* there above the reſt (all as well *(p)* extraordinary *Prophets*, as *(q)* ordinary *Paſtors* being in their own ſeveral Stations accounted *Angels* or *Meſſengers* of the Lord of Hoſts) he ſhould be forced alſo to acknowledge the Eminency of one *Biſhop* above the other *Biſhops* (that Name being in thoſe Days *(r)* common unto all the *Preſbyters*, and to yield withal that ſuch a

(g) 1 *Tim.* iii. 2.
(h) *Tit.* i. 9.
(i) *Deut.* xxviii. 1.
(k) 1 *Cor.* ix. 13, 14.
(l) *Jerem.* ii. 2.
(m) *Matth.* xv. 13.
(n) *Brightman* in *Apocalyp.* i. 20.
(o) *Act.* xx. 17. 28.
(p) *Judg.* ii. 1. *Hag.* i. 13. *Matth.* xi. 18.
(q) *Malach.* ii. 7.
(r) *Philip.* i. 1. 1 *Tim.* i. 2. *Tit.* i. 5, 7.

one

one was to be eſteemed as a *Star fixed in no other Firmament, than in the Right Hand of Chriſt.*

To ſalve this therefore, all the *Stars* in every Church muſt be preſuppoſed to be of one Magnitude, and though thoſe *Stars* which typified theſe Angels are ſaid to be but Seven, yet the Angels themſelves muſt be maintained to be far more in Number: And in fine, where our Saviour ſaith *(s) unto the Angel of the Church of Epheſus write*; it muſt by no Means be admitted, that *(t)* any one Angel ſhould be meant hereby, but the whole College of Paſtors rather. And all upon a Pretence of a poor Shew of ſome ſhallow Reaſons, that there *was not one Angel of* Epheſus, *but many, and among them not any Principal.*

Which wreſting of the plain Words of our Saviour is ſo extream violent, that M. *Beza* (though every Way as zealouſly affected to the Advancement of the new Diſcipline, as was the other) could by no Means digeſt it: But ingenuouſly acknowledgeth the Meaning of our Lord's Direction to have been this, *(u) to the Angel, that is to the Preſident, as whom it behoved ſpecially to be admoniſhed touching thoſe Matters; and by him both the reſt of his Colleagues, and the whole Church likewiſe.* And that there was then a ſtanding *Preſident* over the reſt of the Paſtors of *Epheſus*, and he the very ſame (as learned *(x)* Doctor *Reynolds* addeth) with him whom afterwards the Fathers called *Biſhop* may further be manifeſt, not only by the Succeſſion of the firſt Biſhops of that Church, but alſo by the clear Teſtimony of *Ignatius:* Who (within no greater Compaſs of Time than twelve Years afterwards) diſtinguiſheth the ſingular and conſtant *Preſident* thereof, from the reſt of the Number of the *Preſbyters*, by appropriating the Name of *Biſhop* unto him.

As for the former, we find it openly declared in the general Council of *Chalcedon*, by *Leontius* Biſhop of *Magneſia*, that *(y)* from *Timothy* (and ſo from the Days of the Apoſtles) there had been a continued Succeſſion of *Seven and Twenty Biſhops*; all of them ordained in *Epheſus:* Of which Number the *Angel* of the Church of *Epheſus*, mention'd in the Revelation, muſt needs be one: Whether it were *Timothy* himſelf, as *(z)* ſome conceive; or one of his next Succeſſors, as others rather do imagine.

For that *Timothy* had been ſometime *(a)* the *Proeſtoos* (which is the Appellation that *(b) Juſtin Martyr*, in his ſecond Apology for Chriſtians, and *(c) Dionyſius* of *Corinth*, not long after him, in his Epiſtle to the Church of *Athens*, and *(d) Marcellus* Biſhop of *Ancyra*, in his Letters to *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome*, do give unto a *Biſhop*) or *Antiſtes*, or *Preſident* of the *Epheſine Preſbytery*, is confeſſed by *Beza* himſelf: And that he was ordained the firſt *Biſhop* of the Church of the *Epheſians*, we do not only read in the Subſcription of the

(s) *Revel.* ii. 1.
(t) *Brightman in Apocalypſ.* ii. 1.
(u) *Beza in Apocalypſ.* i. 2.
(x) Conference with *Hart*, *c.* 8. *diviſ.* 3.
(y) Council *Chalcedon*, *Act.* xi.
(z) *Vid. Peter in Apocalypſ. cap.* 2. *Diſp. Alcaſa. Protem. in cap.* ii. 3. *Apocal. Notat.* 1. *& Petr. Halloix Notat. invit. Polycarp, cap.* 7.
(a) *Beza*, *Annotat. in* 1 *Tim.* v. 19.
(b) *Phil.* i. 1.
(c) *Euſeb. lib.* 4. *cap.* 23.
(d) *Marcell. Ancyran. apud Epiphanium, Hæreſ.* 72.

ſecond

ſecond Epiſtle to *Timothy*, and the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of *(e) Euſebius*, but alſo in two ancient Treatiſes concerning the Martyrdom of *Timothy*; the one nameleſs in the Library of *(f) Photius*; the other bearing the Name of *(g) Polycrates*, even of that *Polycrates* who was not only himſelf Biſhop of this Church of *Epheſus*, but born alſo within Six or Seven and Thirty Years after St. *John* wrote the forenamed Epiſtle unto the Angel of that Church: As it appeareth by the Years he was of, when he wrote that Epiſtle unto *Victor* Biſhop of *Rome*, wherein he maketh mention of *(h) ſeven kinſmen of his who had been Biſhops*; he himſelf being the *Eighth*.

I come now to the Teſtimony of *Ignatius*, whom *(i) Theodoret*, and *(k) Felix* Biſhop of *Rome*, and *(l) John* the Chronographer of *Antioch* report to have been ordained Biſhop of *Antioch* by St. *Peter* in ſpecial, *Chryſoſtom* (who was a Preſbyter of the ſame Church) by *(m)* the *Apoſtles* in general; and without all Controverſy did ſit in that See, the very ſame Time wherein that Epiſtle unto *the Angel of the Church of Epheſus*, was commanded to be written.

In the Iſle of *Patmos* had St. *John* his Revelation manifeſted unto him, *(n) toward the End of the Empire of Domitian*, as *Ireneus* teſtifieth; or the fourteenth Year of his Government, as *(o) Euſebius* and *Hierom* ſpecify it. From thence there are but twelve Years reckoned unto the tenth of *Trajan*: wherein *Ignatius*, in that laſt Journey which he made for the Conſummation of his glorious Martyrdom at *Rome*, wrote another Epiſtle unto the ſelf ſame Church of *Epheſus*, in which he maketh mention of their then Biſhop *Oneſimus*, as it appears both by *(p) Euſebius* citing this out of it, and by the Epiſtle itſelf yet extant.

In this Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, *Ignatius* having acknowledged that their *(q) numerous Multitude* was received by him in the Perſon of their Biſhop *Oneſimus*, and *(r)* bleſſed God for granting unto them ſuch a *Biſhop* as he was: doth afterwards put them in Mind of their *(s)* Duty in concurring with him, as he ſheweth their worthy *Preſbytery* did, being *(t) ſo conjoin'd* (as he ſaith) *with their Biſhop, as the Strings are with the Harp:* and toward the End exhorteth them to *(u) obey both the Biſhop and the Preſbytery with an undivided Mind.*

In the ſame Journey wrote *Ignatius* alſo an Epiſtle unto the Church of *Smyrna*, another of the *ſeven*, unto whom thoſe Letters are directed in St.

(e) Euſeb. Hiſt. lib. 3. *cap.* 4.
(f) Phot. Biblioth. num. 254.
(g) Polycrat. de martyrio Timothei inter vitas ſanctorum, Edit. Lovanii, Anno 1485.
(h) Polycrat. Epiſt. ad Victorem, apud Euſeb. Hiſt. l. 5. *cap.* 21.
(i) Theodoret in Dialog. 1.
(k) Felix III. *in Epiſt. ad Zenonem Imp. in* 5. *Synodo Conſtantinopol. Act.* 1. *tom.* 2. *Concilior. pag.* 220. *edit. Binnii, anno* 1606.
(l) Johan. Malela, Antiochenus Chronic. lib. 10. *M. S.*
(m) Joh. Chryſoſt. in Ignatii Encomio.
(n) Iren. adverſ. Hæreſ. lib. 5. *cap.* 30.
(o) Euſeb. Chron. Hier. Catal. ſcriptor. Eccleſiaſt. in Johanne.
(p) Euſeb. Hiſt. lib. 3. *cap.* 31.
(q) Ignat. epiſt. ad Epheſ.
(r) Ibid.
(s) Ibid.
(t) Ibid.
(u) Ibid.

John's

John's Revelation, wherein he alſo *(x)* ſaluteth their *Biſhop* and *Preſbytery*; exhorting all the People to *(y) follow their Biſhop, as Chriſt Jeſus did his Father, and the Preſbytery, as the Apoſtles:* and telling them that *(z)* no Man ought to adminiſter the Sacraments, or do any thing appertaining to the Church without the Conſent of the *Biſhop*.

Who this *Biſhop*, and what the *Preſbytery* was, appeareth by another Epiſtle written a little after from *Smyrna*, by * *Polycarpus and the Preſbyters that were with him*, unto the *Philippians*. And that the ſame *Polycarpus* was then alſo *Biſhop* there, when St. *John* wrote unto *the Angel of the Church of Smyrna*; who can better inform us than *Irenæus*; who did not only know theſe worthy Men, *(a) who ſucceeded* Polycarpus *in his See*; but alſo *(b)* was preſent, when he himſelf did diſcourſe of his Converſation with St. *John*, and of thoſe Things which he heard from thoſe who had ſeen our Lord Jeſus.

Polycarpus (c) ſaith he, *was not only taught by the Apoſtles, and converſed with many of theſe that had ſeen Chriſt, but alſo was by the Apoſtles conſtituted in* Aſia *Biſhop of the Church which is in* Smyrna; *whom we ourſelves alſo did ſee in our younger Age, for he continued long: And being very aged, he moſt gloriouſly and nobly ſuffering Martyrdom, departed this Life.*

Now being ordained Biſhop of *Smyrna* by the *Apoſtles*; who had finiſhed their Courſe, and departed out of this Life, before St. *John* (the laſt Surviver of them) did write his *Revelation:* who but he could there be meant by *the Angel of the Church in Smyrna?* in which that he ſtill held his Epiſcopal Office unto the Time of his Martyrdom (which fell out LXXIV. Years afterward) may ſufficiently appear by this Teſtimony, which the Brethren of the Church of *Smyrna*, who were preſent at his Suffering, gave unto him. *(d) He was the moſt admirable Man in our Times, an Apoſtolical and Prophetical Doctor and Biſhop of the Catholick Church which is in Smyrna.* Whereunto we may add the like of *Polycrates* Biſhop of *Epheſus*, who lived alſo in his Time, and in his Neighbourhood, affirming *(e) Polycarpus* to have been *both Biſhop and Martyr in Smyrna.* So ſaith he in his Synodical Epiſtle directed unto *Victor* Biſhop of *Rome*, about 27 Years after the Martyrdom of *Polycarpus*; he himſelf being at that Time 65 Years of Age.

About the very ſame Time wherein *Polycrates* wrote this Epiſtle unto *Victor*, did *Tertullian* publiſh his Book of Preſcriptions againſt Hereticks: wherein he avoucheth againſt them that *(f)* as *the Church of Smyrna had* Polycarpus *placed there by* John, *and the Church of Rome* Clement *ordained by* Peter; *ſo the reſt of the Churches alſo did ſhew what Biſhops they had received by the Appointment of the Apoſtles, to traduce the Apoſtolical Seed unto them.* And ſo

(x) *Id. in Epiſt. ad Smyrn.*
(y) *Ibid.*
(z) *Ibid.*
* *Polycarp. Epiſt. ad Philipenſ.*
(a) *Iren. adverſ. Hæreſ. lib.* 3. *cap.* 3.
(b) *Id in Epiſt. ad Florinum:* [*apud Euſeb. lib.* 5.] *& ad Victorem, ibid.*
(c) *Iren. lib.* 3. *cap.* 3. *Vid & Euſeb. lib.* 3. *Hiſt.*
(d) *Smyrnenſ. Eccleſ. Epiſt. de Martyrio Polycarpi, Euſeb. lib.* 4. *Hiſt. cap.* 16.
(e) *Polycrat. Epiſt. ad Victorem: apud Euſeb. lib.* 5. *Hiſt.*
(f) *Tertul. de Preſcript. cap.* 32. *vid. & ejuſd. lib.* 4. *contra Marcion, cap.* 5.

before him did *Irenæus* urge againſt them *(g) the Succeſſions of Biſhops, unto whom the Apoſtles committed the Charge of the Church in every Place, (h)* For all the Hereticks (ſaith he) *are much later than thoſe Biſhops, unto whom the Apoſtles committed the Churches.* And *(i) we are able to number thoſe who by the Apoſtles were ordained Biſhops in the Churches, and their Succeſſors unto our Days; who neither taught, nor knew any ſuch Thing as theſe Men dream of.*

For Proof whereof, he bringeth in the Succeſſion of the Biſhops of *Rome*, from *(k) Linus* (unto whom the bleſſed Apoſtles committed that *Epiſcopacy)* and *Anacletus* (by others called *Cletus)* and *Clement (who did both ſee the Apoſtles and conferred with them)* unto *(l) Eleutherius*; who when *Irenæus* wrote, *had the Charge of the Biſhoprick in the twelfth Place after the Apoſtles.* Concerning whom, and the Integrity which then continued in each other Succeſſion from the Apoſtles Days, *Hegeſippus*, who at the ſame Time publiſhed his Hiſtory of the Church, ſaith thus, *(m) Soter ſucceeded Anicetus, and after him was Eleutherius. Now, in every Succeſſion, and in every City, all Things ſo ſtand, as the Law and the Prophets, and our Lord do preach.*

And more particularly concerning the Church of *Corinth*, *(n)* after he had ſpoken of the Epiſtle written unto them by *Clement*, for the repreſſing of ſome Factions wherewith they were at that Time much troubled (which gave him Occaſion to tell them, that *(o)* the Apoſtles, of whom he himſelf was an Hearer, had perfect Intelligence from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, of the *Contention that ſhould ariſe about the Name of Epiſcopacy)* he declareth, that after the appeaſing of this Tumult *(p)* the Church of the *Corinthians* continued in the right Way, until the Days of *Primus*, whom he did viſit in his ſailing towards *Rome*. Which *Primus* had for his Succeſſor that famous *Dionyſius*, whoſe Epiſtle to the Church of the *Athenians* hath been before nominated; wherein he put them in Mind of *(q)* the firſt Biſhop that had been placed over them, even *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*, *(r) St. Paul*'s own Convert, a Thing whereof they could at that Time have no more Cauſe to doubt, than we ſhould have, if any Queſtion were now made of the Biſhops that were here in King *Edward* the VI. or Queen *Mary*'s Days: I might alſo ſay, in the Middle of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* herſelf; if with *(ſ) Baronius*, I would produce the *Areopagite*'s Life unto the Government of the Emperour *Hadrian*.

This *Hegeſippus*, living next after the firſt Succeſſion of the Apoſtles (as *(t) Euſebius* noteth) and being himſelf a Chriſtian *(u)* of the Race of the *Hebrews*; was careful to record unto Poſterity the State of the Church of

(g) Iren. lib. 4. adverſ. Hereſ. cap. 63.
(h) Id. lib. 5. cap. 20.
(i) Id. lib. 3. cap. 3.
(k) Id. ibid.
(l) Ibid.
(m) Hegeſip. apud Euſeb. lib. 4. Hiſt. cap. 22.
(n) Euſeb. lib. 4. Hiſtor. cum lib. 3.
(o) Clemen. Epiſt. ad Corinth. pag. 57. Edit. D. Patricii Junii.
(p) Hegeſip. apud Euſeb. lib. 4.
(q) Dionyſ. Corinth. apud. eund. Euſeb. lib. 3. & lib. 4.
(r) Act. 17. 34.
(ſ) Baron. Annal. tom. 2. ann. 120.
(t) Euſeb. lib. 2.
(u) Euſeb. lib. 4. fin.

Jeru-

Jeruſalem in the Days of the Apoſtles, and the Alteration that followed after their Departure out of this Life. Where firſt he ſheweth, that *(x) James* the Brother of our Lord, ſurnamed the *Juſt*, did govern that Church, together with the Apoſtles: yet ſo (as by *Clement* of *Alexandria*, who wrote ſome twenty Years *(y)* after him, further addeth) that he had this Preferment even before the three prime Apoſtles, *Peter* and the two Sons of *Zebedee* (*James* and *John*) to be choſen the peculiar Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, the then Mother Church of the World.

After the Death of *James* the *Juſt*, *(z) Hegeſippus* declareth that *Simeon* the Son of *Clophas* or *Cleophas* was conſtituted Biſhop, and ſo continued until the Days of the Emperor *Trajan:* under whom he ſuffer'd a glorious Martyrdom (about the ſame Time that *Ignatius* did) being then an hundred and twenty Years of Age; and by that Account born before the Incarnation of our bleſſed Saviour. Where, the Obſervation of this prime Hiſtorian is not to be paſſed over: that *(a)* until thoſe Times the Church was called a *Virgin:* as being not yet corrupted with the overſpreading of heretical Doctrine. For howſoever Hereſies did ſpring up before, yet they were ſo kept down by the Authority of the Apoſtles and the Diſciples who had heard our Lord himſelf preach; that the Authors and Fautors thereof were not able to get any great Head, being forced [by the Authority of ſuch Oppoſites] to lurk in Obſcurity.

But as ſoon as all that Generation was gathered unto their Fathers, and none of thoſe were left who had the Happineſs to hear the gracious Words that proceeded from the Lord's own Mouth: the *Hereticks* taking that Advantage, began to enter into a kind of Combination, and with open Face publickly to maintain the *(b) Oppoſition of their Science falſly ſo called* [from whence they aſſumed unto themſelves the Name of *Gnoſticks*, or Men of Knowledge] againſt the Preaching of that Truth which by thoſe who were *(c) Eye Witneſſes* and Miniſters of the Word had been *(d)* ONCE *delivered unto the Saints. (e)* The firſt Beginner of which Conſpiracy was one *Thebuthis:* who had at the firſt been bred in one of the *ſeven Sects* into which the People of the *Jews* were in thoſe Days divided; but afterwards, becauſe he miſſed of a Biſhoprick unto which he had aſpired, [this of *Jeruſalem*, as it may ſeem; whereunto *Juſtus*, after the Death of *Simeon*, was preferred before him] could think of no readier a Way throughly to revenge himſelf of this Diſgrace, than by raiſing up the like Diſtractions among the Chriſtians. Which as, in the Effect, it ſhewed the Malignity of that ambitious Sectary: ſo doth it, in the *Occaſion* diſcover withal the great Eſteem that in thoſe early Days was had of Epiſcopacy.

When *Hegeſippus* wrote this Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory (the ancienteſt of any ſince the Acts of the Apoſtles) *Eleutherius* as we heard before, was Biſhop

(x) Hegeſip. Commentarior. lib. 5. apud eund. Euſeb. lib. 2. cap. 23.

(y) Clemen. in libro ſexto Hypotypoſeon: ubi Narrat. apud eund. l. 2. cap. 1.

(z) Atud. Euſeb. lib. 4. cap. 22. Vide eund. lib. 3. cap. 11. & 32.

(a) Hegeſip. apud eund. lib. 3. cap. 32.

(b) 1 *Tim.* 6. 20.

(c) Luk. 1. 2.

(d) Jude ver. 3.

(e) Hegeſip. apud Euſeb. lib. 4. caſ. 22.

of the Church of *Rome:* unto whom *(f) Lucius King of the Britains* (as our *Bede* relateth) *ſent an Epiſtle; deſiring that by his Means he might be made Chriſtian, who preſently obtained the Effect of his pious Requeſt: and the Britains kept the Faith then received, ſound and undefiled in quiet Peace, until the Times of* Diocleſian *the Emperor*, by whoſe bloody Perſecution the Faith and Diſcipline of our Britiſh Churches was not yet ſo quite extinguiſhed, but that within ten Years after (and eleven before the firſt General Council of *Nice*) three of our Biſhops were preſent, and ſubſcribed unto the Council of *Arles (g) Eborius* of *York*, *Reſtitutus* of *London*, and *Adelfius* of *Colcheſter*; if that be it which is called there *Colonia Londinenſium*. The firſt Root of whoſe Succeſſion we muſt fetch beyond *Eleutherius*, and as high as St. *Peter* himſelf, if it be true, that he, *(h) conſtituted Churches here, and ordained Biſhops, Preſbyters and Deacons in them:* as *Simeon Metaphraſtes* relateth out of ſome Part of *(i) Euſebius* (as it ſeemeth) that is not come unto our Hands.

But to return unto the *Angels of the ſeven Churches*, mentioned in the Revelation of St. *John:* by what hath been ſaid it is apparent, that ſeven ſingular Biſhops, who were the conſtant Preſidents over thoſe Churches, are pointed at under that Name. For other ſure they could not be, if all of them were caſt into one Mould, and were in the ſame Quality with *Polycarpus*, the then *Angel of the Church of Smyrna:* who without all Queſtion was ſuch, if any Credit may be given herein unto thoſe that ſaw him, and were well acquainted with him.

And as *Tertullian* in expreſs Terms affirmeth him to have been placed there by St. *John* himſelf (in the Teſtimony before alledged out of his *(k) Preſcriptions*; ſo doth he elſewhere from the Order of the ſucceeding Biſhops, not obſcurely intimate, that the reſt of that Number were to be referred unto the ſame Deſcent. *(l) We have*, ſaith he, *the Churches that were bred by* John. *For although* Marcion *do reject his Revelation: yet the Order of the Biſhops reckoned up unto their Original, will ſtand for* John *to be their Founder.*

Neither doth the ancient Writer of the Martyrdom of *Timothy*, mentioned by *Photius*, mean any other by thoſe ſeven Biſhops, whoſe Aſſiſtance he ſaith St. *John* did uſe, after his Return from *Patmos*, in the Government of the Metropolis of the *Epheſians*. For *(m) being revoked from his Exile*, ſaith he, *by the Sentence of* Nerva, *he betook himſelf to the Metropolis of* Epheſus; *and being aſſiſted with the Preſence of* SEVEN *Biſhops, he took upon him the Government of the Metropolis of the* Epheſians; *and continued preaching the Word of Piety, until the Empire of* Trajan.

That he remained with the *Epheſians* and the reſt of the Brethren of *Aſia*, until the Days of *Trajan*, and that during the Time of his Abode with them,

(f) Bed. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. Anglor. lib. 1. *cap.* 4.

(g) Tom. 1. *Concilior. Galliæ, a Sirmondo Edit. pag.* 9.

(h) Metaphraſt. Commentor. de Petro & Paulo; ad diem 29. *Junii.*

(i) Ibid.

(k) Tertul. Preſcript. c. 32. *Similiter & Hieronymus in Catal. Script. Eccleſiaſt. cap.* 17. *in Polycarpo; & Nicephorus, lib.* 3. *Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. cap.* 2.

(l) Tertul. adverſ. Marcion. lib. 4. *c.* 5.

(m) Phot. Bibliothec. num. 254.

he

he publiſhed his Goſpel; is ſufficiently witneſſed by *(n) Irenæus*. That upon his Return from the Iſland after the Death of *Domitian*, he applied himſelf to the Government of the Churches of *Aſia*, is confirmed likewiſe both by *(o) Euſebius*, and by *(p) Hierom:* who further addeth, that *(q)* at the earneſt Intreaty of the Biſhops of *Aſia*, he wrote there his Goſpel.

And that he himſelf alſo, being free from his Baniſhment, did ordain Biſhops in diverſe Churches, is clearly teſtified by *Clement* of *Alexandria*, who lived in the next Age after, and delivereth it as a certain Truth, which he had received from thoſe who went before him, and could not be far from the Time wherein the Thing itſelf was acted. *(r)* When St. *John*, ſaith he, Domitian *the Tyrant being dead, removed from the Iſland of* Patmos *unto* Epheſus, *by the Intreaty of ſome he went alſo unto the neighbouring Nations; in ſome Places conſtituting Biſhops, in others founding whole Churches.*

Among theſe neighbouring Churches was that of *Hierapolis:* which had *Papias* placed *(s)* Biſhop therein. That this Man was *(t)* a Hearer of St. *John*, and a Companion of *Polycarpus*, is teſtified by his own Scholar *(u) Irenæus*, and that he converſed with the *(x)* Diſciples of the Apoſtles, and of Chriſt alſo; he himſelf doth thus declare, in the Proeme of the five Books which he entituled, *A Declaration of the Words of the Lord (y) If any upon Occaſion of the Preſbyters, who had accompanied the Apoſtles, did come; I diligently enquired what were the Speeches which the Apoſtles uſed, what* Andrew, *or what* Peter *did ſay, or what* Phillip, *or* Thomas, *or* James, *or* John, *or* Matthew, *or ſome other of the Diſciples of the Lord; and the Things that* Ariſtion *and* John *the Elder, our Lord's Diſciples did ſpeak.* The two laſt of whom he often cited by Name in the Proceſs of the Work; relating the Paſſages in this Kind which he had heard from them.

Neither can any Man be ſo ſimple as to imagine, that in the Language of *Clemens Alexandrinus* the Name of a *Biſhop* ſhould import no more than a bare *Preſbyter:* If he conſider, that not the *(a)* Difference only betwixt *Preſbyters*, *Biſhops* and *Deacons*, is by him acknowledged; but further alſo, that the Diſpoſition of their three Offices in his Judgment, doth carry with it *(b)* an *Imitation of the Angelical Glory*. To ſay nothing of the Emperour *Hadrian:* Who, hard upon the Time of the forenamed *Papias*, writing unto the Conſul *Servianus*, touching the State of Things in *Ægypt*, maketh diſtinct Mention in his Letter, of *(c)* the *Preſbyters of the Chriſtians*, and of

(n) Irenæus adverſ. Hæreſ. 2 *cap.* 39. *Item, lib.* 3. *c.* 1. *&* 3.

(o) Euſeb. lib. 3. *Hiſt. cap.* 23.

(p) Hieronym. in Catal. ſcrip. Eccleſ. c. 9.

(q) Id. ibid. & Præfat. in Evangel. Matthæi.

(r) Tom. 3. *Commentariorum Michaelis Ghiſlerii, Euſeb. Hiſt. lib.* 3. *cap.* 23.

(s) Euſeb. lib. 3. *Hiſt. cap.* 35. *Hieron. Catal. ſcript. Eccleſiaſt. cap.* 18. *& Chroni ad ann. Trajani* 2.

(t) Irenæus adverſ. Hæreſ. lib. 5. *c.* 33.

(u) Hieronym. Epiſt. 29. *ad Theodoram.*

(x) Irenæus lib. 5. *cap.* 36. *meminit.*

(y) Apud Euſeb. lib. 3. *Hiſt.*

(z) Euſeb. ibid.

(a) Clem. Alex. Pædagog. lib. 3. *cap. ult.*

(b) Id. Stromat. lib. 6.

(c) Nemo Chriſtianorum Preſbyter. Hadrian Epiſt. ad Servian. apud Pl. Vopiſc. in Vita Saturnini.

thoſe

thoſe (*d*) who call themſelves the *Biſhops of Chriſt.*

And thus having deduced *Epiſcopacy* from the Apoſtolical Times, and declared, *that the Angels of the ſeven Churches* were no other, but ſuch as in the next Age after the Apoſtles were by the Fathers termed *Biſhops:* we are now further to enquire, why theſe Churches are confined unto the Number of *Seven*, in the Superſcription of that Apoſtolical Epiſtle prefixed before the Book of the *Revelations*; (*e*) *John to the ſeven Churches in Aſia: Grace be unto you and Peace.* Where St. *John*, directing his Letters unto them thus indefinitely, without any Mention of their particular Names; cannot by common Intendment be conceived to have underſtood any other thereby, but ſuch as by ſome Degree of Eminency were diſtinguiſhable from all the reſt of the Churches that were in *Aſia*; and, in ſome Sort, alſo did comprehend all the reſt under them.

For taking *Aſia* here in that ſtricter Senſe, wherein the New Teſtament uſeth it, as denoting the *Lydian Aſia* alone [of the Circuit whereof I have treated (*f*) elſewhere more particularly] it is not to be imagined, that after ſo long Pains taken by the Apoſtles and their Diſciples in the Huſbanding of that Part of the Lord's Vineyard, there ſhould be found no more but *ſeven* Churches therein; eſpecially ſince St. *Paul*, that (*g*) *wiſe Maſter Builder*, profeſſeth, that he had here (*h*) *a great Door and effectual opened unto him:* And St. *Luke* teſtifieth accordingly, that (*i*) *all they which dwelt in Aſia heard the Word of the Lord Jeſus, both Jews and Greeks; ſo mightily grew the Word of God, and prevailed.* Which extraordinary Bleſſing of God upon his Labours, moved the Apoſtle to make his Reſidence (*k*) in thoſe Parts for *the Space of three Years:* Wherein he *ceaſed not to warn every one Night and Day with Tears.*

So that in all Reaſon we are to ſuppoſe, that theſe *ſeven* Churches (compriſing all the reſt within them) were not bare *parochial* ones, or ſo many particular Congregations; but *Dioceſan* Churches (as we uſe to call them) if not *Metropolitical* rather. For that in (*l*) *Laodicea*, *Sardis*, *Smyrna*, *Epheſus* and (*m*) *Pergamus*, the Roman Governours held their Courts of Juſtice, to which all the Cities and Towns about had Recourſe for the Ending of their Suits, is noted by *Pliny*. And beſides theſe (which were the greateſt) *Thyatira* is alſo by (*n*) *Ptolemy* expreſly named a *Metropolis:* As *Philadelphia* alſo is, in the (*o*) Greek Acts of the Council of *Conſtantinople* held under *Menas:* Which giveth us good Ground to conceive, that the ſeven Cities, in which the *ſeven* Churches had their Seat, were all of them *Metropolitical*, and ſo had relation unto the reſt of the Towns and Cities of *Aſia*, as unto *Daughters* riſing under them.

(*d*) *Qui ſe Chriſti Epiſcopos dicunt. ibid.*
(*e*) *Rev.* i. 4.
(*f*) Diſquiſit. touching the *Aſia* properly ſo called, *&c. cap.* 2.
(*g*) 1 *Cor.* iii. 10.
(*h*) 1 *Cor.* xvi. 8, 9.
(*i*) *Act.* xix. 19, 20.
(*k*) *Act.* xx. 18. 31.
(*l*) *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* 5. *cap.* 29.
(*m*) *Ibid. cap.* 30.
(*n*) *Ptolem. Geog. lib.* 5.
(*o*) *Concil. Conſtantin. ſub Mena, Act.* 5.

This

This *Lydian Aſia* was ſeparated from *Caria* by the River *Meander*; upon the Banks whereof *Magneſia* and *Trallis* were ſeated, to the Chriſtians whereof *Ignatius* directed two of his Epiſtles; wherein he maketh mention of *Damas* Biſhop of the one Church, and *Polybius* Biſhop [or *(p) Ruler*, as *Euſebius* calleth him] of the other, whom they had ſent to viſit him at *Smyrna*; adding withal in that to the *Trallians* his uſual Admonitions, *(q) Be ſubject to the Biſhop as to the Lord:* and *(r) to the Preſbytery, as to the Apoſtles of Jeſus Chriſt our Hope. (s) He that doth any thing without the Biſhop and the Preſbyters and the Deacons, ſuch an one is defiled in Conſcience. (t) Fare ye well in Jeſus Chriſt; being ſubject to the Biſhop, and likewiſe to the Preſbyters.*

Wherein we may note, that within *twelve* Years after mention of the *ſeven* Churches made in the *Apocalypſe* (for then as hath been ſhewed, were theſe Epiſtles of *Ignatius* written) other Epiſcopal Cities are found in the ſame *Lydian Aſia*, and two ſuch, as in after Times are well known to have been *(u)* under the Government of the *Metropolitan* of *Epheſus*. But whether this Subordination were as ancient as the Days of *Ignatius* (whoſe Epiſtles are extant unto theſe three Churches) and *(x) Damas* the then Biſhop of *Magneſia*, with *Polybius* of *Trallis*, were at that Time ſubject to *Oneſimus* the Biſhop of *Epheſus*, might well be doubted: But that the ſame *Ignatius* directeth one of his Epiſtles unto the Church *(y) which had Preſidency in the Place of the Region of the Romans*; and in the Body thereof doth attribute unto himſelf the Title of the *Biſhop of Syria*. Whereby, as he intimateth himſelf to have been not only the Biſhop of *Antioch*, but alſo of the reſt of the Province of *Syria*, which was under that *Metropolis*, ſo doth he likewiſe not obſcurely ſignify that the Biſhop of *Rome* had at that Time a Preſidency over the Churches that were in the *(z) Urbicarian Region*, as the Imperial Conſtitutions, or the * *Roman Province*, as the Acts of the firſt Council of *Arles* call it.

What that *Urbicarian Region* was, I will not now ſtand to diſcuſs: Whether *Tuſcia* only, wherein *Rome* itſelf was ſituated [which in the Days of *Ignatius* was one intire Region, but afterwards divided into *Tuſcia*, *Suburbricaria*, and *Anoneria*] or the Territory wherein the *Præfectus Urbis* did exerciſe his Juriſdiction (which was confined within the Compaſs of an Hundred Miles about the City) or, with that, thoſe other Provinces alſo whereunto the Authority of the *Vicarius Urbis* did extend; or, laſtly, the Circuit within which thoſe 69 Biſhopricks were contained that *(a)* were immediately ſubject to the Biſhop of *Rome*, and frequently called to his *Synods:* The Names whereof are found regiſtered in the Records of that Church. The Antiquity of which Number,

(p) *Euſeb. Hiſt. lib.* 3. *cap.* 35.
(q) *Ignat. epiſt. ad Trallian.*
(r) *Ibid.*
(s) *Ibid.*
(t) *Ibid.*
(u) *Ordo Metropolitar. in Append. Geograph. ſacr. Caroli a S. Paulo, pag.* 11. *& in Tom.* 1. *Juris Græco Roman. a Jo. Leunclavio edit. pag.* 90.
(x) *Euſeb. Hiſt. lib.* 3. *cap.* 35.
(y) *Ignat. epiſt. ad Roman.*
(z) *Ex Urbicaria Regione Cod. Theod. lib.* 11. *Tit.* 2. *leg.* 5.
* *Ex provincia Romana civitate Portuen, &c. In nominibus quæ Concilio Arelatenſi* I. *præfixa leguntur.*
(a) *M. S. Vatican apud Baron. an.* 1057. *S.* 23.

as

as it may in ſome Sort receive Confirmation from the *Roman Synod of ſeventy Biſhops* held under *Gelaſius:* So for the Diſtinction of the Biſhops which belonged to the City of *Rome*, from thoſe that appertained to *Italy*, we have a far more ancient Teſtimony from the Edict of the Emperor *Aurelian*; who in the Controverſy that aroſe betwixt *Paulus Samoſatenus* and *Domnus* for the Houſe which belonged unto the Church of *Antioch*, commanded that it ſhould be delivered to them, *(b)* to whom the *Biſhops* of *Italy* and *Rome* ſhould by their Letters declare that it ought to be given. Which Diſtinction, as well in the forecited *(c)* Acts of the Council of *Arles*, as in the Epiſtles of the *(d) Sardican* Synod and *(e) Athanaſius*, may likewiſe be obſerved: The Name of *Italy* being in a more ſtrict Senſe applied therein to the *ſeven* Provinces, which were under the Civil Juriſdiction of the *Vicarius* or Lieutenant of *Italy*, and the Eccleſiaſtical of the Biſhop of *Milan*.

And it is well worth the obſerving, that the Fathers of the great Council of *Nice* afterwards confirming this Kind of Primacy, in the Biſhops of *Alexandria*, *Rome* and *Antioch*, and *(f)* in the Metropolitans of other Princes; do make their Entrance into that Canon with theſe Words; *Let the* ANCIENT *Cuſtoms continue.* Which as it cleareth the Antiquity of the Metropolitical Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *Rome*, ſo doth it likewiſe confirm the Opinion of thoſe, who conceive the Metropolitan of *Alexandria* to be meant in that Paſſage of the Emperor *Hadrian*'s Epiſtle under *Servianus*, *(g) even the very Patriarch himſelf, when he cometh into* Egypt, *is by ſome compelled to adore* Serapis, *and by others to worſhip* Chriſt. As if, upon his returning into *Egypt*, either from his Viſitation of *Lybia* and *Pentapolis* (which this ſame *Nicene* Canon ſheweth to have of old belonged unto his Care) or from his Flight in that preſent Time of Perſecution; he ſhould ſuffer this Diſtraction: The Heathen labouring to compel him to the Worſhip of *Serapis*; and his own Chriſtian Flock, on the other Side, ſtriving to keep him conſtant in the Service of *Chriſt:* For that either the Heathen had Will, or the Chriſtians Power, at that Time to force the *Jewiſh* Patriarch (of whom ſome do underſtand the Place) to the Adoration of *Chriſt*, hath no Manner of Probability in it.

That Part alſo of the Canon, which ratifieth the ancient Rights of Metropolitans of all other Provinces, may ſerve to open unto us the Meaning of that Complaint which, ſome Threeſcore and ten Years before the Time of this Synod, St. *Cyprian* made againſt *Novatianus*; for the Confuſion which by his Schiſm he brought upon the Churches of God: that *(h) whereas long ſince in all Provinces, and in all Cities, Biſhops had been ordained, in Age ancient, ſound in Faith, tryed in Affliction, proſcribed in Perſecution*; *yet took he the Boldneſs*

(b) Nicephorus Calliſt. Hiſt. lib. 6. *cap.* 29. but *Euſeb. lib.* 7. *c.* 30.

(c) Ex provincia Italia, civitate Mediolanen. &c. Ex provincia Romana a civitate Portuen, ut ſupra.

(d) Synod. Sardic. Epiſt. ad Alexandrin. in 2. *Athanaſi Apologia* (*tom.* 1. *Oper. edit. Commelin. pag.* 588.

(e) Athanaſ. epiſt. ad ſolitar. vit. agentes. (*Ibid. pag.* 648.)

(f) Concil. Nicæn. 1. *Can.* 6.

(g) Hadrian. epiſt. ad Servian. apud Vopiſ. in Saturnino.

(h) Cyprian. epiſt. 52.

to

to create other falſe Biſhops over their Heads. Namely, ſubordinate Biſhops in every *City*, and *Metropolitans* in every *Province.*

In *Africk*, at that Time, although there were many civil Provinces, yet was there but one Eccleſiaſtical; whereof *Cyprian* himſelf was *(i) Archbiſhop*, as the Fathers of the *Trullan* Synod call him. It pleaſed, ſaith he in one of his Epiſtles, *(k) all the Biſhops conſtituted either in our Province, or beyond the Sea*; intimating thereby, that all the Biſhops which were on his Side the Sea did belong unto one Province. *(l)* For *our Province*, ſaith he in another Place, is ſpread *more largely, having* Numidia *alſo, and both the* Mauritania's *annexed unto it.* Whence that great Council aſſembled by him for determining the Queſtion touching the Baptizing of thoſe that had been baptized by the Hereticks, is ſaid to be gathered *(m)* out of the Province of *Africa*, *Numidia*, and *Mauritania.* For howſoever in the civil Government, the *Proconſular Africa* (wherein *Carthage* was ſeated) *Numidia* and both the *Mauritanies (Sitifenſis* and *Cæſarienſis)* were accounted three diſtinct Provinces; yet, in the Eccleſiaſtical Adminiſtration, they were joyned together, and made but one Province, immediately ſubject to the Metropolitical Juriſdiction of the prime See of *Carthage.*

Some threeſcore Years before this *African* Council was held by *Cyprian*, thoſe other Provincial Synods were aſſembled by the Metropolitans of ſundry Nations, for the compoſing of the Paſchal Controverſy, then hotly purſued; and, among the reſt, that in our Neighbour Country, out of (*n*) the Pariſhes (for ſo, in the ancient Language of the Church, thoſe Precincts were named, which now we call *Dioceſes)* of which *Irenæus* had the Superintendency; whence alſo he wrote that free Epiſtle unto *Victor* Biſhop of *Rome (o) in the Perſon of thoſe Brethren over whom he was Preſident.* At which Time (and before) the *(p)* the moſt famous *Metropolis* of that Country, and ſo the *(q)* moſt eminent Churches therein, were *Lyons* and *Vienna*; in the one whereof *Irenæus (r)* was then no leſs renowned a Prelate, then *Cyprian* was afterwards in *Africa.*

Dionyſius, the famous Biſhop of *Corinth*, was elder than they, who among many other Epiſtles, directed one *(s)* to the Church of *Gortyna*, and all the reſt of the Churches of *Crete*; wherein he ſaluted their Biſhop *Philip.* Whereby it appeareth, that at that Time, as well as in the Ages following, *(t) Grotyna* was the *Metropolis*, and the Biſhop thereof the *Metropolitan* of all the reſt of that whole Iſland. Which Kind of Superintendency there, *Euſebius* (the ancienteſt Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian now extant) deriveth from the very Times of *Titus*; whom, out of the Hiſtories that were before his Time, he

(*i*) *Concil. Conſtantin. in Trullo, Can.* 2.
(*k*) *Cyprian Epiſt.* 40.
(*l*) *Id. Epiſt.* 45.
(*m*) *Ex provincia Africa, Numidia, Mauritania. Concil. Cypriani.*
(*n*) *Euſeb. Hiſtor. lib.* 5. *cap.* 23.
(*o*) *Ibid. cap.* 26.
(*p*) *Ibid. cap.* 1.
(*q*) *Id. ibid.*
(*r*) *Theodoret in Atrepto.*
(*s*) *Id. lib.* 4. *cap.* 23.
(*t*) *Subſcript. Concil. Chalcedon. Act.* 6. *& Concil. Conſtantinop. ſub Mena, Act.* 5. *& Synodi* 5. *generat. Conſtantinop. Collat.* 8.

relateth to have held *(u)* the Biſhoprick of the Churches in *Crete*. With whom the *Grecians* of after Times do fully concur; as appeareth both by the Subſcription annexed by them unto the Epiſtle of St. *Paul (x)* to *Titus*; ordained (as there they ſay) the firſt Biſhop of the Church of the *Cretians*; and by the Argument prefixed by them before the ſame, ſpeaking of him to the ſame Effect, that *(y) he was by* Paul *ordained Biſhop of that great Country*, and *had Commiſſion to ordain the Biſhops that were under him*, which they gather out of thoſe Words of St. *Paul* unto him: *(z) For this Cauſe left I thee in Crete, that thou ſhouldeſt ſet in order the Things that are wanting, and ordain Elders in every City, as I had appointed thee.* Out of which M. *Calvin* * collecteth this Doctrine unto us for the general: *We learn out of this Place, that there was not then ſuch an Equality betwixt the Miniſters of the Church, but that there was ſome one who was Preſident over the reſt both in Authority and in Counſel.* And St. *Chryſoſtom*, for the Particular of *Titus*, *(a) Had he not been an approved Man, he would not have committed that whole Iſland unto him: he would not have commanded him to ſupply the Things that were defective; he would not have committed unto him the Judgment of ſo many Biſhops, if he had not had very great Confidence in the Man.* And Biſhop *Jewel* upon him again: *Having the Government of many Biſhops, what may we call him but an Arch-Biſhop?*

Which is not ſo much to be wondered at, when we ſee that the Biſhops of another Iſland ſtick not (and that without any Controul) to deduce the Ordination of their *Metropolitan* from the Apoſtolick Times, in the Face of the whole General Council of *Epheſus*. For whereas the Patriarch of *Antioch* did claim an Intereſt in the ordaining of the *Metropolitan* of *Cyprus*: The Biſhops of that Iſland preſcribed to the contrary, that *(b)* from the Time of *the holy Apoſtles it could never be ſhewed, that the Biſhop of* Antioch *was ever preſent at any ſuch Ordination, or did ever communicate the Grace of Ordination to that Iſland*; and that the former Biſhops of *Conſtantia* (the *Metropolis* of *Cyprus*) *Troilus*, *Sabinus*, *Epiphanius*, *(c)* and *all the holy and Orthodox Biſhops which were before them, ever ſince the holy Apoſtles, were conſtituted by thoſe which were in Cyprus*, and therefore deſired that *(d) as in the Beginning from the Times of the Apoſtles, and by the Conſtitutions and Canons of the moſt holy and great Synod of* Nice, *the Synod of the* Cyprian *Biſhops remained untouched, and ſuperior to privy Underminings and open Power*; ſo they might ſtill be continued in the Poſſeſſion of their ancient Right. Whereupon the Council condemning the Attempt of the Biſhop of *Antioch*, as *(e)* an *Innovation brought in againſt the Eccleſiaſtical Laws and the Canons of the holy Fathers*; did not only order, that *(f) the Governours of the Churches*

(u) Id. lib. 3. cap. 1.
(x) Ibid.
(y) Theodoret. Argument. epiſt. ad Tit. in Oecomenio.
(z) Tit. i. 5.
* *Calvin in Tit. i. 5.*
(a) Chryſoſt. in Tit. 1. Homil. 1.
(b) Concil. Epheſin. Act. 7.
(c) Ibid.
(d) Ibid.
(e) Ibid.
(f) Ibid.

which

which were in Cyprus *ſhould keep their own Right intire and inviolable, according to the Canons of the holy Fathers and their ancient Cuſtom:* but alſo *(g)* for all other Dioceſes and Provinces whereſoever; that no Biſhop ſhould intrude himſelf into any other Province, which had not formerly, and *from the Beginning*, been under him, or his Predeceſſors.

The Beginning of which Kind of Subordination of many Biſhops unto one Chief, if it were not to be derived from Apoſtolical Right, yet it is by *Beza* fetched *(h)* from the ſame Light of Nature, and Enforcement of Neceſſity, whereby Men were at firſt induced to enter into Conſociations, ſubjected one unto another, and by *Bucer* acknowledged to have *(i) been conſentaneous to the Law of Chriſt*, and to have *been done by the Right of the Body of Chriſt*; and by all Men muſt be confeſſed to be conformable to the Pattern delivered by God unto *Moſes*. For having ſet apart the three Families of the *Levites* for his own Service, and conſtituted a *Chief* (as we have heard) over every of them: He placed immediately over them all, not *Aaron* the *High Prieſt*, but *Eleazer* his Son, ſaying, *(k) Eleazar, the Son of Aaron the Prieſt, ſhall be chief over the chief of the Levites; and have the Overſight of them that keep the Charge of the Sanctuary.*

In reſpect of which *Overſight*, as he hath by the *Septuagint*, warrantably enough by the Word of God, given unto him the Name of *(l)* a Biſhop: ſo the Holy Ghoſt having vouchſafed to honour him with the Title of *(m) the Preſident of the Preſidents of the Levites*; none, that without Prejudice did take the Matter into Conſideration, would much ſtick to afford unto him the Name of an *Arch-Biſhop*; at leaſt he would be taught hereby, to retain that reverend Opinion of the Primitive Biſhops of the Chriſtian Church (who ſo willingly ſubmitted themſelves, not only to the *Archiepiſcopal*, but alſo to *Patriarchical* Government) which *Calvin* profeſſed he did: that in all this, they were far from having a Thought, *(n) to deviſe another Form of Church Government, than that which God had preſcribed in his Word.*

(g) Ibid.

(h) Beza de diverſ. gradib. miniſtr. contr. Sarav. cap. 24. ſect. 4.

(i) M. Bucer. de vi & uſu S. Miniſterii. (inter ſcripta ejus Anglicana) p. 565. ſect. 4.

(k) Num. iii. 32.

(l) LXX. *Num.* iv. 26.

(m) Id. Num. iii. 32.

(n) Calvin. Inſtitut. lib. 4. cap. 4.

The Writers which, in the next Age after the Apoſtles, have here given Teſtimony for Epiſcopacy.

IN the XIV. Year of *Domitian*, about the XCV. Year of our Lord (according to the vulgar Account) St. *John* wrote his Revelation; and in it, the Epiſtle directed by our Saviour, *to the Angel of the Church in Philadelphia.* No longer than twelve Years after that Time, *Ignatius* (St. *John*'s Scholar) writeth his Letters unto the ſame Church. In the Beginning whereof, he giveth this Teſtimony unto their Biſhop; that *(a) he knew him to have been promoted, not of himſelf, nor by Men, unto that Miniſtry, pertaining to the publick Weal of the Church*, which is every whit as much as if he had called him their *Angel.* Afterwards he telleth them, that there is but *(b)* one Biſhop joined with the Preſbytery and the Deacons, and that he delivered this as the Voice of God; *(c) Take heed unto your Biſhop, and to the Preſbytery and the Deacons, (d)* calling him to Witneſs, for whom he was bound, and for whom he went then unto his laſt Martyrdom; that he had not this from humane Fleſh (or from the Mouth of Men) but that the Spirit ſpake it: *Without the Biſhop do nothing.* So that from St. *John*'s Time, we have this continued Succeſſion of Witneſſes, in the Age next following, for Epiſcopacy.

In the Year

CVII. *Ignatius*, Biſhop of *Antioch*, where firſt they were called Chriſtians.
CXXX. *Hadrian* the Emperor, touching the Biſhops of *Ægypt.*
CL. *Juſtine* Martyr, from *Samaria.*
CLXIX. The Church of *Smyrna.*
CLXXV. *Dionyſius*, Biſhop of *Corinth.*
CLXXX. *Hegeſippus*, from *Judea.*
Irenæus, Biſhop of *Lyons*, near unto us.
CXCV. *Tertullian*, from *Africk.*
Polycrates, Biſhop of *Epheſus.*
CC. *Clemens*, Preſbyter of *Alexandria.*

(a) Ignat. epiſt. ad Philadelph.
(b) Ibid.
(c) Ibid.
(d) Id. ibid. cum Antiocho, Serm. 124.

The Apoſtolical Inſtitution of Epiſcopacy: *Demonſtrated out of the Premiſes, by* WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH.

IF we abſtract from Epiſcopal Government all Accidentals, and conſider only what is eſſential and neceſſary to it; we ſhall find in it no more but this: An Appointment of one Man of eminent Sanctity and Sufficiency to have the Care of all the Churches within a certain Precinct or Dioceſs; and furniſhing him with Authority, not abſolute or arbitrary, but regulated and bounded by Laws, and moderated by joining to him a convenient Number of Aſſiſtants. To the Intent that all the Churches under him may be provided of good and able Paſtors: And that both of Paſtors and People Conformity to Laws and Performance of their Duties may be required, under Penalties, not left to Diſcretion, but by Law appointed.

To this Kind of Government I am not by any particular Intereſt ſo devoted, as to think it ought to be maintained, either in Oppoſition to Apoſtolick Inſtitution, or to the much deſired Reformation of Mens Lives, and Reſtauration of Primitive Diſcipline, or to any Law or Precept of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt: For that were to maintain a Means contrary to the End. For Obedience to our Saviour is the End for which Church Government is appointed. But if it may be demonſtrated, or made much more probable than the contrary, as I verily think it may: I. That it is not repugnant to the Government ſettled in and for the Church by the Apoſtles. II. That it is as compliable with the Reformation of any Evil which we deſire to reform either in Church or State, or the Introduction of any Good which we deſire to introduce, as any other Kind of Government; and III. That there is no Law, no Record of our Saviour againſt it: Then I hope it will not be thought an unreaſonable Motion, if we humbly deſire thoſe that are in Authority, eſpecially the high Court of Parliament, that it may not be ſacrificed to Clamour, or over-born by Violence: And though [which God forbid] the greater Part of the Multitude ſhould cry, *crucify*, *crucify*, yet our Governours would be ſo full of Juſtice and Courage, as not to give it up until they perfectly underſtand concerning Epiſcopacy itſelf, *Quid mali fecit*. I ſhall ſpeak at this Time only of the firſt of theſe three Points: That Epiſcopacy is not repugnant to the Government ſettled in the Church for Perpetuity by the Apoſtles: Whereof I conceive this which follows as clear a Demonſtration, as any Thing of this Nature is capable of.

That this Government was received univerſally in the Church, either in the Apoſtles Time, or preſently after, is ſo evident and unqueſtionable, that the moſt learned Adverſaries of this Government do themſelves confeſs it.

Petrus Molineus in his Book *de munere Paſtorali*, purpoſely written in Defence of the Preſbyterial Government, acknowledgeth, That preſently after the Apoſtles Time, or even in their Time (as Eccleſiaſtical Story witneſſeth) it

was

was ordained, That in every City one of the Preſbytery ſhould be called a Biſhop, who ſhould have Preheminence over his Colleagues; to avoid Confuſion which oft times ariſeth out of Equality. And truly this Form of Government all Churches every where received.

Theodorus Beza, in his Tract *de Triplici Epiſcopatus genere*, confeſſeth in Effect the ſame Thing. For having diſtinguiſhed Epiſcopacy into three Kinds, *Divine*, *Humane*, and *Satanical*, and attributing to the ſecond (which he calls *Humane*, but we maintain and conceive to be *Apoſtolical*) not only a Priority of Order, but a Superiority of Power, and Authority over other Preſbyters, bounded yet by Laws and Canons provided againſt Tyranny: He clearly profeſſeth, that of this Kind of Epiſcopacy is to be underſtood whatſoever we read concerning the Authority of Biſhops or Preſidents (as *Juſtin Martyr* calls them) in *Ignatius*, and other more ancient Writers.

Certainly from * theſe two great Defenders of the Preſbytry we ſhould never had this free Acknowledgment, ſo prejudicial to their own Pretence, and ſo advantageous to their Adverſaries Purpoſe, had not the Evidence of clear and undeniable Truth enforced them to it. It will not therefore be neceſſary to ſpend any Time in confuting that uningenuous Aſſertion of the anonymous Author of the Catalogue of Teſtimonies for the Equality of Biſhops and Preſbyters, who affirms, That their Diſparity began long after the Apoſtles Times: But we may ſafely take for granted that which theſe two learned Adverſaries have confeſſed; and ſee, whether upon this Foundation laid by them, we may not by unanſwerable Reaſon raiſe this Superſtruction.

"That ſeeing Epiſcopal Government is confeſſedly ſo ancient and ſo Catho-
"lick, it cannot with Reaſon be denied to be Apoſtolick.

For ſo great a Change, as between Preſbyterial Government and Epiſcopal, could not poſſibly have prevailed all the World over, in a little Time. Had Epiſcopal Government been an Aberration from, or a Corruption of the Government left in the Churches by the Apoſtles, it had been very ſtrange, that it ſhould have been received in any one Church ſo ſuddenly, or that it ſhould have prevailed in all for many Ages after. *Variaſſe debuerat error Eccleſiarum, quod autem apud omnes unum eſt, non eſt erratum, ſed traditum.* Had the Churches err'd, they would have varied. What therefore is one and the ſame amongſt all, came not ſure by Errour, but Tradition. Thus *Tertullian* argues very probably from the Conſent of the Churches of his Time, not long after the Apoſtles, and that in Matter of Opinion much more ſubject to unobſerv'd Alteration. But that in the Frame and Subſtance of the neceſſary Government of the Church, a Thing always in Uſe and Practice, there ſhould be ſo ſudden

* To whom two others alſo from *Geneva* may be added: *Daniel Chamierus* (*in Panſtratia, Tom.* 2. *lib.* 10. *cap.* 6. *ſect.* 24.) and *Nicol. Vedelius* (*Exercit.* 3. *in Epiſt. Ignatii ad Philadelph. cap.* 14. & *Exercitat.* 8. *in Epiſtol. ad Mariam, cap.* 3.) which is fully alſo demonſtrated in the former Treatiſe, by the Teſtimonies of thoſe who wrote in the very next Age after the Apoſtles.

a Change

a Change as preſently after the Apoſtles Times, and ſo univerſal, as received in all the Churches, this is clearly impoſſible.

For what univerſal Cauſe can be aſſigned or fained of this univerſal Apoſtaſy? you will not imagine that the Apoſtles, all or any of them, made any Decree for this Change, when they were living; or left Order for it in any Will or Teſtament, when they were dying. This were to grant the Queſtion; to wit, That the Apoſtles, being to leave the Government of the Churches themſelves, and either ſeeing by Experience, or foreſeeing by the Spirit of God, the Diſtractions and Diſorders which would ariſe from a Multitude of Equals, ſubſtituted Epiſcopal Government inſtead of their own. General Councils to make a Law for a general Change, for many Ages there were none. There was no Chriſtian Emperor; no coercive Power over the Church to enforce it. Or if there had been any, we know no Force was equal to the Courage of the Chriſtians of thoſe Times. Their Lives were then at Command (for they had not then learnt to fight for Chriſt) but their Obedience to any Thing againſt his Law was not to be commanded (for they had perfectly learnt to die for Him.) Therefore there was no Power then to command this Change; or if there had been any, it had been in vain.

What Device then ſhall we ſtudy, or to what Fountain ſhall we reduce this ſtrange pretended Alteration? Can it enter into our Hearts to think, that all the Preſbyters and other Chriſtians then, being the Apoſtles Scholars, could be generally ignorant of the Will of Chriſt, touching the Neceſſity of a Preſbyterial Government? Or dare we adventure to think them ſo ſtrangely wicked all the World over, as againſt Knowledge and Conſcience to conſpire againſt it? imagine the Spirit of *Diotrephes* had entered into ſome or a great many of the Preſbyters, and poſſeſſed them with an ambitious Deſire of a forbidden Superiority, was it poſſible they ſhould attempt and atchieve it once, without any Oppoſition or Contradiction? and beſides that the Contagion of this Ambition ſhould ſpread itſelf and prevail without Stop or Controul, nay, without any Noiſe or Notice taken of it, through all the Churches in the World? all the Watchmen in the mean Time being ſo faſt aſleep, and all the Dogs ſo dumb, that not ſo much as one ſhould open his Mouth againſt it? But let us ſuppoſe (though it be a horrible Untruth) that the Preſbyters and People then were not ſo good Chriſtians as the Preſbyters are now, that they were generally ſo negligent to retain the Government of Chriſt's Church commanded by Chriſt, which now we are ſo zealous to reſtore: Yet certainly we muſt not forget nor deny that they were Men as we are. And if we look upon them but as meer natural Men, yet knowing by Experience how hard a Thing it is even for Policy arm'd with Power by many Attempts and Contrivances, and in a long Time to gain upon the Liberty of any one People, undoubtedly we ſhall never entertain ſo wild an Imagination, as that among all the Chriſtian Preſbyteries in the World, neither Conſcience of Duty, nor Love of Liberty, nor Averſeneſs from Pride and Uſurpation of others over them, ſhould prevail ſo much as with any one, to oppoſe this pretended univerſal Invaſion of the Kingdom of Chriſt, and the Liberty of Chriſtians.

When

When I ſhall ſee therefore all the Fables in the *Metamorphoſis* acted and prove Stories; when I ſhall ſee all the Democracies and Ariſtocracies in the World lie down and ſleep, and awake into Monarchies: Then I will begin to believe that Preſbyterial Government, having continued in the Church during the Apoſtles Times, ſhould preſently after, againſt the Apoſtles Doctrine and the Will of Chriſt, be whirl'd about like a Scene in a Maſque, and transformed into Epiſcopacy. In the mean Time, while theſe Things remain thus incredible, and in humane Reaſon impoſſible, I hope I ſhall have leave to conclude thus. Epiſcopal Government is acknowledged to have been univerſally received in the Church, preſently after the Apoſtles Times. Between the Apoſtles Time and this *preſently after*, there was not Time enough for, nor Poſſibility of ſo great an Alteration. And therefore there was no ſuch Alteration as is pretended. And therefore Epiſcopacy, being confeſſed to be ſo Ancient and Catholick, muſt be granted alſo to be Apoſtolick. *Quod erat demonſtrandum.*

A general Abſtract of the Receipts and Iſſues of the Publick Revenue, Taxes and Loans during the Rei which Time the Parliament appointed the ſaid Accounts ſhould commence, to the 25th of March 170 *happened on the 8th of* March *preceeding.*

Receipts.	Cuſtoms beſides Drawbacks, Damages, Salaries, &c.	4,285,697	1	6	
	Ditto from *Chriſtmas* 1699 to the 1ſt of *Auguſt* 1706	934,923	8	0½	
	Impoſitions on Linnen, Silk, &c. that ended 1ſt *July* 1690	143,880	9	6½	
	Ditto on Tobacco and Sugar	1,374,232	17	8¼	
	Ditto on Wines and Vinegar	1,750,388	15	7	
	Ditto on *Eaſt-India* Goods, &c. from *Chriſtmas* 1690	1,801,906	2	9¾	
	Additional Impoſition on Merchandizes, and commenced 1ſt *March* 169⅔ to the 1ſt *March* 1696, thence to the 1ſt *Auguſt* 1706	501,120	2	0¾	
	New Duty on Coffee and Tea, &c. and ditto continued for paying Intereſt of *Iriſh* Tranſports	105,203	11	3½	
	Additional Duty on Brandy from the 1ſt *March* 169¾	22,691	7	0¼	
	Tunnage Duty from 1ſt *June* 1694 and ending 17 *May* 1696	175,335	16	6	
Cuſtoms.	Duty on Coals taken off 17 *May* 1696	22,004	19	3	
	Duty on Glaſs and Earthen Ware as relating to the Coal Act	7,750	0	0	
	25 *per Cent. French* Goods	161,349	9	2	
	New Duty on Coals for 5 Years from 15th *May* 1698	465,857	6	1	
	5 *s. per* Tun *French* Ships, granted 12 *Car.* II.	1,908	7	2	
	22 *per* Pound *Eaſt-India* Silks	19,140	5	5	
	Plantation Duty, granted 25th *Car.* II.	4,708	16	2	
	Arrears of Additional Impoſitions on Wine entred in 1689	1,900	0	0	
	New Subſidy of Tunnage and Poundage for two Years and three quarters	464,297	8	9½	
	Additional Tunnage and Poundage from *January* 1699, for his Majeſty's Life	634,548	11	7½	
	Cynders 5 *s. per* Chaldron	1,221	0	3½	
	15 *per* Cent on *India* wrought Silks and Muſlins, granted 11 and 12 *William*	116,767	18	6	
					13,296,833 14 6
Exciſe.	Hereditary and Temporary Exciſe Neat	5,918,887	17	4¾	
	Low Wines, from 24 *December* 1690	166,392	17	6	
	Double Exciſe from 17th *November* 1690 to *ditto* 1691	612,291	3	3½	
	Additional Exciſe of 9*d. per* Barrel, from *Michaelmas* 1689, appropriated	339,610	15	9¼	
	Additional Exciſe, *viz.* 9*d. per* Barrel, determin'd 24th *July* 1692, and double 9*d.* commenced 17 *Novemb.* 1691, ended 17 *May*	1,732,497	15	3	
	Complements of Exciſe, 24*d. per* Barrel to 24th *July* 1692, and 30*d. per* Barrel thence to the 17th *November* 1692	381,080	5	9¾	
	Exciſe for 99 Years in the Million Fund Act, from 25th *January* 169⅔	1,229,727	17	5¾	
	Imp. on Salt from 25 *Mar.* 1694, 12*d. per* Buſhel, granted 7. *William*, join'd with Whale fins, *Scots* Linnen, &c. granted 9. and 10. *William* for 8 Years, from 10th *July* 1698	436,724	3	0¾	
	9*d.* Exciſe, continued from 17th *May* 1697 for Million Lottery Tickets, thence for 16 Years	644,396	14	6	
	9*d* Exciſe, made Hereditary from 17th *May* 1697 for the Bank, and Annuities for 1, 2, and 3 Lives, in lieu of 5/7 and 3/7 Tunnage	618,532	5	6¾	
	Duty on Malt, from 20th *April* 1697	922,983	10	3¼	
	Additional Duty on Salt of 8*d.* from 25th *March* 1697 to the 25th *December* 1699	103,191	16	3½	
	20*d. per* Buſhel Salt from 1ſt *July* 1698 (for the *Eaſt-India* Company) and 8*d.* from 25th *December* 1699	276,474	12	6	
	Duty on Leather	208,102	16	9	
	Whale fins, *Scots* Linnen, and Arrears of Glaſs Ware, &c.	46,42	15	10	
	Low Wines join'd with Coffee and 15 *per Cent.* Muſlins, by an Act 12. and 13. *William*	12,012	13	2	
					13,649,328 0 5¾
Hearth Money.	Hearth Money, beſides Charges of getting in	221,763	18	0¼	
Letter Money,	Letter Money, beſides Charges of Management	871,054	17	11½	
&c.	Small Branches and Caſualties	915,778	11	8½	
					2,308,597 7 8¼
Land-Taxes.	Preſent Aid or Six Months Tax for 1689	4,914	7	3½	
	Firſt Aid for 12*d.* in the Pound for 1689	496,108	6	1	
	2*s.* Aid for 1690	1,015,732	2	7	
	Additional 12*d.* for 1690	507,866	0	8½	
	Firſt Twelve Months Aid for 1691	1,613,747	9	1	
	Second ditto for 1692	1,613,874	13	5	
	Firſt 4*s.* Aid for 1693	1,922,712	19	4½	
	Second ditto for 1694	1,913,488	16	4¼	
	Third ditto for 1695	1,860,039	10	2	
	Fourth ditto for 1696	1,736,248	1	10¾	
	3*s.* Aid for 1697	1,244,789	4	0	
	Additional 12*d.* for 1697	418,646	10	11	
	Second 3*s.* Aid for 1,484,015*l.* 1*s.* 11*d.* ¾ over and above 229,696*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.* transferr'd to pay Annuities to the Bank, &c. for 1698	1,188,021	18	1	
	Third 3*s.* Aid for the ſame Sum for 1699	1,431,771	6	8½	
	Second 2*s.* Aid for 989,965*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* for 1700	951,066	6	5	
	⅓ and ⅔ of fourth 3*s.* Aid	859,051	15	2½	
					19,174,759 8 3½
Polls.	Firſt Poll for 1689	288,438	2	1½	
	Review of the firſt Poll, and an Additional Poll for 1690	23,059	7	1	
	Second Poll for 1690	239,958	7	11½	
	Firſt Quarterly Poll for 1692	579,178	11	2½	
	Review of ditto for 1693	6,388	4	0	
	Second Quarterly Poll for 1694	486,321	2	2½	
	Capitation for 1697	612,912	16	9	
	Third Quarterly Poll for 1698	321,397	16	3½	
					2,557,649 7 7½
Promiſcuous Taxes.	Smugglers Fines to *Michaelmas* 1698	19,500	0	0	
	Exchequer Bills iſſued by Virtue of an Act for Eſtabliſhing a Land Bank *Anno* 1695 (158,589*l.* being repaid as *per contra*)	159,173	1	0	
	Joint Stock charged by Act of Parliament 1692, two Quarterly Payments	43,219	0	0	
	Firſt Million Act in 1693, Annuities by 9*d.* Exciſe for 99 Years	1,000,000	0	0	
	Fines and Rent on Hackney Coaches for 1694	41,150	0	0	
	Paper and Parchment Duties for 1694, continued to 28th *June* 1698	205,566	1	2¾	
	New Duties on ditto for two Years, from the 1ſt *March* 1698	17,813	8	9½	
	Million Lottery or Contributions on Salt for 1694	934,512	17	7	
	On the Tunnage Act by the Bank of *England* for 1694	1,200,000	0	0	
	On Annuities for 1694 for 1, 2, and 3 Lives for 300,000*l.*	300,000	0	0	
	Duties on Marriages, Births, Burials, &c. commencing 1ſt *May* 1695 and ending 1ſt *May* 1700	258,094	1	10½	
	Subſcriptions to the National Land Bank	1,775	0	0	
	Duties on Houſes or Windows	53,466	10	0½	
	Money or Plate at 6*s.* an Ounce for Malt Lottery Tickets	17,615	13	1	
	Additional Duty on Stampt Paper, made perpetual with Salt, for the *Eaſt-India* Company	153,487	11	5½	
	Subſcriptions of 2,000,000*l.* for *Eaſt-India* Trade	1,882,413	9	0½	
	Parchment and Paper Stampt Duties continued from 1698 to the 1ſt *Auguſt* 1706	152,098	16	10	
	Purchaſing of Reverſionary Annuities by ſeveral Acts of Parliament paſſed in ſeveral Years	581,750	15	0	
	Duties on Glaſs and Earthen Ware	15,732	1	7	
	Licences to Hawkers and Pedlars	26,513	15	1	
	Duties on Marriages, Births, &c. continued from 1ſt *May* 1700 to 1ſt *Auguſt* 1700	17,423	16	2½	
					7,531,305 18 11¾
Divers Receipts.	Letter Money overpaid in 1696	102	16	5	
	Surcharg'd on the Commiſſioners of Exciſe in 1697	89,695	13	6¼	
	Coinage Money from 1698 incl. in the other Years placed with ſmall Branches	42,658	10	1	
	Tellers Malt Benefits in 1698	1,715	0	0	
	Impreſt repaid in 1696 and 1699	162,036	4	2½	
	Accompts of New Mony from the Mint in Years 97, 98, and 99, in Aid of 2,599,797*l.* 14*s.* 10*d. per contra*, deficient at *Michael.* 1696	184,656	17	11½	
	Poll Anno 1697	50	0	0	
					480,915 2 2¾
					58,698,688 19 8

of the General Account of Money borrow'd and repaid within the Time of this Account in ſeveral Years the Money borrowed exceeding the Money repaid in thoſe Years reſpectively the Sum of 13,348,680*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* ¼ tho' in other Years the Money repaid exceeded the Money borrowed in thoſe Years reſpectively the Sum of 3,341,903*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.* ¾ as *per Contra*, which reduceth the Neat Money more than Repaid during the whole Time of this Account to 10,006,776*l.* 17*s.* 1*d.* ½ — 13,348,680 5 10¼

That Remained on the 5th of *November* 1688 in the Exchequer, in the Hands of the ſeveral Receivers — 72,041,369 5 6¼

80,138 18 0¼

Error . . . . . ¼

72,127,508 3 6¾

Reign of His late Majesty King WILLIAM; *that is to say, from the 5th of* November 1688, *from* 1702; *being the first Determination of the Accounts after the Demise of his said late Majesty, which*

Issues Navy.	To *Anthony* Lord Viscount *Faulkland*, late Treasurer of the Navy, for the Navy and Victualling			198,068	0	1	
	To the Earl of *Orford*, late Treasurer of the Navy, on the same Account			16,940,521	9	10¼	19,822,141 4 6½
	To the Right Hon. Sir *Thomas Littleton*, Treasurer of the Navy, on the same Account			2,683,551	14	7	
Army.	For the Service of *Ireland*: Mr. *Harboard*	1,073,228	12 7½				
	Mr. *Henly*	4,560	0 7½	3,851,655	1	0¼	
	Mr. *Fox* and Lord *Coningsby*	2,773,806	7 9¼				
	To the Earl of *Ranelagh* for the Forces under his Pay			18,164,951	14	0½	22,017,706 15 0¾
	To Colonel *Hill*, Governor of the *Leeward Islands*, for his own Soldiers and Arrears			1,100	0	0	
Ordnance.	To the Treasurer of the Ordnance for Sea and Land Service						3,008,535 16 10
							44,848,383 16 5¼
Civil List.	To the Cofferer of the Household						1,300,130 2 2¾
	Treasurer of the Chambers			484,763	16	1½	485,092 12 1½
	Ditto for the Charges of the late Queen's Coffins			328	16	0	
	Great Wardrobe			319,876	8	2¾	362,720 11 7¾
	Ditto for the late Queen's Mourning			42,844	4	5	
	Robes			57,128	2	2½	62,248 3 5½
	Ditto to Lord *Sidney*, upon Account for Cloaths furnished K. *Charles* II. when he was Master of that Office			5,128	0	3	
	Paymaster of the Works			474,050	15	1½	483,050 15 1½
	Ditto on Account of the late Queen's Funeral			4,000	0	0	
	Mr. *Roberts*, Paymaster of the Works at *Windsor*, on Account for Works there over and above what has been paid thereunto out of the Revenues of the Honour and Castle of *Windsor*			5,000	0	0	133,797 12 7½
	Gardens: Upon Account of making his Majesty's Gardens, over and above the Gardeners Salaries, payable by the Treasurer of the Chamber until 1695			115,097	12	7½	
	On the Contract for 4,800*l. per Ann.* commencing from			16,800	0	0	
	On the New Allowance of 2,600*l. per Ann.* which commenced from *Christmas* 1700			1,900	0	0	
	Stables for buying Horses, and for Liveries and Extraordinaries 235,965*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.* ½ Foreign Ministers for Ordinaries and Extraordinaries			462,753	7	2½	98,719 2 6
	Fees and Salaries						858,056 16 9
	Pensions and Annuities						686,189 17 7
	Queen Dowager						178,031 15 4
	Late Queen's Treasurer						506,386 10 0¼
	Ditto for French Protestants						75,000 0 0
	Prince and Princess of *Denmark*						638,921 15 7½
	Duke of *Gloucester*, on 1500*l. per Ann.*						37,500 0 0
	Band of Gentlemen Pensioners						69,000 0 0
	Secret Service: Secretaries of the Treasury			616,323	7	2	
	Secretaries of State			76,968	19	6	775,387 6 8
	Particular Persons, by his Majesty's Warrants under his Royal Sign Manual			82,100	0	0	
	Privy Purse			483,555	0	0	
	Ditto for Purchasing Fee Farm Rents: To the Earl of *Portland*			24,571	5	4	541,726 5 4
	To the Lord *Sommers & al.*			33,600	0	0	
	Jewels						66,06 0 0
	Plate						102,843 13 8
	Bounties paid at the Exchequer to several Persons by his Majesty's particular Warrants in that Behalf						226,823 19 1
	Monsieur *Fleaury* for Goods taken from the *French* at *Bourbon* Fort, *Hudson*'s Bay, and given to the *Hudson*'s Bay Company, which by the Treaty of *Reswick* were to be restored						1,086 18 0
	Subscriber of 2,000,000*l.* for the *East-India* Trade an Allowance of 1*l. per Cent.*						20,000 0 0
	The Receivers of 2,000,000*l.* in Reward, and for Charges in passing their Accounts						16,000 0 0
	To Mr. *Stratford*, in part of 20,000*l.* in Cloth sent to *Sweden*						12,000 0 0
	Earl of *Ranelagh* for Lord *Fairfax* 600*l.* Bounty to Officers Widows 670*l.* To *French* Officers 730*l.* For Liveries for *Lumley*'s Trumpeters 393*l.* 3*s.* And for Court Drums and Fifes, Salary 240*l.*						3,634 3 0
	Contingents of Divers Natures, *viz.* Law Charges, Liberates of the Exchequer, Riding Charges to Messengers of the Court and Receipt of Exchequer, Rewards and Extraordinary Charges to Receivers of Taxes, and to several others on sundry Occasions, Surplusages of Accounts, Printers Bills, sundry Works and Repairs by the Surveyors of the Woods, the private Roads, and other particular Officers; His Majesty's Subscription of 10,000*l.* to the Bank of *England*, a like Sum to the New *East-India* Company, as also 3000*l.* for carrying on the Trade, *Bounties for* apprehending Highwaymen, Traitors and Libellers, Money paid for Purchasing Land to be laid into his Majesty's Park at *Windsor*, and very many other accidental Payments						534,809 1 10¾
							8,880,506 2 9
Divers Issues.	States General, pursuant to an Act of Parliament *Anno* 1689						600,000 0 0
	Servants of King *Charles* II. by *ditto* Act						60,000 0 0
	To the Mint out of the Coinage Duty, &c. which includes several Payments relating to the Recoinage in general						259,584 17 7¼
	Redemption of Captives						1,000 0 0
	Privy Purse of the late King *James* at the Exchequer						200 0 0
	Principal Money lent *tempore Jacobi* II.						138,412 19 9
	To several for Money advanced in the West in 1688						4,000 0 0
	Interest Money paid to several out of the Revenues, Taxes and Loans, and for divers other Causes						5,216,530 2 4½
	Interest to the Bank of *England*						875,880 16 9¼
	Annuities: On Survivorship, and 14 *per Cent.* on the Million Act, &c.						1,079,809 2 9¼
	On the Tunnage for 1, 2, and 3 Lives for 300,000*l.*						287,059 14 11¾
	On Lottery for a Million paid in for 16 Years Annuity						1,049,776 15 5¾
	To the Malt Lottery Office, in part of 1,200,000*l.* Principal and Interest						760,142 6 0
	To the Treasurer of the Excise, to satisfy Tallies of Excise and Post Office						467,000 0 0
	To the *English East-India* Company and general Society trading thither, on 160,000*l. per Ann.*						429,962 3 11½
	To the Trustees for Circulating Exchequer Bills, for Premiums, Salaries, &c. besides 43,435*l.* inclus. in Account of Interest 1697						254,119 3 7½
	Principal Money repaid, more than borrow'd, for several Years						3.341,903 8 8¾
	To Receivers of Taxes, in Reward for Extraordinaries						5,446 9 8½
	To *Peter Hume*, Gentleman, to be applied as his Majesty should direct						5,200 0 0
	New Money, in part of 122,584*l.* 2*s.* 1*d.* old Money recoin'd, paid the Army and Navy						84,963 8 8¼
	To the Commissioners of Excise in New Money, the proceed of Old Money receiv'd from them						56,988 11 5
	Clipt Money deliver'd to be recoyn'd more than it produced to *Michaelmas* 1696, in Aid whereof there was return'd from the Mint in after Years more than was sent thither in those Years as *per Contra*, 184,656*l.* 17*s.* 11*d.* ¼, which reduceth the general Deficiency of the Recoinage to 2,415,140*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.* ¼, the Deficiency in the Year 1696, amounting to						2,599,797 14 10
	To the four Tellers of the Exchequer in Exchequer Bills, to be deliver'd to such Persons as brought Money for them in 1695						158,589 0 0
	Impress Money re-paid to the Treasurer of the Navy, being old Money new coin'd						4,422 3 7¼
	New Money to the Earl of *Ranelagh*, the Proceed of 13,000*l.* in old hammer'd Money						6,497 9 0¾
	To several, for a Reward of 6*s.* an Ounce for Wrought Plate brought in to be coyn'd						3,846 17 8¾
	To the Treasurer of *Greenwich* Hospital, pursuant to the Address of Parliament						19,500 0 0
	To the Commissioners for forfeited Estates in *Ireland*						3,133 15 0
	To the Commissioners for stating and determining Accounts for Incidents, &c.						3,500 0 0
	To the Tellers of the Exchequer for a Loss on 89,196½ Guineas, receiv'd at 22*s.* and issued at 21*s.* 6*d.*						2,229 18 3
	Interest of the Bankers Debt						466 7 7
							17,779,243 1 11
							71,508,133 1 1¼
	That Remained a Balance at the Foot of the half Year's Accompt, ending at *Lady-Day* 1702						619,159 13 6½
							72,127,292 14 7¾
	Add that Remained at *Michaelmas* 1699, more than was carried forward to the Account of 1700, occasion'd by several Sums then remaining in the Hands of several Receivers, for which they afterwards accompted with the Auditors of the Imprest						1,326 7 7¾
	Deduct that was carried to Account from *Michaelmas* 1701, more than the Balance at *Michaelmas* 1701, occasion'd by so much less apply'd out of the 2d and 3d Aid, *Anno* 1699, to pay Arrears on Annuities for 1, 2, and 3 Lives, and was afterwards apply'd to the Cancelling of Exchequer Bills instead of those Annuities						1,110 12 8¾
							72,127,08 3 6¾

An Account of the SCOTCH *PLOT. In a* LETTER *from a Gentleman in the City, to his Friend in the Country. Printed* 1704.

SIR,

I Have, according to your Deſire, made an Enquiry into the *Scotch* Plot ſo much talk'd of. I have convers'd with ſeveral Perſons of Quality of that Kingdom about it, and find them not well pleas'd, that ſo many here ſhould charge a Plot upon their whole Nation, for the Sake of a few. They think this ſo much the harder, becauſe Captain *Simon Frazer* of *Beaufort*, the principal Manager of this Plot, is a Perſon guilty of moſt notorious Crimes, and is condemn'd to Death in *Scotland* for a barbarous Rape; yet this Man has been countenanc'd by great Perſons in that Government, and Hear-ſays from him alone are made Uſe of againſt ſome of the greateſt Families in that Nation, who proſecuted him, or appear'd for having Juſtice done upon him according to Law for his villainous and horrid Crimes, as I ſhall acquaint you more at large anon, after giving you a ſhort Narrative of what I have learn'd concerning the Plot.

Captain *Frazer* above-mentioned having fled from Juſtice twice, at laſt went over to St. *Germains*, and as Sir *John Macclean* has declar'd upon Oath, turn'd Papiſt, and was introduc'd to the *French* Court by the Pope's Nuncio. There he ſollicited an Invaſion upon *Scotland*, and gave them Aſſurance that ſeveral People of Note would join their Troops: But the *French* King willing to be ſure of that, before he would truſt him, ordered him back to *Scotland*, with one Captain *John Murray*, and Major *Frazer*, a Papiſt, who had ſerv'd ſeveral Years in his Army.

Captain *Frazer* arrived accordingly in *Scotland* laſt Summer, having received Five Hundred Piſtoles from the *French* King, and though a condemn'd Criminal, as above mentioned, and that he had likewiſe forfeited his Life again by his Correſpondence with the Courts of *France* and St. *Germains*, yet he was privately introduced by the late D. of *Ar*—— and the E. of *L*—— to a great Miniſter of State there, while the Parliament was ſitting, and received from the ſaid Miniſter 200 Guineas, with a Paſs and Protection. Being thus furniſh'd, the Captain and the Major went to the Highlands. He endeavoured to meet with ſeveral Heads of Clans there, but they refus'd to meet or converſe with him, till he ſent to ſhew them before-hand the Paſs and Protection granted by the Miniſter of State, and at the ſame Time he ſhew'd them his Commiſſion and Inſtructions from the pretended King *James* the VIIIth (as they call him in *Scotland*) dated at St. *Germains*, and, by this Means he ſeduc'd and trapan'd ſeveral of her Majeſty's Subjects into Deſigns againſt the Government. The D. of *A*—— Brother to the Lady whom he had raviſh'd, hearing that Captain *Frazer* was in *Scotland*, complain'd of it, and at the In-

ſtance of the injur'd Lady, the Council iſſued a Commiſſion of Fire and Sword againſt the Captain in *September* laſt (the Lord High Commiſſioner being preſent) forbidding the Subjects to converſe with him, and ordering the Sheriffs and Officers of the Army to purſue and apprehend him dead or alive. Notwithſtanding this, he found Means to return to *Edinburgh*, where he procur'd another Paſs from the D. of *Q*—— to carry him to *London*, where he arrived in *October* laſt, and there met privately with the ſaid D. of *Q*—— *John Campbel* of *Glenderoul*, Mr. *Keeth*, and others, and then the ſaid D. of *Q*—— procur'd a Paſs for the ſaid Captain and Major, and two more to go beyond Sea. Since that Time ſeveral Letters have been intercepted from the Captain, one from *Holland* to the ſaid D. of *Q*—— and one from *Paris* to the ſaid E. of *L*—— with ſeveral others to *Colin Campbel* of *Glenderoul*, now in Cuſtody at *London*, and one to Captain *Maccleod*, an Officer of the Guards in *Scotland*; all which it's hop'd will in a little Time be made publick. When the Captain went beyond Sea laſt, he received Bills for 100 and odd Guineas, which *Campbel* paid unto Mr. *Corbuſſiere*, a Merchant, who has own'd the ſending of the ſaid Bills, upon Examination. Some Papers that *Frazer* left in the Cuſtody of *Thomas Clerk*, an Apothecary, have been ſince diſcovered, amongſt which is found a Colonel's Commiſſion from the pretended King *James* the VIIIth, to the ſaid *Simon Frazer*, and two forg'd Bonds from the late Lord *Lovat* in *Scotland* for conſiderable Sums to him: Of which you ſhall have a further Account anon.

That which relates more particularly to the D. of *A*—— and his Friends is thus, the ſaid *Colin Campbel* and Captain *Maccleod* have declar'd upon Examination, That they heard the ſaid Captain *Frazer* ſay, that the ſaid D. of *A*.—— and his Friends deſign'd to ſend ſome Perſons as their Agents into *France*.

The firſt Notice the D. of *A*—— had of this Deſign againſt himſelf and his Friends, was ſent him from Mr. *F—n* on the 25th of *November* laſt, importing that there were moſt pernicious Deſigns carrying on againſt her Majeſty and the Government, together with a wicked Contrivance to ruin his Grace and his Friends by Means of Captain *Frazer*, and Witneſſes of his procuring. The D. immediately acquainted the Government with it, who ſent for Mr. *F—n* that inform'd him, and what that Gentleman ſaid upon his Examination has been ſince confirm'd by the intercepted Letters abovementioned.

But that you may fully underſtand the Character of the Captain, and the Cauſe of his inveterate Malice againſt the D. of *A*—— and his Friends, take this ſhort Hiſtory of it as follows.

Captain *Frazer* was a Cadet of the Family of *Lovat*, but had no Manner of Eſtate. The late Lord *Lovat* knowing the Meanneſs of his Circumſtances, recommended him to the Earl of *T—n* now D. of *A*—— for a Lieutenant's Poſt in the Regiment, the Earl had then in King *William*'s Service, about 1694, which the Earl readily agreed to; but ſoon after, the Captain wrote ſeditious Letters dated in *Jan.* 1695. one of them *triumphing at the Death of the late Queen* Mary *of Glorious Memory, and the other expreſſing his Hopes that*

King

King William *would die next Year*, which Letters being ſent to the Earl by ſome of his Friends, ſometime after, he could not but in Abhorrence of the Captain's Villainy acquaint his Majeſty with it, who thereupon gave the Earl Orders to turn him out of his Regiment, which was done.

In 1696. The Lord *Lovat* above-mentioned died, leaving behind him four Daughters by the D. of *A*——'s Siſter, the eldeſt of whom by unqueſtionable Title, fell Heir to the Honour and Eſtate, but *Thomas Fraſer* and the ſaid Captain *Simon* his Son pretending to be the next Heirs Male, aſſembled ſome looſe Men of the Name to ſeize the Eſtate, and committed ſome Violences and Devaſtations upon it, but being ſenſible they had made themſelves obnoxious by this illegal Attempt, they agreed in order to prevent Proſecution, to ſign a Renunciation of all their alledg'd Pretenſions before the Lord *Salton* and other Witneſſes, and ſent the ſame to the Earl of *T*—*n*, now Duke of *A*—— who was then at *London*, and principal Secretary of State for *Scotland*.

But notwithſtanding this Renunciation, the Captain attempted again to poſſeſs himſelf of the Eſtate in the following Manner. He aſſembled a great many looſe Men of the Name, and marched with them in Arms to the Lady *Dowager* of *Lovat*'s Jointure-Houſe of *Caſtle-Dounie*, and in his Way met Lord *Mungo-Murray* the Lady's Brother; and the Lord *Salton* abovementioned coming from paying a Viſit to the ſaid Lady. He immediately ſeiz'd and diſmounted the ſaid Lords and their Servants, carried them Priſoners to a neighbouring Houſe, where he ſet Guards upon them, and erected a Gallows, threatning to hang them if they would not perſwade the Lady *Dowager* to marry him, (by which he thought to poſſeſs the Eſtate himſelf, and to convey it to his own Iſſue Male if he had any, in Excluſion of her Daughters.) This they abſolutely refus'd, and he leaving them under a barbarous Guard, march'd on to *Caſtle-Dounie*, where he ſurpriz'd and impriſon'd the Lady, and upon her abſolute Refuſal to marry him, made his barbarous Crew cut off her Stays, *&c.* with their Daggers, and putting her to Bed by Force, committed a villainous Rape upon her; the Grief of which made her loſe her Senſes for ſome Time. He kept the Lady in that deplorable Condition, until the late Marquis of *A*—— her Father, and the Government ſent Forces to reſcue her from the ſaid Captain, who continued in Rebellion, notwithſtanding his being ſummon'd by a Herald to lay down his Arms; but being forc'd to it at laſt, the Lady was deliver'd to the Lord *Forbes*, and the Captain not daring to abide Trial, fled. Upon this the Council of *Scotland*, and High Courts of Juſticiary there declar'd him Rebel, Fugitive and Out-Law, and iſſued a Proclamation, offering 6000 Merks to any that ſhould apprehend him. He abſconded for a Time, but in 1700 or 1701, procur'd King *William*'s Pardon for his Rebellion, and other publick Crimes, but not for the Rape. This Remiſſion being of an extraordinary Nature, the Principal Secretary of State refus'd to counterſign it, but the Under Secretary did it at the Inſtance of Mr. *C*—— one of his Majeſty's *Scotch* Chaplains, then attending him in *Holland*.

Upon this the Captain returned to *Scotland*, but the injur'd Lady by the Aſſiſtance of her Father, and the now Duke of *A*—— her Brother, purſued him again, and that the Captain might have no Pretence to abſcond, all former Sentences were ſuſpended during the Trial. The Lady appeared in Court, and publickly demanded Juſtice, the Captain was call'd three Times, according to form, and tho' in Town at the Time, fled again, upon which the Court condemned him, and iſſued out Orders to apprehend him, which fully ſatisfied the Nation of his Guilt. It is to be obſerved, that at the ſame Time the Captain procur'd his Remiſſion, he forg'd a Deed and two Bonds for conſiderable Sums from the late Lord *Lovat* to himſelf, making over the Eſtate to the ſaid Captain, in Prejudice of the ſaid Lord's own Daughter, which had his Lordſhip been inclin'd to do, he could not, his Lordſhip's Father by a previous Settlement, having entail'd the Eſtate upon Daughters, failing Iſſue Male, and when this Deed and the ſaid Bonds were produc'd to one of the Lords of the Seſſion or Judges, the ſaid Judge did preſently diſcover the Forgery, upon which the Captain took them out of his Hands, and never made more Uſe of them.

Thus, *SIR*, you may judge, whether the Duke of *A*—— and his Friends have not Reaſon to complain, That contrary to the Laws of *Scotland*, which make Correſpondence with Rebels Criminal, ſuch Countenance and Encouragement ſhould be given, eſpecially by Men of Dignity and High Poſts, to ſuch a Man as Captain *Frazer*, or that any Credit ſhould be given to his Accuſation, or to Witneſſes procur'd againſt the Duke and his Friends, by a Perſon whom they had juſtly proſecuted to Sentence of Death, and who is evidently guilty,

Of Diſloyalty to a Prince, whoſe Bread he eat, and whoſe Commiſſion he bore.

Of Robbery.

Of Aſſaulting, Impriſoning, and threatning to hang Perſons of Quality.

Of A barbarous Rape upon a noble Lady.

Of Open Rebellion.

Of Forgery.

Of Turning Papiſt. *And*,

Of Repeated and Continued Treaſons againſt the Queen and his Country.

An Account of Capt. SIMON FRAZER *of* Beaufort,

Who has been carrying on a PLOT in the Highlands of SCOTLAND, *againſt the Government: And, at the ſame Time, was engaged in another Wicked Deſign, to ſuborn Witneſſes againſt ſeveral Great Families in* SCOTLAND, *as if they were in a Correſpondence with the Courts of* FRANCE *and* ST. GERMAINS. *Printed* 1704.

CAptain *Frazer* was a Cadet of the Family of *Lovat*, but had no manner of Eſtate, his Father having only a Leaſe of a Piece of Land call'd *Beaufort*, belonging to the ſaid Family to maintain himſelf and his Children. The late Lord *Lovat*, knowing the Meanneſs of their Circumſtances, recommended the Captain to the Earl of *Tullibardin*, now Duke of *Athol*, for a Lieutenant's Poſt in the Earl's Regiment that he had then in King *William*'s Service, about 1694. The Earl, on the Recommendation of the Lord *Lovat*, who was his Brother-in-law, readily agreed to this; but ſoon after the Captain wrote ſeditious Letters, dated in *January* 1695, one of them *triumphing at the Death of the late Queen* Mary *of Glorious Memory*, and the other *expreſſing his Hopes that King* William *would die next Year*; which Letters being ſent to the Earl by ſome of his Friends ſometime after, he could not but in Abhorrence of the Captain's Villany acquaint his Majeſty with it, who thereupon gave the Earl Orders to turn him out of his Regiment, which was done.

In 1696, the Lord *Lovat* abovementioned died, leaving behind him only four Daughters by the Duke of *Athol*'s Siſter, the eldeſt of whom, by unqueſtionable Title, fell Heir to the Honour and Eſtate; but *Thomas Frazer*, and the ſaid Captain *Simon* his Son, pretending to be the next Heirs Male, aſſembled ſome looſe Men of the Name to ſeize the Eſtate, and committed ſome Violences and Devaſtations upon it, but finding they could not come at it by Law, and being ſenſible they had made themſelves obnoxious by this illegal Attempt, they agreed, in order to prevent Proſecution, to ſign a Renunciation of all their alledg'd Pretenſions before the Lord *Salton* and other Witneſſes, and ſent the ſame to the Earl of *Tullibardin*, now Duke of *Athol*, who was then at *London*, and principal Secretary of State for *Scotland*.

But notwithſtanding this Renunciation, the Captain attempted again to poſſeſs himſelf of the Eſtate in the following Manner. He aſſembled a great many looſe Men of the Name, and march'd with them in Arms to the Lady Dowager of *Lovat*'s Jointure-Houſe of *Caſtle-Downie*, and in his Way met Lord *Mungo Murray*, the Lady's Brother, and the Lord *Salton* abovemention'd, coming from paying a Viſit to the ſaid Lady. He immediately ſeiz'd and diſmounted the ſaid Lords and their Servants, carried them Priſoners to a neighbouring Houſe, where he ſet Guards upon them, and erected a Gallows, threatning to hang them if they would not perſuade the Lady Dowager to marry him (by which he thought to poſſeſs the Eſtate himſelf, and to con-

vey it to his own Iſſue Male, if he had any, in Excluſion of her Daughters.) This they abſolutely refus'd, *and, he leaving them under a barbarous Guard, march'd on to* Caſtle-Downie (the Lady's Jointure Houſe) *where he ſurpriz'd and impriſon'd the Lady, and upon her abſolute Refuſal to marry him, made his barbarous Crew cut off her Stays,* &c. *with their Daggers, and putting her to Bed by Force, committed a villainous Rape upon her*; the Grief of which made her loſe her Senſes, ſo that next Morning ſhe did not know her Brother Lord *Mungo*, who was admitted to ſee her. The diſtreſſed Lady, and the above-mention'd Lords, tho' they would never conſent to the Marriage, yet ſubmitted ſo far to his barbarous Force, in order to get out of his Hands, as to ſign ſome Papers, obliging themſelves to uſe their Intereſt to procure him a Pardon for what he had done, and to get back the Renunciation abovementioned; but when they had ſign'd the Papers, *he broke his Oaths, and Promiſes, to ſet them at Liberty, and kept the Lady in that deplorable Condition,* until the Marquis of *Athol* her Father, and the Government, ſent Forces to reſcue her from the ſaid Captain, who continued in Rebellion, notwithſtanding his being ſummon'd by a Herald to lay down his Arms; but being forc'd to it at laſt, the Lady was deliver'd to the Lord *Forbes*, and the Captain, not daring to abide Tryal, fled. Upon this the Council of *Scotland*, and High Courts of Juſticiary there, declar'd him Rebel, Fugitive and Outlaw, and iſſued a Proclamation, offering 6000 Merks to any that ſhould apprehend him. He abſconded for a Time, *but in* 1700 or 1701, *procur'd King* William's *Pardon for his Rebellion, and other publick Crimes; but not for the Rape. This Remiſſion being of an extraordinary Nature, the principal Secretary of State refus'd to counterſign it; but the Under-Secretary did it, at the Inſtance of Mr.* Carſtares, *one of his Majeſty's* Scots *Chaplains, then attending him in* Holland.

Upon this the Captain returned to *Scotland*, but the injur'd Lady, by the Aſſiſtance of her Father, and the now Duke of *Athol* her Brother, purſued him again for the Rape; and that the Captain might have no Pretence to abſcond, all former Sentences were ſuſpended during the Trial. The Lady appear'd in the High Court of Juſticiary at *Edinburgh*, and publickly demanded Juſtice. The Captain was call'd three Times according to Form, and tho' in Town at the Time, fled again; upon which the Court condemn'd him, and iſſued Orders to apprehend him, which fully ſatisfied the Nation of his Guilt, and of the Falſhood of the Calumnies he had ſpread againſt the Family of *Athol*.

It is to be obſerv'd, that, at the ſame Time the Captain procur'd his Remiſſion, he forg'd a Deed and two Bonds for conſiderable Sums from the late Lord *Lovat* to himſelf, making over the Eſtate to the ſaid Captain, in prejudice of the ſaid Lord's own Daughter, which had his Lordſhip been inclinable to do, he could not; the late Lord *Lovat*, his Father, by a previous Settlement, having entail'd the Eſtate upon Daughters failing Iſſue Male; and when this Deed and the ſaid Bonds were produc'd to one of the Lords of the Seſſion or Judges, the ſaid Judge did preſently diſcover the Forgery; upon which

which the Captain took them out of his Hands, and never made more uſe of them.

After this ſecond Trial Capt. *Frazer* did abſcond, and never after durſt appear in *Scotland*, from whence it ſeems he went to *France*, and turn'd Papiſt, to get an Intereſt in the *French* Court and at *St. Germains*, and return'd again to *Scotland* laſt Summer, by Order of thoſe Courts, where he did negotiate their Affairs, did converſe with, was countenanc'd and protected in *Scotland* by the Duke of *Queenſberry*; but the Friends of the Lady hearing of his being there, did apply to the Council, and got new Orders to ſeize him. Accordingly a Commiſſion of Fire and Sword was iſſued out againſt him in *September* laſt, where the Duke of *Queenſberry* was preſent in Council, to apprehend him dead or alive, and declaring it High Treaſon to converſe with or reſet him, in the Terms of ſeveral Acts of Parliament, particularly the 12th Parliament of King *James* VI. *cap.* 144. wherein all Perſons are ordain'd to do their utmoſt to apprehend intercommun'd and outlaw'd Perſons under the Pains due to Rebels.

This Act is renew'd in the fourth Seſſion, of the firſt Parliament of *William* and *Mary*, *cap.* 33. as to all Perſons that are known to be intercommun'd and Rebels.

And, beſides, tho' the ſaid Capt. *Frazer* had been a free Subject, yet the Perſon that imploy'd him is Guilty of High Treaſon another Way; for *Frazer*'s coming from, and being ſent back to *St. Germains*, or Correſponding there by him, or any manner of Way, is High Treaſon, as appears by 17 Acts 7 Seſſion of King *William*; and, being now the Time of War, the ſending him and three other Perſons to *France*, doth aggravate the Treaſon, the laſt Act being made in Time of Peace; by all which it is evident, that *Frazer* and his Accomplices, who were acting a double Game, are doubly Guilty of High Treaſon.

A Paragraph of the Letter above-mentioned.

Beaufort, January 12. 1695.

TELL Sir Robert, *That I hope he'll pledge me a Bumper; that I am drinking to* Q. M. * Dridge.

Sic Subſcribitur,

Directed to *Thomas Frazer.* *Simon Frazer.*

A Paragraph of another Letter.

Beaufort, January 12. 1695.

I Doubt not you will be in Mourning for Queen Mary, *but I am reſolved to buy none till* K. W. *dies, which perhaps may ſerve for the next Summer Suit, and I hope you will give me a Hat and Gloves.*

Sic Subſcribitur,

* *i. e.* Her Funeral Cup. *Simon Frazer.*

A

A True Copy of the Depoſitions taken by Order of the Lords of Secret Council, before the Lord * *Juſtice General, and other Lords of Juſticiary, in the Crimes of Rebellion and Violence, committed by Capt.* Simon Frazer, *upon the Perſon of my Lord* Mungo Murray, *Son to* John *Marquis of* Athol, *and on the Perſon of my Lord* Salton ; *and of the horrid Rape committed upon the Perſon of Lady* Emillia Murray, *Lady Dowager of* Lovat, *and Daughter to the Right Honourable the ſaid* John *Marqueſs of* Athol; *in her own Houſe of* Caſtle-dounie, *ſome ſhort Time after her Huſband, my Lord* Lovat's *Death: The ſaid Capt.* Simon Frazer *being a Perſon who all his Life had been maintain'd by the ſaid Lord* Lovat *and his Father's Charity. Which Depoſitions are all extant in the Records of the Juſtice Court in* Scotland, *and ſubſcribed by the Witneſſes and the Lord Juſtice-General himſelf.*

ALexander *Frazer* younger of *Balnean*, aged twenty one Years, examin'd, † purged and ſworn, Depones, That he was preſent at *Fanellan*, when he ſaw the Lord *Mungo Murray*, and the Lord *Saltoun*, brought Priſoners there, and made cloſe Priſoners there in ſeveral Rooms, with Centinels put on them; and that they were brought Priſoners there by Capt. *Simon Frazer*; and that when they came to *Fanellan*, a Houſe belonging to the Laird of *Kinaries*, the Doors were ſhut cloſe, and they forc'd them up, and put a Garriſon of armed Men in the Houſe. Depones, That he ſaw at *Fanellan*, about two or three Days after the Lord *Saltoun*, &c. was brought Priſoner, about two or three hundred Men in Arms, under Captain *Frazer*'s Command, and ſaw him muſter them there, and that they had Arms, ſuch as Guns, Swords, Piſtols, Targets, *&c.* Depones, That about ſeven or eight Days after the Lord *Saltoun* was made Priſoner, he was at *Caſtle-Dounie*, where he ſaw the Lady *Lovat*, and that he ſaw a Number of armed Men within the Houſe, and Centinels at the Gate, and that he ſaw Capt. *Simon Frazer* about the ſame Time there. Depones, He ſaw Centinels ſitting on the Threſhold of my Lady's Chamber-Door, and that they continu'd there for a Night, after which Time the Deponent went away. Depones, He ſaw Parties ſent from *Fanellan* to *Caſtle-Dounie* to and fro ſeveral Times. Depones, That after the Lord *Saltoun* and Lord *Mungo Murray* were brought Priſoners to *Fanellan*, he ſaw a Gallows ſtanding before the Windows, where the ſaid two Lords were keeped cloſe Priſoners, which was not there the Day they were brought Priſoners. Depones, That about nine or ten Days after the Lord *Saltoun* and the Lord *Mungo Murray* were taken Priſoners, he did ſee one Night at *Caſtle-Dounie*, Capt. *Simon Frazer* and Mr. *Robert Monro*, the Miniſter at *Caſtle-*

* *i. e.* Chief Juſtice.

† Took an Oath, That he did not ſwear out of Favour to one, Hatred to another, or for any bye End.

Dounie,

Dounie, and being desired by Captain *Leonard Robertson* of *Straloch*, to get him Notice of my Lady's Condition, he went to my Lady's Chamber Door, and heard her Sighing and Moaning, and it was then about the * Reike of Day, and that he heard the Pipes playing in the Dining-Room next to my Lady's Chamber. The same Night he saw my Lady's two Women in another Room, with Centinels set upon them, and the two Women weeping; and this was about Midnight he saw them. And this is the Truth, as he shall answer to God. *Sic subscribitur*, Al. Frazer. *Lothian*, I. P. D.

* Dawning.

Thomas Frazer of *Gortulig*, aged thirty Years, married, purged and sworn, Depones, That about the Beginning of *October*, Captain *Simon Frazer* and the Deponent coming from *Inverness*, and the Lord *Saltoun* and the Lord *Mungo Murray* from *Castle-Dounie*, there having met them in the Wood of *Moncreive* some armed Men, when they were met together, they did make up thirty or forty Foot, beside Horse, all in Arms, where the Lord *Saltoun* and Lord *Mungo* being riding peaceably, Captain *Simon* gave Orders to his Company, to take my Lord *Saltoun* either dead or alive, and accordingly came up close to my Lord *Saltoun* and Lord *Mungo*, and assaulted them with † bended Pistols, and commanded them to render themselves Prisoners; my Lord *Saltoun* asking for what Cause, he answered, because it was his Pleasure: And the Deponent did see Captain *Simon* and his Party, dismounting and disarming the Lord *Saltoun* and Lord *Mungo*, and all that were with them, and threatning them, the Foot having Guns presented, and ‖ Durks drawn, and the Horsemen Pistols cock'd, and thereafter they were set on Country Horse instead of their own, with Guards in Arms surrounding them, and carried them in that Posture to *Fanellan*, where they were made close Prisoners in several Rooms, and Centinels put upon the Rooms, and a Guard keeped in the House, where they stay'd four or five Nights. Depones, That immediately thereafter, he heard the * Firie Cross was sent through the Country, to conveen the Men, and accordingly the next Night, there conveened at *Fanellan*, about three or four hundred Men with Guns, Swords and Pistols, and Pipers: And Depones, That they were all commanded by Captain *Simon*, and under him, by their several Under-Leaders. Depones, That there was a considerable Party sent from *Fanellan*, to my Lady *Lovat*'s House at *Castle-Dounie*, and that Parties were from Time to Time relieved, and there were Centinels put upon several Rooms of the House, and particularly upon my Lady's Chamber, and that he saw Capt. *Simon* there, and that he was the Person that gave the Orders. Depones, That he saw the Lord *Saltoun* and Lord *Mungo* carried Prisoners to the Isle of *Egies*, where they were keeped Prisoners with a Guard of fifty or sixty Men in Arms. And this is the Truth, as he shall answer to God. *Sic subscribitur*, T. Frazer. *Lothian*, I. P. D.

† Cock'd.

‖ Daggers.

* A Signal by a burning Stick, carried on a Pole, to alarm the Country.

William Frazer of *Kilbokie*, aged forty Years, married, purged and ſworn, Depones, That in *October* laſt, the Deponent came to the Houſe of *Fanellan*, where Capt. *Simon* was with two or three hundred Men all armed, who had conveened there upon a Firie Croſs, which was ſent by Capt. *Simon*'s Order through the Country, and it was the third Day after the Lord *Saltoun* and Lord *Mungo* were taken Priſoners: And the Deponent ſaw them there, and Guards and Centinels upon them as Priſoners; and likewiſe ſaw a Gallows erected over againſt the Windows of their Chambers: And the Deponent having aſked at Capt. *Simon*, what that mean'd, he anſwered, That it was to terrify the Lord *Saltoun* and Lord *Mungo*. Depones, that he was preſent when the ſaid Lords were carried Priſoners from *Fanellan* to the Iſle of *Egies*, where they were detained Priſoners by the ſaid Captain *Simon*'s Command. Depones, That before the Deponent went firſt to *Fanellan*, he was at *Caſtle-Dounie*, my Lady *Lovat*'s Dwelling, where there was a Party of upwards of three or fourſcore of armed Men, and ſaw them keeping Guard at the Gates, and Capt. *Simon* was there, and gave them Orders as Commander.

† Inhabitant. *Robert Spence* † in *Suddie*, aged twenty four Years, married, purged and ſworn, Depones, That Captain *Simon Frazer* having carried my Lady *Lovat* alongſt with him from *Kirkhill*, and having heard that there was a Party of Red Coats, with Lord *James Murray* and ſome Gentlemen, coming to reſcue my Lady, Capt. *Simon* did ſend Word through the Country, to raiſe the Firie Croſs, to warn the Country to come for their Defence. Depones, That when my Lady left Captain *Simon*, there ‖ would have been about two or three hundred Men in Arms with him. And this is the Truth, as he ſhall anſwer to God. *Sic ſubſcribitur*, Robert Spence. *Ad. Cockburn*, I. P. D.

‖ Were.

Mr. *George Frazer*, Sub-Principle of the College of *Aberdeen*, purged and ſworn, Depones, That when my Lord *Saltoun*, Lord *Mungo Murray*, and others were made Priſoners, the Time * libelled, he was one of the Company, and that Captain *Simon* commanded the Party that apprehended them, which conſiſted of fourteen Horſe, and fifty Foot, or thereby, all armed with Swords, Piſtols and Guns; and one of them called *Hutcheon Oig*, came up with a † bended Piſtol on my Lord *Saltoun*, and deſired them to render, and diſmounted them, and put them on little Horſes, and carried them Priſoners to *Fanellan*, and keeped them there Priſoners under Guards by the Space of ſix Days, and that there was a Gallows put up, and there was a Convocation of Men in Arms, ſometimes to the Number of three or four hundred Men in Arms, with Colours diſplayed and Pipers playing. And this is the Truth, as he ſhall anſwer to God. *Sic ſubſcribitur*, Geo. Frazer. *Lothian*, I. P. D.

* Above-mentioned.

† Cock'd.

Mr.

Mr. *Leonard Robertſon* of *Straloch*, aged 44, *ſolutus*, purged and ſworn, Depones, That upon the Sixteenth of *October* laſt, being *Saturday*, he came to *Inverneſs*, and was there informed, that the Lady Dowager of *Lovat*, was under Reſtraint at *Caſtle-Dounie*; whereupon he repaired to that Place, and after ſome Difficulty made, got Acceſs to my Lady, who acquainted them with the Propoſals that Capt. *Simon Frazer* had made to her; and intreated the Deponent to perſuade the Lord *Saltoun*, and her Brother Lord *James Murray*, to || condeſcend || Agree. to the Terms; which the Deponent undertook: And having returned to *Inverneſs*, prevailed with them to ſign the Articles, for her own, and Lord *Mungo*'s Liberation, and brought them back to *Caſtle-Dounie* on *Tueſday*, to get my Lady's Hand to them. Which being done, the Deponent expected nothing, but that my Lady was fully at Liberty. But when he was conveying her to her Horſe, they were both ſtopped at my Lady's-Chamber-Door, and there was a Chair and a Centry ſet at my Lady's Door, and all the reſt of the Centries doubled; and the Deponent himſelf, after ſome Time, was put under a Guard of Centinels, and was ſo detain'd under Reſtraint till the next Day at ten of the Clock; that complaining to Captain *Simon*, the Deponent was permitted to pay a Viſit to my Lady, whom he ſaw in a very diſconſolate Condition, and ſoftly ſpoke in his Ear, *For Chriſt's Sake take me out of this Place either dead or alive*, and that he obſerved my Lady's Face all ſwollen, and ſhe fell in a * Sownd the Time the Deponent was * Swoon. with her, and the Lady ſuſpecting that he had not fully heard what ſhe had ſpoken to him, ſent her Servant Mrs. *Mackbryar* with Commiſſion to repeat the ſame Words to him, which ſhe did. And the Deponent thinks Captain *Simon* had at leaſt Three Hundred Men with him at that Time, all well armed, in and about the Houſe of *Caſtle-Dounie*, and that he heard at the Time ſome Perſon lamenting, and the Bag-Pipe played about the ſame Time, but knows not whether it was to drown the Voice or not. And further Depones, That the next Time he ſaw my Lady was, That the Laird of *Cullodine* and the Deponent came to the Water-Side near the Iſle of *Aigis*; and Captain *Simon* having come over to them by Boat, the Deponent deſired to ſee my Lady, which he ſhunn'd, telling him, That my Lady did not deſire to ſee him; and the Deponent replied, That it was not done like a Comerade; eſpecially ſeeing that it was reported at *Inverneſs*, That my Lady was dead, or near expiring. Captain *Simon* anſwered, That he ſhould be ſoon cleared of the contrary; and returning into his Boat, he caus'd bring out my Lady in their Sight: But ſo weak as ſhe was ſupported by two, and then carried her back again to a little Houſe upon that Iſland: But the Deponent having aſked at Mrs. *Mackbryar* from the other Side of the Water, to † try at her Lady, if † Enquire. ſhe had diſcharged the Deponent to ſee her; ſhe went accordingly, and brought back Word, that ſhe deſired nothing more than to ſee the

Deponent, except her own Liberation, and to tell her Brother Lord *James*, that ſhe was ſome better, and liv'd longer than ſhe deſired: And that the Deponent ſaw my Lady ſeveral Times after that, where ſhe made heavy Complaints of the bad and rude Uſage ſhe had met with; but her Guards and others ſuſpecting the Deponent, becauſe he would not comply ‖ annent ſome Papers they were drawing up, for their own pretended Security, he had not that free Converſe which he had formerly; and that this was the third or fourth Night after the Charge given them by the Herald, to * diſſipate and lay down their Arms, and ſet my Lady at Liberty. And at the Time when my Lady parted with them, and went away with my Lord *Forbes*, the *Deponent* ſaw about two hundred Men in Arms with Captain *Simon Fraſer*. *Sic ſubſcribitur*, Leonard Robertſon.

‖ With.

* Diſperſe.

† Servant.

Amelie Rioch, late † Servitrix to Lady *Lovat*, aged Sixteen Years, ſworn and purged, Depones, That about the Time libelled, ſhe being a Servant to my Lady, Captain *Simon Fraſer*, with ſeveral armed Men, came to *Caſtle-Dounie*, and ſet Centinels on my Lady's Chamber without, and within the Doors, with drawn Swords; that Captain *Simon*'s Men carried by Force my Lady's waiting Maids, Mrs. *Janet Fraſer* and the Deponent, out of her Room, and made them Priſoners in another Room, That about two of the Clock in the Morning, two armed Men came and carried the Deponent back to the Lady's Chamber, where ſhe did ſee the Lady ſitting on the Ground, her Hair hanging down about her Head, leaning backwards upon the Bed ‖ ſtock; That one *Donald Beaton* was pulling off my Lady's Shoes, and Captain *Simon* was holding Aquavitæ and burnt Feathers to her Noſe, becauſe ſhe was then in a * Swarf; That thereafter they commanding the Deponent to take off my Lady's Shoes, and when ſhe offer'd ſo to do, my Lady ſpurned her away with her Feet, ſhewing her Unwillingneſs; That the Deponent refuſing to take off her Cloaths, Captain *Simon* ordered to beat her; That *Frazer* of *Kinmonavie* did then hold up the Lady in his Arms, and Captain *Simon* pulled off her Petticoats, and ſought a Knife from *Hugh Monro* to cut her Stays; and becauſe he had none, the Captain ordered *Frazer* of *Kinmonavie* to cut the Stays with his † Durk; and then they threw the Lady upon the Bed: But the Deponent ſaying that ſhe would take off the Lady's Stays, they went a little out of the Room, in which Time the Deponent did again faſten the Stays, but they returning were diſpleaſed, that the Stays were not taken off, and commanded to put the Deponent out of the Room, and then they turn'd the Lady upon her Face, and ſtreached out her Arms, and ſo took off her Stays, which the Deponent did ſee, becauſe ſhe went not out of the Room, but ſtood at the Foot of the Bed. And when the Deponent was going away, ſhe heard my Lady cry, but the Bagpipe did

‖ Side.

* Swoon.

† Dagger.

did play all the Time in the next Room to my Lady's Chamber, that her Cries might not be heard. Depones, that next Morning ſhe went into the Lady's Chamber, and ſee her Head hang over the Bed, and nothing upon it except a Handkerchief; the Deponent did ſee all the Lady's Face ſwollen, and ſhe ſpoke nothing, but gave her a ‖ Broad Look. And the Deponent thought that my Lady was not ſenſible for a Day or two thereafter; for ſhe did not know Lord *Mungo* her Brother the next Morning, when he came to ſee her, and when her Servant told her here is your Brother at the Bed-Side, the Lady aſked what Brother, albeit ſhe was looking him in the Face with * fair Day-light. Depones, That when ſhe and the other Servants were carry'd by Force the firſt Night out of my Lady's Chamber; the Lady ſtood up and held out her Arms and cry'd: And when *Dumballock*'s Lady came the next Morning to the Room, and call'd her Madam, my Lady anſwered, *Call me not* Madam, *but the moſt miſerable Wretch alive.* Depones, That ſhe ſaw my Lady carried Priſoner from *Caſtle-Dounie* to the Iſle of *Aigis* at Twelve of the Clock at Night, and from that to *Culgrain*, and from that to *Deanie*, and then to the Iſle of *Muilie*. The Reaſon of her Knowledge, becauſe ſhe went along with her.

‖ Wiſhful.

* Full light.

Janet Frazer, Daughter to *Dumballoch*, aged Sixteen Years, unmarried, ſworn and purged, Depones, That at the Time libelled, Captain *Simon Frazer*, and ſeveral armed Men, came to the Houſe of *Caſtle-Dounie*, and thereafter, there being Guards and Centries ſet on my Lady's Chamber-door, the Deponent and Mrs. *Mackbryar* being my Lady *Lovat*'s Servants, were about Twelve of the Clock at Night, carry'd by Force out of my Lady's Chamber, and my Lady taking hold of the Deponent's Cloaths, and crying out, when the Deponent was pull'd away by Force, my Lady fell on her Face. Depones, That next Morning the Deponent came to my Lady's Chamber about Eight o'Clock in the Morning, and did ſee my Lady's Head hanging over the Bed Stock, and ſee her Face ſwollen. And the Deponent enquiring † annent my Lady's Health, my Lady anſwered, *I am dead.* And about Twelve o'Clock that Day, my Lady appeared altogether unſenſible, and did take the Deponent for Lady *Catherine*, my Lady's Siſter, who had died ſeveral Years before, and about four o'Clock the ſame Afternoon, my Lady did not know her Brother my Lord *Mungo*, and could not ſpeak to him. Depones, That about Two o'Clock the ſame Day, my Lady fell in a ‖ Swarf, and continued out and in the Swarf about two Hours. And this is the Truth as ſhe ſhall anſwer to God; and depones, ſhe cannot write.

† About.

‖ Swoon.

Chriſtian Macklain, late Servitrix to *James Frazer* of *Relict*, aged Twenty-four Years, unmarried, purged and ſworn, and interrogat by the Lord *Aberuchil*, and Mr. *Tho. Frazer* ſworn Interpreter, in reſpect

ſhe

ſhe cannot ſpeak the *Engliſh* Language. Depones, That the Time libelled, particularly that Night that they talk of the pretended Sham Marriage, ſhe being a Servant in the Family, had the Charge of a young Child, being in the next Room to my Ladies; and the Door of my Lady's Room, and the Room where the Deponent was, being open, and the Doors guarded by armed Men, ſhe heard my Lady moan and lament. In the mean Time there were Bagpipes playing, and yet ſhe heard my Lady's Voice ſo loud, that the Sound of the Bagpipe did not drown her Voice. Depones, That ſhe ſaw *Kinmonavie* drawing a * Durk from one of the Centries that was at the Room where the Deponent was, and ruſh into the Room where the Lady was with it. Depones, That the Deponent was guarded ſo ſtrictly, that ſhe could get neither Meat nor Drink for herſelf nor the Child, nor none allow'd to come near her, from Twelve o'Clock of the Day, to Eight o'Clock next Morning. Depones, ſhe ſaw Captain *Simon Frazer* there, with the moſt Part of the other Perſons inſiſted againſt, all in Arms, and ſaw a great many more People in Arms in and about the Houſe. Further Depones, That before the Pipes were bended up, ſhe heard my Lady crying and clap her Hands, ſaying, *Is there no Perſon that hath any Chriſtian Blood in them, who will have no Reſpect to my Woes*, and repeated very often, *Lord have Mercy on her Soul.* This is the Truth, as ſhe ſhall anſwer to GOD. And Depones, ſhe cannot write. *Sic ſubſcribitur*, Tho. Frazer.

* Dagger.

Upon which Probation the † Aſſize did return their Verdict, finding the ‖ Libel proven, with the Aggravations againſt the ſaid Captain *Simon Frazer* and the other Perſons inſiſted againſt.

† Jury.
‖ Indictment.

After opening and reading of which Verdict of Aſſize, the Lords Juſtice General, Juſtice Clerk, and Commiſſioners of Juſticiary, in reſpect thereof, * decerned and adjudged the ſaid Capt. *Simon Frazer*, and the whole Perſons contained in the above-written Verdict, to be executed to Death, demeaned as Traytors, and to undergo the Pains of Treaſon and utter Puniſhment, appointed by the Laws of the Realm, at ſuch Times and Places, and in ſuch Manner, as the ſaid Lords ſhould appoint: And ordained their Name, Fame, Memory and Honours, to be extinct, and their Arms to be † riven forth and ‖ delete out of the Books of Arms; ſo that their Poſterity may never have Place, nor be able hereafter to * bruick or joice any Honours, Offices, Titles or Dignities, within the Realm in Time coming: And to have forfeited, amitted and † Tint, all and ſundry their Lands, Heretages, ‖ Tacks, * Steedings, † Rooms, Poſſeſſions, Goods and Gear whatſoever pertaining to them, to our Sovereign Lord, to remain perpetually with his Majeſty in Property. And this Sentence was by Sound of Trumpet, and all other Solemnities given for ‖ Doom.

* Decreed.
† Torn.
‖ Blotted.
* Enjoy.
† Loſt.
‖ Leaſes.
* Villages.
† Farms.
‖ Judgment.

The

The Journals of Her MAJESTY's *Privy-Council, met at* Edinburgh, Sept. 27. 1703. *about Captain* Simon Frazer *of* Beaufort, *an Emiſſary of* France, *who was carrying on Deſigns againſt the Government, in the Highlands of* Scotland.

PRESENT,

Duke of *Queenſberry*, High Commiſſioner.
Earl of *Seafield*, Lord High Chancellor.
Marq. *Anandale*, Preſident of the Council.
Duke of *Atholl*, Lord Privy Seal.
Earl of *Crauford*.
Earl of *Marr*.
Earl of *Morton*.
Earl of *Galloway*.
Earl of *Loudoun*.
Earl of *Leven*.
Earl of *Forfar*.
Earl of *Dunmore*.
Earl of *Stair*.
Earl of *Roſeberrie*.
Earl of *Glaſgow*.
Lord *Forbes*.
Lord Preſident of the Seſſion.
Lord Regiſter.
Lord Advocate.
Lord *Aberuchill*.
Mr. *Fra. Montgomery*.
Sheriff of *Bute*.
Kilbirnie.
Hoptoun.
Preſtongrange.

Commiſſion of Fire *and* Sword, *the Lady* LOVAT *againſt Captain* SIMON FRAZER.

ANNE, by the Grace of GOD, Queen of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, to our *Lovits*, Macers of our Privy-Council, Meſſengers at Arms, our Sheriffs in that Part, conjunctly and ſeverally, ſpecially conſtituted, and to all and ſundry our loyal and loving Subjects, whom it effeirs, Greeting. Foraſmuch as, by a Petition preſented to our High Commiſſioner, and the Lords of our Privy Council, by *Emilia* Lady Dowager of *Lovat*, making Mention, That Captain *Simon Frazer* of *Beaufort*, being denounced Rebel, and intercommuned at the ſaid Petitioner's Inſtance, upon the 16th Day of *March*, One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Two Years, at the Market Croſs of *Inverneſs*, and upon the 17th Day of *February* preceding, at the Market-Croſs of *Edinburgh*, *for a moſt horrid and abominable Crime committed upon the ſaid Petitioner's Perſon, which is notorious to the whole Nation*; *whereupon the ſaid Captain* Simon Frazer, *having fled out of this Kingdom, and eſcap'd the Hands of Juſtice, yet has now adventured to return to that Place where his Villany was committed, in Contempt of Authority and the Juſtice of the Nation.* And therefore humbly craving, that according to Juſtice and Law in ſuch Caſes, our ſaid Commiſſioner and Lords of our Privy Council, would be pleaſed to grant and direct a *Commiſſion of Fire and Sword againſt the ſaid Captain* Simon Frazer, *an intercommuned Rebel, and his Aſſociates*, to the Commanders of our Forces, Sheriffs of the Shires of *Inverneſs* and *Roſs*, and their Deputies, and ſuch other Perſons as our ſaid High

High Commiſſioner and Lords of our Privy Council ſhould think fit to name, as the ſaid Petition, Letters of intercommuning therein mentioned, and Executions thereof produced and had in Preſence of our ſaid High Commiſſioner and Lords of our Privy-Council in themſelves at more length bears: Under which Renunciation, Intercommuning, and Outlawry aforeſaid, the ſaid Captain *Simon Frazer* hath ever ſince lien and abiden, taking no Regard thereof, nor of our Authority and Laws, but in manifeſt Contempt of the ſame, daily and continually haunts, frequents and repairs to Kirk, Mercat, and other publick Places within this Realm, as if he were our free Liege, to the evil Example and Incouragement of others to do the like in Time coming. For preventing whereof, and vindicating our Authority from ſuch high Contempt, We, with Advice of our ſaid High Commiſſioner and Lords of our Privy Council, *Have made and conſtitute*, and by the Tenour hereof make and conſtitute the Sheriffs of the Sheriffdoms of *Roſs*, *Inverneſs*, *Nairn*, *Murray*, *Perth*, and *Angus*, and their reſpective Deputies, and ſuch of the Heretors within the ſaid reſpective Shires, whom they ſhall call to their Aid and Aſſiſtance in executing the ſaid Commiſſion. As alſo all the Officers of our Forces, and the Soldiers under their Command, and particularly Brigadier *James Maitland*, Governor of *Fort William*, Captain *William Grant*, Captain of one of the Independent Companies, and the Officers and Soldiers under their Commands, reſpective, our Commiſſioners and Juſtices in that Part, to the Effect after ſpecified, *Giving, Granting and Committing to them, and each of them, conjunctly and ſeverally, our full Power and Command, expreſs bidding and charge, to convocate our Leidges in Arms, to paſs and ſearch for, ſee, follow, take, apprehend, impriſon, or preſent to Juſtice, and in caſe of Reſiſtance, Hoſtility or Oppoſition, to purſue to the Death the ſaid Captain* Simon Frazer, *Outlaw'd and Fugitive foreſaid, and ſuch Perſons as ſhall aſſociate themſelves to him, and reſiſt the Execution of this our Commiſſion wherever he can be apprehended.* And if the ſaid Captain *Simon Frazer*, and they who ſhall aſſociate themſelves to him, in oppoſition to this Commiſſion, ſhall, for his or their Refuge, happen to flee to Houſes or Strengths, in that Caſe, We, with Advice foreſaid, give full Power and Commiſſion to our ſaid Commiſſioners conjunctly and ſeverally as ſaid is, to paſs, purſue and aſſiege the ſaids Houſes or Strengths, raiſe Fire, and uſe all Force and warlike Engines that can be had for winning and recovering thereof, *and apprehending the ſaid Captain* Simon Frazer, *and ſuch Perſons as ſhall aſſociate themſelves to him, in reſiſting the Execution of this Commiſſion, as Rebels and Traitors.*

And if in Purſuit of the ſaids Rebels (they reſiſting to be taken) or in Aſſieging the ſaid Strengths or Houſes, there ſhall happen Slaughter, Mutilation, Fire-raiſing, Deſtruction of Corn, or Goods, or other Inconveniency whatſomever to follow, We with Advice foreſaid, *Will and grant, and for Us, and our Succeſſors, decern and declare, That the ſame ſhall not be imputed or charged as any Crime or Offence to our ſaids Commiſſioners, nor to the Perſons aſſiſting them in the Execution of this our Commiſſion, and that they, nor none of them, ſhall be called or accuſed therefore criminally or civilly in Time coming, exonering them and each of them thereof, and of all Puniſhment and*

Danger

Danger that they, or any of them ſhall happen to incur there through for ever. And for the better Execution of this our Commiſſion with Power to our ſaids Commiſſioners, conjunctly and ſeverally, as ſaids is, and ſuch Perſons our Leidges, as ſhall be convocate by them, or ſhall be joined with them to the Effect foreſaid, to bear, wear, and uſe Swords, Hagbuts, Piſtols, and other warlike Weapons, in their going from their own Houſes to this our Service, in the Time that they are in the Proſecution of the ſame, and in their Return home to their ſaids Houſes; and generally all and ſundry other Things to do, uſe and exerce, which to the Execution of ſuch Commiſſions, by the Law, and Conſuetude of this Realm, is known to appertain, firm and ſtable, holding, and for to hold, all and whatſomever Things ſhall be lawfully done therein by our ſaids Commiſſioners, or any of them: And this our ſaid Commiſſion is hereby declared to ſtand, and endure ay and while the ſame ſhall be charg'd by Us, and the Lords of our Privy Council. OUR WILL IS THEREFORE, and we charge you ſtrictly and command, That incontinent theſe our Letters ſeen, ye paſs, and in our Name and Authority, make Publication hereof by open Proclamation at the Market-Croſſes of the head Burghs of the Sheriffdoms of *Roſs*, *Inverneſs*, *Nairn*, *Murray*, *Perth*, and *Angus*, and other Places needful, that none may pretend Ignorance of the ſame, and that ye command and charge all our Leidges to reverence, acknowledge, and obey, concur with, fortify and aſſiſt our ſaids Commiſſioners, and every one of them in all Things tending to the Execution of this our Commiſſion, as they and ilk one of them, will be anſwerable upon their Obedience and higheſt Peril. The whilk to do we commit to you conjunctly and ſeverally our full Power by thir our Letters, delivering them to you, duly execute, and indorſed again to the Bearer.

Given under our Signet at Edinburgh, *the Twenty-ſeventh Day of* September, *and of our Reign the Second Year*, 1703.

Sic Subſcribitur,

Seafield, Cancellar.
Athol, C. P. S.
Mar.
Kintore.
Dunmore.
Glaſgow.
Galloway.
Loudoun.
Forfar.
Roſeberrie.
Forbes.
Ja. Murray.
M. F. Montgomery.

At *Edinburgh*, the 27th Day of *September*, One Thouſand Seven Hundred and three Years.

The Commiſſion within written is recorded in the Books of Privy Council,

By me,

Gil. Eliot. Cls. Sti. Conſ.

A ſober Enquiry. Whether it can be for the Intereſt of any ſort of People in ENGLAND, *to have the Pretended King* JAMES III. *advanced to the Throne of this Kingdom.* 1704.

Sero Sapiunt Phryges.

To the READER.

THIS Paper was written by a hearty Well-wiſher to the Queen, Her Proteſtant Heirs, or Succeſſors; and to the Church, Laws, and Liberties of England.

Wherefore, if any Thing has dropt from his Pen in it, that diſſerves any of thoſe great Intereſts; as it was not intended by him, ſo he does here unſay it, as a Matter he was miſtaken in.

And as it was written with no ill Will to any Party of Men; nor with no other View but to ſerve the Publick; ſo, let it be weak or ſtrong, he has taken all the Care he could, not to ſay any thing that he thought would exaſperate: And tho' that may have ſhortned this Paper very much, it has not, he believes, weakened it at all, with the Judicious.

And ſhould any wonder how it comes to paſs, that in a Paper of this Nature, there ſhould not be one Word that looks towards that pretended Prince's Birth; they muſt know, the Reaſon is, becauſe the Legiſlative has not, as yet, thought fit to make any Declaration about it; not having, in their very Attainder, and Abjuration of that pretended Prince, ſo much as mentioned that, as any Part of the Ground of thoſe Acts. For tho' he may poſſibly be miſtaken in the Nature of ſome of the Grounds he here goes upon, he did not venture to make one Step, but where he thought there was ſure Footing.

THAT I may not be thought to go about to perſuade People, by Motives drawn purely from their Worldly Intereſts, to act againſt their Conſciences; I do here, once for all, declare, that whoever is fully perſuaded in his Mind, that the pretended King *James* the Third has an undoubted Right to the Crown of *England*, ought not, whilſt he is ſo perſuaded, any ways to oppoſe his coming to the Crown; nor by any Oaths, or Abjurations, or in Prayers, to acknowledge that Right to be in another; it not being lawful for one, on any Conſideration whatſoever, to act againſt the preſent poſitive Dictates of his Conſcience; no not in Caſes, where his Conſcience is miſtaken.

But as it is never lawful for one to act contrary to his Conſcience, ſo it is every Man's Duty to ſeek to have his Conſcience rightly informed; and eſpecially in Matters of ſo great Moment as this is, which is before us; on which, nothing leſs than the Preſervation of our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, do ſeem

ſeem entirely to depend. —— And as it is certainly a great Unhappineſs for one to have his Mind under the Power of Perſuaſions, which do naturally thwart, not only his own private, otherwiſe juſt Intereſts; but alſo the great, and known Intereſts of his Religion, and of his Country: So that great Unhappineſs, tho' it ought not to biaſs one's Conſcience againſt ſuch Perſuaſions, and much leſs to prevail with him to ſtifle them, or to act againſt them; it ought nevertheleſs to engage him both in Conſcience, and in Wiſdom, ſtrictly, and impartially to enquire whether thoſe prejudicial Perſuaſions be true, and well grounded, or not; and ſo to diſpoſe his Mind, as to be prepared to lay them aſide, whenever he ſhall diſcover them to be falſe, and groundleſs.

Neither ought any to imagine, that there is but little Danger of People's being partial in favour of Perſuaſions, which do viſibly thwart, both their own, and their Country's great Intereſts: For they muſt know but little of Man's Nature, who are not ſenſible, that his Mind may have ſtronger Biaſſes by ſecret Ways, than by thoſe of his own, or of his Country's viſible outward Advantages: For beſides that in ſuch Caſes, People may have ſtrong ſecret Hopes of reaping, at one Time or another, greater outward Advantages, by ſtiffly adhering to ſuch Perſuaſions, than they can ever hope to receive by renouncing of them; and with ſuch Hopes, though they are many times vain, and fantaſtical, People in ſuch Caſes are very apt, either to feed themſelves, or to be fed with them by others: Beſides this, if it has ſo happened, that People have at any time appeared zealous for ſuch Perſuaſions, and, in a hot Contradiction, to ſome by whom they have been oppoſed, have laid a wonderful Streſs upon them; and if they have alſo been much applauded for that Zeal, and for its Works; tho' thoſe Perſuaſions may be falſe notwithſtanding all that; yet from thence a Pride of Underſtanding may have ſprung, which may diſdain to yield ſo far to any Conſiderations whatſoever, as to diſhonour thoſe Perſuaſions ſo much, as to ſuppoſe, that a ſtricter, and more impartial Examination of them might poſſibly diſcover their Ground not to be firm enough for the great Weight that is laid upon it. Neither is it uncommon, for an intellectual Pride to diſguiſe itſelf ſo, as to appear a conſcientious Steadineſs of Mind, and that not to others only, but to the Perſons themſelves that have it; and who miſtaking it for that, may ſtiffly adhere to it, with a ſincere, and very honeſt Heart, to their own, and their Country's great Prejudice.

So the *Jews* had ſuffered much, and long, before they were able to overcome the ſuperſtitious Perſuaſion they were ſo fond of —— Of its not being lawful for them, either to offend their Enemies, or to defend themſelves, upon the Sabbath-Day; the City of *Jeruſalem* having been loſt, more than once, by Means of that Folly, before the *Jews* could be cured of it. —— And ought not this Miſcarriage of the *Jews* to be a Warning to all other Nations, not raſhly to eſpouſe, nor to give any Countenance to Perſuaſions, which, according to the Courſe of Natural Cauſes, muſt neceſſarily, without an extraordinary divine Interpoſition, end in their total Ruin.

Since God, we ſee, did ſuffer that ſuperſtitious Perſuaſion, having no Warrant from him, notwithſtanding it carried in it a profound Reverence, and

Truſt in his Providence, and Protection, to have its natural ruinous Effects on that People; and, in truth, they muſt miſtake God very much, who do hope to engage him by an unwarranted Reliance on his Providence, to preſerve them, by Miracles, from being deſtroyed. So the *Jews*, who ſaid, that they who truſted God, were *delivered*, did find they were much miſtaken, when they themſelves came to try the Experiment.

But my Intention, in this Paper, being only to ſatisfy People, that it cannot be for their own, nor their Country's Intereſt, to have the pretended King *James* the Third on the Throne of *England*; I ſhall not here offer any thing for their better Information, who do believe the undoubted Right to the Crown to be in that pretended Prince, but ſhall refer them for that to the wiſe and learned Books which have been publiſhed by Men of clear Underſtandings in the Conſtitutions of Civil Government.

Now, The great Body of this Kingdom may be divided into thoſe who have never taken the Oaths to the Queen, nor the Abjuration; and thoſe who have taken them; and the former may be ſubdivided into Roman Catholick, and Proteſtant Non-Jurors: and the latter into the Members of the Church of *England*, and the Proteſtant Diſſenters.

Having made only one Exception, of Roman Catholicks who have no Eſtates, and of Proteſtants who have none neither, and are prepared to turn Papiſts, whenever they ſhall judge it to be for their Conveniency; I ſhall begin with the Roman Catholicks, becauſe of all others, they do ſeem to have moſt Reaſon to promiſe themſelves great Advantages from that Revolution; and the Truth is, were they, of themſelves, able without a *French* Power, to bring that pretended Prince to the Throne, and having raiſed him to it, were ſtrong enough to keep him on it, and were certain alſo that he would live to reign many Years, and would be ſucceeded by one of his own Religion, they might then reaſonably promiſe themſelves, and their Religion, great Advantages by that Change; ſince conſidering that pretended Prince's Age, and the Education which has been given him, and the Reſentments of his Mother, and of all that are about him; they have no Reaſon to doubt, of Proteſtants, and their Religion being his perfect Averſion; and of Popery and its Intereſts, being his Idols.

But if, on the contrary, it ſhould be demonſtrated, that without a *French* Force which is able to maſter the Strength of *England*, that pretended Prince cannot be raiſed to the Throne, or if he were, cannot without that Foreign Power be kept long upon it, and that their miſcarrying either in the attempting of that Revolution, or in the preſerving of it, muſt certainly end in their own, and their Religion's total Ruin; enough, I ſuppoſe, have been offered to ſatisfy them, that it is not for their Intereſt to endeavour that Change.

For, *firſt*, that the *Engliſh* Roman Catholicks, who are not the two hundredth Part of the Kingdom, are not of themſelves, without a Miracle, ſtrong enough to bring about that Revolution; will, I ſuppoſe, be eaſily granted by all the thinking Men of that Sect, and who, though they do ſeem to believe the numberleſs Miracles which are reported to be wrought daily, on trivial Occaſions, in the Roman Church; do not, ſo far as I have obſerved

by

by them, rely much on the having of Miracles wrought for them, in Politicks, in favour of their Religion.

But *ſecondly*, ſuppoſe they do flatter themſelves with Hopes of being able ſo far to impoſe upon Proteſtants, as to gain a ſufficient Number of them to join with them in it: I will ſuppoſe, tho' I can by no Means grant it, that the Proteſtant Non-Jurors, will lend them their whole Strength to bring about that Revolution; but can any Roman Catholick poſſibly be ſo ignorant, or ſo ſanguine, as to imagine, that their own Weakneſs, would receive any conſiderable Acceſſion of Strength by that Union, conſidering the known Smallneſs of the Proteſtant Non-Jurors Numbers, and how little their Wealth and Intereſt is in the Kingdom; there being but very few of the Proteſtant Clergy, Nobility and Gentry, who have not taken the Oaths to the Queen, and ſolemnly abjured that pretended Prince. Now the Reaſon why I cannot grant that the Roman Catholicks, upon a Tryal, would be ſure of that Acceſſion of Proteſtant Strength, ſmall as it is; is becauſe there is not a Proteſtant Non-Juror of my Acquaintance, that does not on all Occaſions, expreſs a wonderful Zeal againſt Popery; and which Zeal, tho' it may not work ſo much, whilſt Popery is at a Diſtance from it; yet would, I do really believe, if it were once brought to a Puſh, make them think twice, before they join Hands with the Roman Catholicks, to exalt one of their Religion to the Throne.

And if the Roman Catholicks, tho' they were ſure of all the Proteſtant Non-Jurors; cannot be ſo vain as to think that their two ſmall Numbers being united, would have a Strength ſufficient to bring about that Revolution, they muſt therefore hope to do it, either by a *French* Power, or by being able to gain Proteſtants enough, from among thoſe that have taken the Abjuration, and the Oaths to the Queen, to join with them, to do it, without that Foreign Aſſiſtance; To their doing of it by the firſt Way, I ſhall ſpeak anon; and as to the ſecond Way, one would be glad to know, on what Grounds they do promiſe themſelves ſo many Auxiliaries, for they will want a great many, from among the Proteſtants who have taken the Abjuration and the Oaths to the Queen: if they ſhould ſay, and it is I believe the moſt that they can ſay, that they obſerve that great Numbers of thoſe who have often taken the Oaths, and the Abjuration, do notwithſtanding that, appear to be diſſatisfied with the preſent legal Settlement of the Crown in the Proteſtant Line; and do farther diſcover a Tenderneſs, and ſomething of a leaning towards St. *Germains*. Now ſuppoſing all this to be true in Fact: tho' I doubt not of it's being made both greater, and much more Univerſal by them than it really is; yet can that be relied on, as a ſufficient Ground for ſuch Hopes; and eſpecially if the Hopes, built on that Ground, have within theſe fifteen Years laſt paſt, been many Times diſappointed, as I doubt not but they have: they would do well therefore to conſider, whether People, whilſt Danger is at a Diſtance, may not ſeem to have ſo tender a Compaſſion for one they ſee in Diſtreſs, as to appear very well diſpoſed to ſuccour him; and yet when they do come to find, that it cannot be done, without endangering their own Necks, whether they will not look twenty Times, before they will leap down a

Precipice

Precipice to his Relief: and whether Self-Preſervation, whenever it comes to be viſibly concerned, will not always be too ſtrong for all ſuch Sympathies, unleſs they be powerfully influenced by Conſcience; and which cannot be ſuppoſed in this Caſe, unleſs Peoples Oaths, Abjurations, and Prayers, may look one Way, and their Conſciences look another; the former towards *Hanover*, and the latter towards St. *Germains*: but yet further, if that leaning towards St. *Germains*, that is fancied, ſhould be entirely on a Suppoſition that that pretended Prince will turn Proteſtant, can the Roman Catholicks hope then to reap any Advantage by it, for if he do not turn Proteſtant, as it is not at all likely he will, that leaning towards him will do him no Service, and if he does turn Proteſtant, what can the Roman Catholicks expect from his coming to the Crown, but harder Uſage than they have ever yet met with in *England*; for as the Proteſtants, by whom he is here ſuppoſed to be raiſed to, and kept upon the Throne, will, for his having been once a Papiſt, be always jealous of his being well affected to that Sect, as the Roman Catholicks in *France*, were of *Henry* the Fourth's being ſo to the Proteſtants; ſo that unleſs that pretended Prince, after he has the Crown, does let a *French* or Popiſh Power in upon the Nation, that is ſtrong enough to ſubdue it, and which we ſhall ſee anon will be but a bad Remedy for them, that watchful Jealouſy of his Proteſtant Subjects, will oblige him for his own Security, to do hard Things to the Roman Catholicks, to ſatisfy the Proteſtants of his not being Popiſhly enclined; ſo ever ſince the Reformation, all the Quarrels the Court of *France* has had with the *Pope*, have been ſo far from being of any Benefit to the *French* Proteſtants, that they have always ſuffered by them; a fierce Perſecution againſt the Proteſtants, on all thoſe Occaſions, having been conſtantly raiſed by that Court, on Purpoſe to prevent their being ſuſpected of being Proteſtantly inclined, and we all remember what our King *Charles* the Second was compelled to do againſt his Roman Catholick Subjects by reaſon of the Jealouſy of the Proteſtants, notwithſtanding his own Inclinations.

The Roman Catholicks therefore have nothing that they can rely on in this Caſe, but *French* Succours; and which Succours, if they be not very ſtrong, may, for being both *French*, and *Popiſh*, run a great Riſk of Miſcarrying; and if they do, that Miſcarriage will certainly end in the total Deſtruction of all the Roman Catholicks, and their Families in *England:* Neither ought their having eſcaped ſo well, upon the laſt bold Attempt which they made upon the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of *England*, having miſcarried; encourage them to renew it, and after a yet more violent Manner, ſince the unexpected Lenity they met with at that Time, was owing chiefly to the ſingular Temper and Moderation of that wiſe Prince, who, under God, was the chief Author of that Revolution: but if to prevent their Miſcarrying in the Attempt, the *French* Succours are ſo ſtrong as to be able to conquer all the Oppoſition they do meet with in *England*; thoſe Succours after they have once ſubdued all that oppoſed them; will with great Eaſe maſter thoſe that joined with them, if they ſhould find them averſe to the *French* King's whole Will and Pleaſure, being done in *England:* And ſo being juſt ſuch Auxiliaries

to

to them, as the *Saxons* were to the *Brittains*, they will either make *England* a Province to *France*, or by deſtroying her Shipping, and Trade, and Stock, will bring her ſo low, that ſhe ſhall never be in a Condition to diſturb *France* any more, in the Proſecution of her Aims at an univerſal Monarchy, neither will the King that is ſet up by them in *England*, if they do ſet one up, be any more than a *French* Intendant; or at moſt but a Duke of *Lorrain*. Now if the Roman Catholicks, who are Men of Eſtates, will be content to run all theſe Riſques, and ſo that they may but have a King of their own Religion; will be ſatisfied to have him raiſed to the Throne, and kept upon it, by an uncontroulable *French* Power, they may, when it will be too late, find their Error, and be brought to underſtand how much better it is, to have their Property ſecured under a free Government, and to enjoy the Exerciſe of their Religion in private, (which the good Nature of Proteſtants would ſuffer them to enjoy quietly, if they would but once give over plotting with Foreigners) than to have the publick Exerciſe of their Worſhip, by Authority; under an Arbitrary *French* Power: for that the total Ruin of the Laws and Liberties, and of the whole Shipping, and Trade of *England* muſt infallibly be the Conſequence of an irreſiſtible *French* Power in her; will not I believe be denied by any that have a Knowledge in the Affairs of the World: nor is it poſſible for any that have ever heard of the *French* King, to imagine, that any antecedent Promiſes or Oaths to the contrary, would, if he had ſuch a Force in *England*, be able to withhold him, from making that Uſe of it.

There is one Thing more I have to ſay to the Roman Catholicks before I diſmiſs them; and that is, that whilſt their Number is ſo ſmall in *England* in Compariſon of the Proteſtants, it can be, neither for their own private Intereſt, nor for the Intereſt of their Religion, to have a Papiſt on the Throne; for ſuch a Prince will either do nothing for them, that he knows will offend the great Body of his Subjects; and then his being of their Religion will do them no Kindneſs, or he will be active to promote them, and their Religion; and will by that Means, certainly draw down a Storm both upon himſelf and them: and which, for the Reaſon that I have given, may not always blow over with ſo little Damage to them, as the laſt did: it would therefore certainly be the Wiſdom of the Roman Catholicks in *England*, until their Numbers are much greater than they are at preſent, to live quietly under our moſt gracious Queen, and her Proteſtant Heirs, or Succeſſors; and to give over all Thoughts of Plotting with Foreigners, or others, how to advance one of their own Religion to the Throne, and eſpecially ſince that is not to be done but by a *French* Power, and which, if it ſucceeds, will deſtroy *England*; and if it miſcarries will bring certain Ruin upon them and their Families: Indeed were Kings, let them do what they liſt, not to be oppoſed by their Subjects in any Caſe, a Popiſh King might then, with a Handful of his own Sect, with Eaſe deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion in *England*, as it is by Law eſtabliſhed; and in a ſhort Time mightily increaſe the Number of Papiſts in it, by giving the Eſtates of all that would not turn, among thoſe that did, or among Colonies of poor Papiſts drawn from other Countries; but it will then be ſoon enough for the Roman Catholicks to expect that Proteſtants

will

will ſuffer the true, and legally eſtabliſhed Religion, and their Civil Rights and Liberties, to be all deſtroyed, when they are able to preſerve them; when any Popiſh Nation ſhall have done the ſame; or when their Church, or their own Hearts do tell them, that it is the Duty of all Subjects to be ſo tame under their Kings, as to ſuffer them to deſtroy their Religion, rather than preſerve it by reſiſting them.

I come now to the Non-Jurors, who, next to the Roman Catholicks, do ſeem to have the moſt Reaſon to promiſe themſelves great Advantages from that Revolution.

But as their Number is very ſmall, for it is believed, that beſides the Roman Catholicks, there are not three hundred Men, of the Clergy and Laity, of any Eſtate, or Figure, in the whole Kingdom, that have not taken the Oaths, and the Abjuration: So whatever they may think, that Smallneſs of their Number, will, after ſuch a Revolution, cauſe them to be but little conſidered, whether it be brought about, by a *French* and Popiſh, or by a Proteſtant Power: For if it be done by an irreſiſtible *French* Power, what has been ſaid of the *Engliſh* Roman Catholicks, may be applied with more Force to them, yea, tho' they ſhould turn Papiſts; and if they did not turn, for them to imagine that their having conſtantly adhered to that pretended Prince's Intereſt, would, if at all, be ſo much conſidered, as to be ſufficient to preſerve the Church of *England* from being deſtroyed to build Popery upon its Ruins; is a Conceit too extravagant for any Man that is in his Senſes, and knows any Thing of the Spirit of Popery, ſo much as to dream of; and in Caſe any of the Proteſtant Non-Jurors did in the laſt two Years of King *James*'s Reign, by their honeſt and ſtout Behaviour, promote or give any Encouragement to the late Revolution, and which I believe moſt of them did; that great Diſſervice may probably be ſo much remembred, that their future good Inclinations may be reckoned to be ſufficiently rewarded, by their being pardoned for what they did before; and if the Proteſtant Non-Jurors, becauſe they may now, perhaps, be highly careſſed by the Roman Catholicks, do imagine that they would be ſo, if one of their Religion were upon the Throne; I will tell them a ſhort Story: I do very well remember, that from the Year 1680, until the Year 1685, the Biſhops, and Clergy of the Church of *England* were every where extolled to the Skies, by the Roman Catholicks: But in the Year 1688, having happened to meet with a Roman Prieſt, who to my Knowledge, had formerly extolled them as high as any Man, I found by him, that they had changed their Note; for with great Heat, upon a very ſlight Occaſion, he ſaid, *I do not care if the Devil had all your Biſhops, for*, to uſe his coarſe Words, *they are all a Pack of Rogues:* And when I put him in Mind of what I had formerly heard him ſay in their Commendation; his Anſwer was, *I did think they had been honeſt Men, but I find now that I was miſtaken in them*; and thus the Proteſtants are honeſt Men, or Rogues, with the Roman Catholicks, juſt as they think, they are ſerving, or diſſerving the Aims of Popery: For that Gratitude will never hinder Popery, when it has Power, from advancing itſelf upon the Ruins of the Church of *England*; Queen *Mary*'s, and the

the late King *James*'s Carriage towards that Church, do ſufficiently demonſtrate. For tho' no Prince could poſſibly be more beholden to any Body of Men, than that King was to the Members of the Church of *England*; who, by oppoſing the Bill of Excluſion, and by twenty Things more, did viſibly both keep his Way open, and pave his Way to the Crown; and did hold him upon the Throne, when *Monmouth* and *Argyle* had otherwiſe pull'd him off of it; and yet theſe great and freſh Benefactors, did no ſooner deny to concur with that Prince, in his illegal and arbitrary Proceedings, of diſpenſing with all the Laws which diſabled Papiſts from bearing any Office, in Church, or State; and in granting a Toleration contrary to Law: Then he threw them all off at once, and with great Eaſe; and in order to deſtroy that Church, he was ſo much oblig'd to, he did ſet an illegal high Commiſſion-Court over her; the firſt Exerciſe of whoſe Juriſdiction, was the ſuſpending the Biſhop of *London*, for having refuſed to cenſure Doctor *Sharp* for preaching againſt Popery; and by which illegal Court, the Clergy were required to read in their Churches, a Declaration, not only contrary to Law, but plainly deſign'd to undermine the Church of *England*; and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with ſix other Biſhops, having preſented an humble Petition to the King, in his Bed-Chamber, with great Modeſty ſhewing the Reaſons why they could not order their Clergy to publiſh that Declaration, becauſe they durſt not betray their Truſt, were committed to the Tower, and proſecuted with the utmoſt Rigour: And did not that Prince farther, contrary to many Promiſes and Gratitude, as well as Law, and by the Help of the ſame high Commiſſion, make profeſſed Papiſts Heads of Colleges, and turn out the Fellows of *Magdalene*, and fill that College with Papiſts; and did he not, to ſatisfy the Church of *England*, that he had not the leaſt Remains of Gratitude in him for her, grant a Commiſſion to ſeveral violent Diſſenters, to enquire how much had been taken from them, when the Laws were put in Execution againſt them, that it might be reſtored, notwithſtanding that Proſecution had been ſet on Foot, and violently driven on at his Inſtigation, to facilitate his coming to the Crown: And can any Man poſſibly remember all this, and yet dream, that an inconſiderable, and unactive bare Adherence, by an Handful of Proteſtants, to the Intereſt of a Popiſh Prince, and who had diſſerved him ſo much before; can be any Bond at all upon him, after he has the Crown, to do any Thing for them, purely out of Gratitude; and much leſs to do a Thing ſo conſiderable, and ſo contrary both to his Inclination and Intereſt, and the Principles of his Religion, as the preſerving of the Church of *England*, when it is in his Power to deſtroy it; If the Proteſtant Non-Jurors are capable of believing that it would be otherwiſe in this Caſe; the Infamy of being the moſt credulous Sect of Men in the World, ought to lie no longer upon the *Jews*.

Secondly, Suppoſing that pretended Prince ſhould be brought in by Proteſtants, who have taken the Oaths and the Abjuration; can the Non-Jurors believe, that after they have done that pretended Prince ſo great a Service, they will endure, that the not having taken the Oaths, and the Abjuration, ſhould, to their great Reproach, be reckoned a Merit, and be rewarded as

ſuch; and that it will not be in Danger of coming quickly to be looked on, as a weak, wilful, and uſeleſs Piece of Scrupuloſity; and the having taken the Oaths, and the Abjuration, with ſome Reſerve or other, that will be deviſed; will come to be reckoned the beſt, and the wiſeſt Courſe that could have been taken to promote that pretended Prince's Intereſt: And ſhould the Non-Jurors, upon that Provocation, be ſo bold as to aſk the Jurors, where their Conſciences were all the while; they will quickly make them grow weary of diſturbing them, with ſuch cloſe reproachful Queſtions: For it is not for an Handful of Men, let their Merit really be never ſo great, unleſs they will throw themſelves into a State of Perſecution, for to plead it; if that cannot be done, without reproaching the great Body of the Nation, the governing Part of it not excepted; and which the Jurors muſt neceſſarily be in this Caſe, until the Papiſts have ſupplanted them: ſo that let that Revolution be brought about by whom it will; ſince the Non-Jurors themſelves have not Power enough to do it; they will find themſelves extreamly miſtaken, if they imagine, that were it once brought about, they ſhould then be placed upon the high Places of the Earth; and be adored by all, as ſo many Chriſtian Confeſſors: for on the contrary, if it be brought about by the *French* and Roman Catholicks, they, unleſs the Non-Jurors do turn Papiſts, will deſpiſe both them, and the Principle for which they ſuffered, *viz.* the Doctrine, of its not being lawful for Subjects to reſiſt their Princes, tho' they will infallibly deſtroy their Religion, if they be not reſiſted by them; being a Doctrine the Roman Church is too politick ever to encourage amongſt her Members; or not to condemn as one of the worſt and moſt dangerous of all Hereſies: and if it ſhould be brought about by the Proteſtant Jurors, it is a Madneſs to think, that they will ſuffer that to be eſteemed and rewarded as a Merit, which cannot be reckoned ſo, but to their eternal Reproach.

It would therefore certainly be the Wiſdom of the Proteſtant Non-Jurors, ſince their Number is ſo very ſmall; to live contentedly under our moſt gracious Queen, and her Proteſtant Heirs, or Succeſſors; and to bear the Loſſes which they ſuſtain, for their Conſciences, with a meek and Chriſtian Spirit, and Temper: and the more, for that ſuch a Revolution cannot be brought about, without endangering the very Being, of the Church, Laws, and Liberties of *England:* and as by ſuch a patient Chriſtian Behaviour, they will ſatisfy every Body, that it is their Conſciences, and nothing elſe, that keeps them from coming in to the preſent Government: ſo ſuch a Behaviour, would create to them, a much greater Reverence, than they can ever hope to meet with, after ſuch a Revolution, let it be brought about by whom it will. And tho' whilſt they are perſuaded of the Right of the Crown being in that pretended Prince, they ought not to oppoſe his coming to it; yet they are not obliged to promote it, if that cannot be done but to the viſible Hazard of Religion, their Country, and their own Perſons and Eſtates; for tho' one ought not for the World to do another any Wrong, or to contribute to its being done, or continued: yet no Man ever thought he was bound, to hazard his Life and Eſtate, much leſs his Religion and Country, to help one, whom

he

he believes to be wronged by others, to his Right: and whatever hard Thoughts ſome may have of the late Revolution, and of all that hath been done ſince in Purſuance of it; notwithſtanding it is plain, that we do owe to it our having a gracious Proteſtant Queen, and all the Benefits of her good Government, yet in Wiſdom, they ought to conſider, not how Things might have been, nor how they fancy, or wiſh they had been, but to conſider how Things are; and in the State they are in at preſent, what is fit to be done, and which if all Proteſtants in *England* would but do, the Roman Catholicks at St. *Germains* would retire to Monaſteries, or at leaſt they would give over Caballing, how they might diſturb the Queen's happy Reign, and the great and neceſſary Enterprizes ſhe is engaged in.

I come now to the Jurors, who are the great Body of the Nation; and as to them, let raſh, uncharitable, or deſigning People, ſay what they will; I cannot believe that there are many, if any, among thoſe, who do ſolemnly take the Oaths to the Queen, as to their Lawful and Rightful Sovereign; and do abjure the pretended King *James* the Third, and his Right to the Crown, and do pray daily for the Princeſs *Sophia*, as the Preſumptive Heir of it, and yet do notwithſtanding, judge the Right to the Crown, to be in that pretended Prince, whom they have abjured, and not in the Queen; and to be ſo diſpoſed that they would help him to it, if it were in their Power: To take Solemn Oaths, and to offer Prayers daily up to God in Defiance to their Conſciences, and with an Attention not to be bound by thoſe ſacred Ties, not to act contrary to God in Defiance to their Conſciences, and with an Intention not to be bound by thoſe ſacred Ties, not to act contrary to them: being a Thing of ſuch a Nature, as no Chriſtian, nor Man indeed ought to be thought capable off; only upon Surmiſes or Conjectures; and tho' ſome Non-Jurors may perhaps, out of Policy, pretend not to be much diſpleaſed with Peoples taking the Oaths, and the Abjuration, provided they do not relinquiſh a Principle which is contrary to the doing of it; and which Principle keeps the very Non-Jurors themſelves from taking them; and they may alſo carry it much fairer with thoſe, who they think do take the Oaths ſo; than with others, who take them upon a Principle which is conſonant to them; whatever any Non-Jurors may pretend, they cannot poſſibly, without being inconſiſtent with themſelves, and having very ſtrange Notions in Morals, but deteſt ſuch a Courſe, as unworthy of any Man, and much more of a Chriſtian.

I will not therefore here ſo much as ſuppoſe, that there is any ſuch Party of Men as this in the Nation, but in Contradiction to thoſe who preſume, and boaſt that there is; will ſhew, how unlikely a Thing it is, that there ſhould be any ſuch Party; by proving that it is neither for the Honour, nor for the Intereſt of any that have taken the Oaths, for to appear diſpoſed to bring in the pretended Prince whom they have abjured; or for to attempt it, tho' they were ſure to ſucceed.

And that it cannot be for the Honour of any that have taken the Oaths, and the Abjuration, and do pray daily for the Princeſs *Sophia*, as the Preſumptive Heir of the Crown; to appear diſpoſed, in Contradiction to all

thoſe ſacred Bonds, to bring in the pretended Prince, whom they have ſo ſolemnly abjured, will, I ſuppoſe, be eaſily granted by all Men; and if it cannot be for their Intereſt neither, as I ſhall ſhew it cannot; why ſhould any ſuſpect that there is any ſuch Party of Men in the Nation; for can any be ſo diſpoſed, and not ſee plainly the preſent ill Conſequences of their appearing to be ſo; namely, that of alienating the Queen from them, whoſe good Grace is ſo earneſtly deſired by all her Subjects; for beſides, that ſuch a Diſpoſition muſt give ſo pious, and religious a Princeſs, a very ill Opinion of the Jurors, ſhe obſerves it in; her own Safety, and that of the Proteſtant Religion, which is yet dearer to her, will oblige her to frown upon them, and not to truſt them in Poſts, which may put them in a Capacity of furthering that pretended Prince's being brought to the Crown: neither is this great Evil to be prevented, by any Aſſurances, which can be given the Queen, of their being no Intention to ſet up that pretended Prince, whilſt ſhe lives; for beſides, that no Sovereign cares to have her Right to her Crown ſo precarious, as to owe it to another's permitting her, for his own future Intereſt, to wear it, as long as ſhe lives; and which, if the Right to the Crown be at *St. Germains*; is the beſt that can be made of this Matter; were *England* ſo prepared, for that pretended Prince's coming quietly to the Crown, after the Queen's Deceaſe; as it was for the Duke of *York*'s coming to it when King *Charles* the Second died; can any think that the Queen's ſacred Life, which all her Subjects have Reaſon to wiſh may be longer than any of her Predeceſſors, could be long preſerved: So that were there nothing elſe to keep People from giving thoſe at *St. Germains* hopes of their pretended Prince being to ſucceed the Queen; the Preſervation of the Queen's ſacred Life, which will be expoſed by it to great Danger, ought to make them dread the giving of them any ſuch Hopes: beſides, can any imagine but that the Queen, after all the Declarations which ſhe has made to her Subjects, of her Reſolution to maintain the Proteſtant Succeſſion, as it is now by Law eſtabliſhed, will not be highly diſpleaſed with Men, that ſhould in Contradiction to her Laws, and Declarations, and their own Oaths, appear diſpoſed to deſtroy that Settlement, on which the Security of the Church, Laws and Liberties of *England* are known to depend: all which great Intereſts are ſo dear to the Queen, that they would find themſelves much miſtaken, who ſhould imagine, that ſhe will not, according to her juſt Motto, be *ſemper eadem* to them: and yet farther, can any think that the wiſe Patriots, who are about the Queen and who for the former great Services they have done their Country, muſt certainly be all ſacrificed, with their Families; if that Revolution ſhould be brought about: that they will not, for their Miſtreſs's, their Religion, their Countrey's, and their Families Safety, take care to diſable all that they ſhall obſerve to be ſo diſpoſed, tho' they will do it with Reluctancy.

But if it cannot be for the Intereſt of any Proteſtant to appear diſpoſed to help that pretended Prince to the Crown; it can much leſs be for their Intereſt, if they have Eſtates, and are not prepared to turn Papiſts, to attempt it, tho' they were ſure it would ſucceed; for Proteſtants before they come to have a formed

formed Intention of bringing in that pretended Prince, muſt certainly come to a Reſolution, whether they will attempt it, on Condition that he turns Proteſtant; or will do it whether he declares himſelf a Proteſtant or no: if they ſhould reſolve, that unleſs he turn Proteſtant, they will have nothing to do with him; tho' *England* may then be in little Danger of ever ſeeing him raiſed to the Throne; yet they, who contrary to the Law, and the known Inteeeſt of the Kingdom, have entered into ſuch a Treaty with him, may come to be great Sufferers by it; or if he ſhould declare himſelf a Proteſtant, hoping by that Means to facilitate his coming to the Crown, that Profeſſion would not help him to many Proteſtant Friends in *England*, beſides thoſe that had treated with him about it: the great Body of the three Kingdoms, having been ſo long uſed to Papiſts, pretending themſelves Proteſtants, for the Advancement of their Intereſt; and ſmarted ſo much by truſting to it, that they will not eaſily be cured of the Jealouſy, of his continuing ſtill a Papiſt in his Heart; and that were he but once upon the Throne, and had a ſufficient Popiſh Force about him, he would then throw off the Maſk, and be more zealous to introduce Popery, with all its black Companions, for having diſſembled it, to get into a Capacity of doing it greater Service; and in that Caſe, *à non putarem, or I could not have imagined it*; 'twill be but a poor Satisfaction to *England*; and to the very Men themſelves, if they do not turn Papiſts; who have been inſtrumental in that Revolution; there is not indeed any Thing that makes one ſo apprehenſive, that Biſhop *Uſher*'s Prophecy concerning the Return of Popery into *England*, may be fulfilled, as that ſome Proteſtants, after they have been ſo often and dangerouſly deceived by truſting Papiſts Words and Promiſes, in Matters relating to their Religion; ſhould yet be as ready to truſt them again; as if they had never been deceived by them: for if this be not a Sorcery, it is hard to tell what is.

But if they ſhould be ſo fond of having that pretended Prince, that they will take him with all his Faults, and tho' he ſtill continues to profeſs himſelf a Papiſt; they will find, that they have taken a very difficult, and dangerous Work upon their Hands; for let it come when it will, to be an armed Struggle among ourſelves, without any Foreign Succours on either Side, whether one that is a Proteſtant, and as ſuch, has a legal Title to the Crown; or a Papiſt bred up in *France*, with all poſſible Prejudices to Proteſtants, and their Religion; ſhall be King of *England:* it will, in all Likelihood, be the ſhorteſt, tho' not perhaps the leaſt bloody Civil War that ever was in this Iſland; the terrible and juſt Conſternation, the three Kingdoms were under, when Popery was lately upon the Throne; being ſtill ſo freſh in the Memories of the Body of the People, and of many of the Nobles, Clergy, and Men of Eſtates; that they will certainly venture all that they have in the World, rather than be reduced again to ſuch a deſperate Eſtate. But if to remedy this, that pretended Prince brings over with him ſo ſtrong a *French* or Popiſh Force, as will, being united to his Proteſtant Friends, be ſtrong enough to carry his Point: can they that truſt to that Remedy, conceive, that that *French* Force, will not occaſion others, if need be, to call over Forces too from *Hanover*; and ſo poor *England* muſt be made a Field of Blood, and a

Scene

Scene of all imaginable Miſeries, for no other End but to raiſe a Papiſt to the Throne; and if, to make ſure Work, the *French* Succours ſhould be ſtrong enough to ſubdue all the Oppoſition they can meet with in *England*; will they not after they have done that, likewiſe be ſtrong enough to conquer all the Proteſtants that have joined with them, and if they are, will they not certainly do it? And beſides, their uſing of *England* in that Caſe, as I have ſhewed they will, when I ſpoke to the Roman Catholicks, will they not infallibly deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion, Root and Branch, in her; but if the Numbers of Proteſtants, who will appear in Arms for that pretended Prince, ſhould be ſuppoſed to be ſo great, that they will be able to do the Buſineſs, with ſo ſmall a Body of *French* Succours as they will eaſily be able to maſter, if they ſhould prove mutinous, tho' that might be ſo, if they were all kept ſtill in Arms; yet what will the Proteſtants do, if their new Popiſh King after he is upon the Throne ſhould repoſe more Confidence in the *French*, and other Popiſh Forces, which in a ſhort Time he might get about him, than in his Proteſtant Friends, and ſo think fit to diſband them, and keep the other on Foot; in that Caſe they muſt either diſobey their new Popiſh King, and not be diſbanded by him, or being diſbanded, they muſt ſubmit to the *French*, and other Popiſh Standing Forces, and whoſe Numbers, that Popiſh King may augment at his Pleaſure, having the Fleet of *England*, and all its Ports in his Hands; for it is not to be imagined, that when they give him the Crown, they will keep them from him; and though it is true, that by letting in to *England* too great a Number of *French* Troops, that King may be reduced to be little more than a *French* Vice-Roy; yet may not a Bigotry, for the introducing and eſtabliſhing of Popery in *England*; and great *French* Promiſes, and Aſſurances, delude him ſo far, as to lead him to do that, which may end both in his own Ruin, and in the Ruin of the Kingdom: neither will that be the firſt Time, that People have been deceived, who have truſted much to Princes's not doing of any Thing, that is contrary to their own Intereſts; and eſpecially, when Princes are in great Perplexities, or under the Power of any blind Paſſion, or violent Reſentment, or in the Hands of Self-intereſted, or bigoted Miniſters; all which, would be likely to concur in that Caſe.

And did all Proteſtants but remember, the great and juſt Fears which they were under, when Popery was laſt upon the Throne; and which one would think, could not well be forgotten in ſo ſhort a Space of Time as ſeventeen, or eighteen Years; they would then above all Things dread the Thoughts of ſeeing Popery advance towards the Throne any more: and if the Inſolence of the *Engliſh* Roman Catholicks, when Popery was laſt regnant, was ſo inſufferable, how much worſe will that of the *French*, joined to that of the *Engliſh*, *Iriſh* and *Scots* be; who will then flock like Locuſts about the Throne, and be ready to ſpit in the Face of any Proteſtant, that ſhall dare to approach it.

But though I am confident that the late Popiſh Reign muſt be too freſh in the Memories of moſt *Engliſh* Proteſtants, for any great Number of them, to aſſiſt Roman Catholicks to advance Popery to the Throne again; and that,

in

in contradiction to their Oaths, Abjurations, and Prayers, not to mention their repeated high Addreſſes to King *William*, and her preſent Majeſty; nevertheleſs, it were to be wiſhed, that all that have taken the Oaths, and have made thoſe ſolemn Promiſes, would likewiſe take care not to give People any Occaſion to think that in their Hearts they do ſtill lean towards *St. Germains*, and which People will ſuſpect, if they ſee them forward, to palliate the greateſt Exceſſes, and the worſt Things that were done in that late Popiſh Reign; and to leſſen the Dangers the Church, Laws, and Liberties of *England* were in at that Time; and that in Contradiction to what they themſelves, and the whole three Kingdoms did then think of them: or to reflect ſpitefully on the late Revolution, in which they rejoiced ſo much at firſt, and on that great Prince's Memory, who, under God, was the Author of it: or to rail at the *Dutch* for having expoſed their own States to imminent Danger, to ſave us from Ruin; or to ſpeak kindly, or honourably of thoſe, who were the Tools of Popery, in the High Commiſſion Court, in *Weſtminſter*-Hall, and in other Places; the moſt of which, were at that Time deſpiſed by the whole Nation for their Ignorance, and for their Inſufficiency for the Poſts they were in; and who were all abominated by the whole Nation, for their baſe Compliance, and Treachery: or to diſcover but little Affection for the Auguſt Houſe of *Hanover*, and no great good Will to the Queen's Allies, and namely, to the *Auſtrian* King of *Spain*, on whoſe good Succeſs the whole Trade of *England* does viſibly depend: and to ſhew great Moderation towards the Perſons of Popiſh Diſſenters, and at the ſame Time condemn Moderation, Name, and Thing, if ſhewed in never ſo low a Degree towards diſſenting Proteſtants. For tho' all this may be, without any formed Intention of bringing in that pretended Prince; yet it will always look ſo like an inclining toward him; as to keep his Friends both here and at *St. Germains* in Heart, whoſe known ſmall Numbers would otherwiſe make them grow weary of his Cauſe, and to throw it up, as a Game loſt beyond Recovery: and did the Proteſtant Jurors but know the ſevere Reflections which are made on that Dialect by the Non-Jurors, Proteſtant and Popiſh, when they are together by themſelves; it would certainly oblige them to change it; and to ſpeak in a Dialect more conſonant to their Oaths, Abjurations, Prayers, and Promiſes; and that to the great Quiet of her Majeſty's Reign, and to the Security of her ſacred Perſon, and of the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of *England*, and likewiſe of their own Honours and Eſtates. As to the Proteſtant Diſſenters, of all Sects and Denominations, whether they have taken the Oaths to the Queen, and the Abjuration, or not; what has been ſaid to other Proteſtant Jurors, and Non-Jurors, is ſo manifeſtly applicable to them, that there is no need of repeating it, to make ſo eaſy an Application: I ſhall therefore here only note, that as the Proteſtant Diſſenters, by the forward Compliances of many of their Numbers with the Arbitrary Meaſures, and Commands of the late Popiſh Reign, did loſe themſelves very much with the People of *England*, ſo ſhould they offer to bring in a Popiſh King, either upon *England*, or *Scotland*; they will by it, certainly bring a total Ruin upon themſelves and their Sects; either

from

from their Popiſh King, if they eſtabliſh him, or from the three Kingdoms, if they do attempt it, and miſcarry.

I know but of one Objection, of any Weight, that can be made againſt any thing that is ſaid in this Paper: and that is, that the excluding of the pretended King *James* the Third, and all other Papiſts from the Crown, may entail a War upon the Kingdom. I anſwer, and may not the excluding of the Houſe of *Hanover*, which has now a Legal Title to the Crown, and has farther, the Oaths of the whole Kingdom almoſt, to maintain their Right to it, entail a much more dangerous War upon *England*; conſidering, that the Heir to the Crown out of that Auguſt Family, beſides his being a Proteſtant, will have large Dominions of his own, and which are full of ſtout Men; neither will he want Treaſure, and powerful Allies, to enable him to carry on ſuch a War: Whereas his Rival will be a Papiſt, and being in the Condition of a private Subject, muſt for Succours depend wholly on the *French*, a Nation ſo odious to the *Engliſh*; and who will never out of Juſtice, or out of Kindneſs for any Perſon whatſoever, be at any Expence either of Men, or Money, any farther than they do judge it to be for their own Intereſts: and of this, their Carriage towards King *Charles* the Second, when he was an Exile among them, is a freſh Demonſtration; as the *Dela Cerdas* are a clear Inſtance, how difficult a Thing it is for one, after he is reduced to a private Eſtate, ever to make any thing of his having in him an undoubted Title to the Crown; which the Family of the *Dela Cerdas* have plainly had in it, for ſeveral Ages, to the Crown of *Spain*. But if the chief Danger here, is reckoned to be, not from that pretended Prince, and his Heirs, but from his Siſter, who may be married to the Duke of *Berry*, or ſome other Prince of the Blood, who may come to the Crown of *France*. As that is a very remote Danger, ſo were it near, it could not be very great, ſeeing that Lady and all her Heirs are, by a Law of the Land, excluded from the Crown of *England*, as the King of *England* by the Salique Law is excluded from the Crown of *France*; to which, were it not for that Law, he would have an undoubted Right: and why Limitations made to the Succeſſion to the Crown of *England* by a Law ſhould not be as valid, as Limitations made by a Law to the Succeſſion to the Crown of *France*; it will be hard to give a Reaſon, unleſs the *French*, and no other Government, have the Privilege to make ſuch Limitations; or unleſs the Legiſlative, which twelve hundred Years ago had Power to make ſuch Limitations, has now loſt that Power.

There is one Thing I have long wondered at, and ſo cannot but take Notice of it here; and that is, that *France*, to whom ſuch a Law may be a great Diſadvantage, yet ſhould have it: and that *England*, *Spain*, and the other *European* Kingdoms, to whom it would be a great Security, ſhould be without it: for if the Crown of *France* ſhould happen, by ſuch Marriages, to fall to any foreign King; *France*, in which that Foreign King would certainly live, and keep his Court, would by that Means have all his ancient Dominions come under her, as little more than ſo many Provinces; no leſs than, if by ſuch Marriages, other Crowns ſhould happen to fall to that of *France*; and had *Spain* made ſuch a Law, with Relation to *France* only, for

it

it might not have been ſo well to have extended it to Kingdoms which were leſs than herſelf, as *Portugal* did to all Foreign Princes, and owes to it her having a Native on her Throne at this Time, *Spain* had not needed to have troubled herſelf with laborious Renunciations, when ſhe married her *Infanta*'s into *France*; and which Renunciations ſhe had no Reaſon to expect *France* would obſerve; nor had *Spain*, and all *Europe*, been in the diſtracted Condition they are in at this Time: And as it had been happy for *Spain*, and all *Europe*, that her Kings, inſtead of framing vain Renunciations, when they married their Daughters into *France*, had called a *Cortes*, and made a Law againſt any *Infanta* who is married to a Prince of the Blood of *France*, and her Heirs by him, ſucceeding to the Crown of *Spain*; ſo why *Spain*, *England*, and all the other *European* Kingdoms, ſhould not yet make ſuch a Law, concerning their Daughters, and their Heirs by any Prince of the Blood of *France*, I can ſee no Reaſon, unleſs they reckon it would be no Unhappineſs to them, to become Provinces to *France*, or to be diſturbed for refuſing to ſubmit to it.

But let this be as it will, *England* muſt certainly be ſo infatuated, as to be grown weary of the Proteſtant Religion, and of Liberty, and ſecured Property, and of Trade, and Wealth, and of a Figure in the World, before ſhe will ſuffer a Papiſt from any Countrey, and leaſt of all from *France*, to mount her Throne; whilſt ſhe, with her own whole Strength, and that of her Proteſtant Allies, is able to keep him out of it.

For that the Church of *England*, conſidering the known Spirit of Popery, cannot, without a Miracle, be long preſerved under a Popiſh King, if he may not be reſiſted, will be granted by all thinking Men; who cannot but know, that a Popiſh King, if he be not controuled in any thing, that his Religion and his Prieſts will drive him to do, muſt in a ſhort Time infallibly extirpate the Proteſtant Religion out of *England*, reckoning it to be the beſt, and the moſt meritorious Work that he can do: neither would Laws, though the Church of *England* had all that ſhe could deſire for her Security, ſignify any thing to her in that Caſe, ſeeing they would not be looked on as Laws by that Prince; but the Eſtabliſhments of Hereſy, the worſt of all Iniquities: neither would his having taken an Oath to obſerve them, ſignify any thing; ſince the Pope would not only diſpenſe with him, but would command him to break that Oath, as the only Atonement he could make for having taken it: ſo that if any will believe that a Popiſh King might be kept from acting thus, by ſome other Methods, than that of a ſuperior armed Force; I can only wiſh, that they may never be undeceived; ſince nothing, it ſeems, can do it, but another Trial. And tho' it is true, that in the Times of Popery, *England* had Liberties, and made a conſiderable Figure in the World, and had ſome Trade and Wealth; yet, that as Things are now, Popery cannot poſſibly be introduced into *England*, but with the total Deſtruction of all thoſe great Advantages, may eaſily be demonſtrated.

For as to Liberty, and Property; conſidering that ſtrong Averſion which there is all over *England* for Popery, and the known Zeal of the *Engliſh* Clergy againſt it, and which is accompanied with great Learning, and a ſin-

gular Talent in Preaching; and how many of the Nobility, and Gentry, have the main of their Eſtates in Abbey Lands, and which they can never reckon to be ſafe when Popery is upon the Throne; it cannot be imagined poſſible, for Popery ever to be brought into *England*, with the Conſent of a duly elected, and free Parliament: Popery muſt therefore either never be introduced into *England*, or it muſt be brought into it, by an armed Force, too great for *England* to reſiſt: and as the Legal Conſtitution of our Government muſt be broke to Pieces by that Force, before it can eſtabliſh Popery; ſo that being once deſtroyed, which is the only Support, and Guard of the *Engliſh* Liberties, thoſe great Advantages muſt neceſſarily fall with it: for the King that can arbitrarily deſtroy all the Laws that are againſt Popery, and eſtabliſh it in *England*, may, after that, do what he will in it; and may with much Eaſe trample upon *Magna Charta*, and all the other Charters, and Fences of the *Engliſh* Liberties, and Properties: beſides, is it not viſible, that for above an Age, the Pope, and Popiſh Kings have all been in a Conſpiracy, every where to deſtroy all the ancient Liberties and Privileges of Subjects, the Kings having undertaken to reduce all their Subjects to a blind and ſlaviſh Obedience to the Pope in Spirituals; and the Popes to requite the Kings, do by their Agents, make all their Subjects Slaves to them, in Temporals: ſo that if the Pope, and the Popiſh Kings do not quarrel by encroaching upon one another's Provinces, Slavery both of Mind and Body, is for ever entailed upon all Popiſh Subjects.

As to the great Figure which *England* makes in the World at this Time; it is ſolely owing under God, to that prodigious Wealth which is brought into her, by her great Trade; and which is a Conſequence of that to her being ſo populous: to both which extraordinary Advantages the introducing of Popery into *England* muſt be of fatal Conſequence; for beſides, that the deſtroying of Liberty and Property, muſt neceſſarily ruin Induſtry, and Trade; as is plain, from the little or no Trade, or Induſtry there is in the moſt fertile, and for Trade, the moſt commodiouſly ſituated Regions in the World; and that for no other Reaſon, but becauſe Liberty and Property are not ſecured in them: ſo conſidering that there is not one in ten thouſand of the Trading, and Manufacturing People in the Nation, that are Papiſts, or diſpoſed to be ſo; ſhould Popery be introduced, moſt of them would firſt ſend their Stock out of *England*, and afterwards follow it themſelves; or ſuppoſe they ſhould be violently hindered from flying, as they were in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, yet as it would not be poſſible now, no more than it was then, to keep a great many from getting away; ſo they that were kept in *England* againſt their Minds would be ſo diſcouraged, that they would have no Heart to carry on the Trade, and the Manufactures, as they did before: and when perſecuting, and burning for Religion, was once begun, and which would not be long after Popery was eſtabliſhed; the Trading and Manufacturing part of the Nation would either be drove out of *England* by their Fears, or if detain'd in it, would be made ſo uneaſy by the Terrors they would be under, as to loſe that compoſed, and ſedate State of Mind; without which Trade, and Manufacture cannot be managed, and carried on with Advantage; and as the Loſs

of

of our Trade muſt much depopulate us, ſo Popery has many depopulating, idle, inſeparable Companions, attending it.

And if this would certainly be the State of *England* under Popiſh Kings, tho' they made no Uſe of *French* Succours, if they might not be reſiſted, let them do what they will; and can it be worth while to bring in a Popiſh King, and then reſiſt him, as ſoon as he will give Occaſion for it; how much eaſier and ſhorter the Work of introducing Popery would be, to a Popiſh King, brought in, and ſupported by the Power of *France*, I leave to all Proteſtants to conſider, and which I do heartily wiſh may be duly conſidered by them in Time, that it may be prevented, that the Queen may have a happy and undiſturbed Reign, and that that thick and dark Cloud which hung over *England* ſixteen Years ago, may return no more to terrify her, and the whole Proteſtant World, and none more, nor much ſooner, than thoſe who have been inſtrumental in that Revolution, if they do not turn Papiſts.

The Diſſenting Miniſters Vindication of themſelves from the horrid and deteſtable Murther of King CHARLES I. *of glorious Memory. With their Names ſubſcribed, about the* 20th *of* January 1648.

Iſaiah 62. 1. *For Zion's Sake I will not hold my Peace, and for Jeruſalem's Sake I will not reſt, until the Righteouſneſs thereof go forth as Brightneſs, and the Salvation thereof as a Lamp that burneth.*

Prov. 24. 21, 22. *MY SON, FEAR THOU THE LORD AND THE KING, AND MEDDLE NOT WITH THEM THAT ARE GIVEN TO CHANGE.*

FOR THEIR CALAMITY SHALL RISE SUDDENLY, AND WHO KNOWETH THE RUIN OF THEM BOTH?

IT cannot be unknown how much we, and other Miniſters of this City and Kingdom that faithfully adhered to the Parliament, have injuriouſly ſmarted under the Scourge of evil Tongues and Pens, ever ſince the firſt Eruption of the unhappy Differences and unnatural War between the King and Parliament, for our Obedience to the Commands and Orders of the honourable Houſes, in their Conteſts with his Majeſty, and Conflicts with his Armies.

We are not ignorant of the over-buſy entermedlings of Prelates and their Party heretofore, in over ruling Civil Affairs to the great Endangering of Kingdoms, and of this in particular, when private Intereſts, ambitious Deſigns, Revenge, or other ſiniſter Ends, engaged them beyond their Sphere. Howbeit, it cannot reaſonably (as we conceive) be denied, that Miniſters, as *Subjects*, being bound to obey the Laws, and to preſerve the Liberties of the Kingdom, and having an Intereſt in them, and the Happineſs of them, as well as others, may and ought, (without incurring the juſt Cenſure due to Buſy-

bodies and Incendiaries) to appear, for preſerving the Laws and Liberties of that Common-Wealth whereof they are Members, eſpecially in our Caſe, when it was declared by the Parliament, that all was at Stake, and in danger to be loſt. No, nor as *Miniſters* ought they to hold their Peace, in a Time wherein the Sins of Rulers and Magiſtrates as well as others, have ſo far provoked God as to kindle the Fire of his Wrath againſt his People. And yet, for this alone, the faithful Servants of God, have in all Ages, through the Malice of Satan and his Inſtruments, been traduced as Arch-Incendiaries, when only their Accuſers are indeed guilty of both laying the Train, and of putting Fire to it, to blow up a Kingdom.

An *Ahab* and his Sycophants think none ſo fit to bear the Odium of being the grand *Troubler of Iſrael*, as *Elijah*. Thus the Popiſh Device was, to charge the *Gun-powder Treaſon* (had it taken Effect) upon the *Puritans:* And, if you believe *Tertullus*, even a *Paul* is a *peſtilent Fellow, a Mover of Sedition throughout the World*, a *Ring-leader* of a *Sect*, and what not, but what he is? Yea, *Chriſt* himſelf (though a Friend to *Monarchy*, even of heatheniſh *Rome)* is proclaimed *an Enemy to Cæſar*, to open a Way to his Deſtruction, by their Malice, who never cared for the Intereſt of *Cæſar*.

Wherefore, although *with us*, who have had Experience of like Uſage, *it be a ſmall Thing to be* thus *judged of Men*, when we regard only our own particular Perſons: For, *if they call the Maſter of the Houſe Beel-zebub, how much more thoſe of his Houſhold?* yet when we conſider how much it concerns the Honour of our Maſter, and the Good of all, to preſerve our miniſterial Function immaculate (our good Names, being in that Relation, as needful to others, as a good Conſcience to ourſelves) we dare not but ſtand by and aſſert the Integrity of our Hearts, and the Innocency of all our Actings (in reference to the King and Kingdom) for which we are ſo much calumniated and traduced.

This we are compelled to at this Time, becauſe there are many who very confidently (yet moſt unjuſtly) charge us to have been formerly inſtrumental toward the taking away the Life of the King. And becauſe alſo there are others who in their ſcurrilous Paſquils and Libels (as well as with their virulent Tongues) preſent us to the World as a *bloody ſeditious Sect, and traiterous Obſtructors, of what all the godly People of the Kingdom do earneſtly deſire for eſtabliſhing of Religion and Peace*, in that we ſtick at the *Execution* of the King, while yet we are (as they falſly affirm) content to have him *convicted* and *condemned:* all which we muſt and do from our Hearts diſclaim, before the whole World.

For when we did firſt engage with the Parliament, (which we did not till called thereunto) we did it with loyal Hearts and Affection towards the King, and his Poſterity. Not intending the leaſt Hurt to his Perſon, but to ſtop his Party from doing further Hurt to the Kingdom; not to bring his Majeſty to Juſtice (as ſome now ſpeak) but to put him into a better Capacity to do Juſtice: *To remove the wicked from before him, that his Throne might be eſtabliſhed in Righteouſneſs*; not to dethrone and deſtroy him, which (we much fear) is the ready Way to the Deſtruction of all his Kingdoms

That

That which put on any of us at firſt to appear for the Parliament was, *The Propoſitions and Orders of the Lords and Commons in Parliament* (Jun. 10, 1642) for bringing in of Money and Plate, *&c.* wherein they aſſured us that whatſoever ſhould be brought in thereupon, ſhould not be at all employed upon any other Occaſion, than to maintain *the Proteſtant Religion, the King's Authority, his Perſon in his Royal Dignity, the free Courſe of Juſtice, the Laws of the Land, the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Privileges of Parliament, againſt any Force which ſhall oppoſe them.*

And in this we were daily confirmed and encouraged more and more, by their many ſubſequent Declarations and Proteſtations, which we held ourſelves bound to believe, knowing many of them to be godly and conſcientious Men, of publick Spirits, zealouſly promoting the common Good, and labouring to free this Kingdom from Tyranny and Slavery, which ſome evil Inſtruments about the King, endeavoured to bring upon the Nation.

As for the preſent Actings at *Weſtminſter*, ſince the Time that ſo many of the Members were by Force ſecluded, divers impriſoned, and others thereupon withdrew from the Houſe of Commons (and, there not being that Conjunction of the two Houſes, as heretofore) we are wholly unſatisfied therein, becauſe we conceive them to be ſo far from being warranted by ſufficient Authority, as that in our Apprehenſions they tend to an actual Alteration (if not Subverſion) of that which the *Honourable Houſe of Commons*, in their *Declaration* of *April* 17, 1646, have taught us to call *the Fundamental Conſtitution and Government of this Kingdom*, which they therein aſſure us (if we underſtand them) they would never alter.

Yea, we hold ourſelves bound in Duty to God, Religion, the King, Parliament and Kingdom, to profeſs before God, Angels and Men, That we verily believe that which is ſo much feared to be now in Agitation, **the taking away the Life of the King**, in the preſent Way of Trial, is, not only not agreeable to any Word of God, the Principles of the Proteſtant Religion (never yet ſtained with the leaſt Drop of the Blood of a King) or the Fundamental Conſtitution and Government of this Kingdom; but contrary to them, as alſo to the *Oath of Allegiance*, *the Proteſtation of* May 5, 1641, and the *Solemn League and* **Covenant**; *from all, or any of which Engagements, we know not any Power on Earth, able to abſolve us or others.*

In which laſt, we have ſworn (**with hands lifted up to the moſt high God**) *That we ſhall with Sincerity, Reality, and Conſtancy, in our ſeveral Vocations, endeavour, with our Eſtates and Lives, mutually to preſerve and defend the Rights and Privileges of the Parliaments, and the Liberties of the Kingdoms, and to preſerve and defend the King's Majeſty's Perſon and Authority, in the Defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms: That the World may bear Witneſs with our Conſciences, of our Loyalty, and that we have no Thoughts or Intentions to diminiſh his Majeſty's juſt Power and Greatneſs.*

And we are yet further tied by another Article of the ſame **Covenant**; *Not to ſuffer ourſelves, directly or indirectly, by whatſoever Combination, Perſuaſion or Terrour, to be divided or withdrawn from this bleſſed Union and Conjunction, whether to make Defection to the contrary Party, or to give ourſelves to*

a deteſtable Indifferency, or Neutrality in this Cauſe which ſo much concerns the Glory of God, the Good of the Kingdoms, and Honour of the King, but ſhall all the Days of our Lives, zealouſly and conſtantly continue therein againſt all Oppoſition, and promote the ſame according to our Power againſt all Lets and Impediments whatſoever. And this we have not only taken ourſelves, but moſt of us have by Command of the Parliament adminiſtered it to others, whom we have thereby drawn in to be as deep as ourſelves in this publick Engagement.

Therefore, according to that our **Covenant**, we do in the Name of the great God (to whom all muſt give a ſtrict Account) warn and exhort all who either more immediately belong to our reſpective Charges, or any Way depend on our Miniſtry, or to whom we have adminiſtered the ſaid **Covenant** (that we may not by our Silence ſuffer them to run upon that highly provoking Sin of Perjury) to keep cloſe to the Ways of God, and the Rules of Religion, the Laws, and their Vows, in their conſtant maintaining the true Reformed Religion, the Fundamental Conſtitution, and Government of this Kingdom (not ſuffering themſelves to be ſeduced from it, by being drawn in to ſubſcribe the late Models, or *Agreement of the People* *, which directly tends to the utter Subverſion of the whole Frame of the Fundamental Government of the Land, and makes Way for an univerſal Toleration of all Hereſies and Blaſphemies (directly contrary to our **Covenant** if they can but get their Abetters to cover them under a falſe Guiſe, of *the Chriſtian Religion*) as alſo in preſerving the Privileges of both Houſes of Parliament, and the Union between the two Nations of *England* and *Scotland*: to mourn bitterly for their own Sins, the Sins of the City, Army, Parliament and Kingdom, and the woful Miſcarriages of the King himſelf, (which we cannot but acknowledge to be many and very great) in his Government, that have coſt the three Kingdoms ſo dear, and caſt him down from his Excellency into an horrid Pit of Miſery, almoſt beyond Example. And to pray that God would both give him effectual Repentance, and ſanctify that bitter Cup of Divine Diſpleaſure, that the Divine Providence hath put into his Hand; as alſo that God would reſtrain the Violence of Men, **that they may not dare to draw upon themſelves and the Kingdom, the Blood of their Sovereign.**

And now, we have good Reaſon to expect that they who brought us under ſuch a Bond, and thereby led us into the Neceſſity of this preſent † **Vindication** and Manifeſtation of our Judgments and Diſcharge of our Conſciences, ſhould defend us in it. However, we reſolve rather to be of their Number that tremble at his *Terrours* who is a *conſuming Fire*, and will not fail to

* Declared by both *Houſes* (for the Subſtance of it) to be *Deſtructive to the Being of Parliaments, and to the Fundamental Government of the Kingdom*, in *Dec.* 1647. yea, condemned heretofore by the *General*, and his *Council* of War, and one of the Soldiers ſhot to Death for promoting it.

† *Query*, Whether 'tis any Teſtimony of the Sincerity of this *VINDICATION*, the not obſerving the 30*th* of *Jan.* as the Laws have appointed? or, Whether the preſent *DISSENTERS* have not out-run their *FOREFATHERS*.

avenge

avenge the Quarrel of his Covenant, upon all that contemn it, than to be found amongſt thoſe who *deſpiſe the Oath by breaking his Covenant* (**after lifting up the Hand**) although it had been made but in Civil Things only, and that with the worſt of Men.

Lev. 26. Ezek. 17. 2 Sam. 21.

C. Burges, D. D. Preacher of the Word in *Paul's*, *Lond.*
Will. Gouge, D. D. Paſtor of *Black-friers.*
Edm. Stanton, D. D. Paſtor of *Kingſton.*
Tho. Temple, D. D. Paſtor of *Batterſey.*
Geo. Walker, Paſtor of *John Evang.*
Edm. Calamy, Paſtor of *Aldermanberry.*
Jer. Whitaker, Paſtor of *Mag. Bermonſey.*
Dan. Cawdrey, Miniſter of *Martins* in the *Fields.*
Will. Spurſtow, Miniſter of *Hackney.*
La. Seaman, Paſtor of *Alh. Breadſtreet.*
Simeon Aſhe, Miniſter of *Michael Baſingſhaw.*
Thomas Caſe, Miniſter of *Magd. Milk-ſtreet.*
Nich. Proffet, Miniſter at *Foſter's.*
Thomas Thorowgood, Miniſter of *Crayford.*
Edward Corbet, Miniſter of *Croyden.*
Henry Robourough, Paſtor of *Leonard's Eaſt-Cheap.*
Arthur Jackſon, Paſtor of *Michael's Wood-ſtreet.*
Ja. Nalton, Paſtor of *Leonard's Foſter-Lane.*
Thomas Cawton, Paſtor of *Bartholomew's*, *Exchange.*
Charles Offſpring, Paſtor of *Antholins.*
Sa. Clark, Miniſter of *Bennet Fink.*
Jo. Wall, Miniſter of *Michael Cornhill.*
Fran. Roberts, Paſtor of the Church at *Auſtin's.*
Mat. Haviland, Paſtor of *Trinity.*
John Sheffield, Miniſter of *Swithin's.*
William Harriſon, Miniſter of *Gracechurch.*
William Jenkyn, Miniſter of *Chriſtchurch.*
John Viner, Paſtor of *Botolph Aldgate.*
Elidad Blackwell, Paſtor of *Andrew Underſhaft.*
John Croſſe, Miniſter at *Matthew's*, *Friday-ſtreet.*
John Fuller, Miniſter of *Botolph Biſhopſgate.*
William Taylor, Paſtor of *Stephen's Coleman-ſtreet.*
Peter Witham, Paſtor of *Albane's*, *Wood-ſtreet.*
Fran. Peck, Paſtor of *Nich. Acorn.*
Chriſtopher Love, Paſtor of *Anne Alderſgate.*
John Wallis, Miniſter of *Martin Ironmonger-Lane.*
Tho. Watſon, Paſtor of *Stephen's Walbrook.*
William Wickins, Paſtor of *Andrew Hubbard.*
Thomas Manton, Miniſter of *Stoke Newington.*
Thomas Gouge, Paſtor of *Sepulchre's.*
William Blackmore, Paſtor of *Peter's Cornhill.*
Robert Mercer, Miniſter of *Brides.*
Ra. Robinſon, Paſtor of *Mary Woolnoth.*
John Glaſcock, Miniſter at *Underſhaft.*
Thomas Whately, Miniſter at *Mary-Wool-Church.*
Jonathan Lloyde, Paſtor of *James Garlick Hithe.*
John Wells, Paſtor of *Olaves Jury.*
Benjamin Needler, Paſtor of *Margaret-Moſes.*
Nath. Staniforth, Miniſter of *Mary Bothaw.*

Ste-

Stephen Watkins, Miniſter of *Mary Overies*.
Jacob Tice, Paſtor of *Botolph Billinſgate*.
John Stileman, Miniſter at *Rotherhithe*.
Joſias Bull, Paſtor of *North Cray*.
Jonathan Deverux, late Miniſter at *Andrew's Holborn*.
Paul Ruſſel, Preacher at *Hackney*.
Joſhua Kirby, Miniſter of the Word.
Arthur Barham, Paſtor at *Hellens*.

The Memorial of the State of ENGLAND, *in Vindication of the* QUEEN, *the* CHURCH, *and the* ADMINISTRATION: *Deſign'd to rectify the mutual Miſtakes of Proteſtants, and to unite their Affections in Defence of our Religion and Liberty.* 1705.

By the EARL *of* NOTTINGHAM.

To the READER.

IN our preſent Controverſies *Civil and Religious, divers* Expreſſions *are common in every Body's Mouth, but (as all Sides complain)* rightly underſtood *by few; being* miſtaken *by ſome, and* miſrepreſented *by others, according as they are ſeverally influenced by Ignorance, Prejudice, Paſſion, or Deſign. Such are* Churchmen, *the* Church of England, *the* High-Church, *the* Low-Church, National and Tolerated Churches; *the* Diſſenters, Preſbyterians, Independents, Anabaptiſts, *and* Quakers; Toleration, Perſecutions, Conventicles, *the* Sacramental Teſt, Comprehenſion, *and* Occaſional Communion; *Nay,* Whig *and* Tory, *the* New *and the* Old Miniſtry, *and the* Union of the Two Kingdoms, *want an Explanation no leſs than the reſt. Care has been taken therefore, in the ſhort Compaſs of the following Sheets, to ſet theſe* Things *in a fair Light, and to diſpel thoſe* Miſts *in which by* Art *or* Chance *they were involv'd; yet no where ſo induſtriouſly confounded as by the Sophiſtry and Illuſions of the* Memorial of the Church of England, *whereof the Pages and Paſſages are quoted out of the* Second Edition corrected in *Octavo, but exactly compar'd with the* Firſt *in Quarto, which did not come into ſo many as the other.*

The INTRODUCTION.

AS the Writer of this *Diſcourſe* has more Reaſon, ſo he has as much Authority to intitle it, *The Memorial of the State of England*, as the Author of a late *Libel* to entitle his Book, *The Memorial of the Church of England.* Few will be found weak enough to imagine, that either of them was commiſſion'd by thoſe mighty Bodies to ſpeak in their Names to the *People:* But tho' ſome may reaſonably ſuppoſe that the *State* won't diſapprove

a juſt Vindication of her *Majeſty*'s Perſon, Laws, and Adminiſtration; yet none will believe (at leaſt none ought to do ſo) that the Church will approve a clandeſtine *Libel*, which is confidently ſaid to be her Offspring, tho' with no more Reaſon than many Perſons have to call themſelves her Sons. She's too chaſt and prudent a Matron either to admit of ſuch diſhonourable Pretences, or to forbear expreſſing ſome publick Reſentment of the Affront; ſince her Reputation is no leſs expos'd, than her Dignity and Poſſeſſions are endanger'd, by the extravagant Behaviour of ſuch a ſpurious Iſſue, who want Duty and natural Affection to her, as they do Submiſſion and Loyalty to the *State*. But the Reſpect we owe to the venerable Name under which the *Memorial* is uſher'd into the World, as well as the Occaſion it affords us of rectifying certain *vulgar Miſtakes*, and of clearing other Matters which are not generally underſtood, oblige us not to let it paſs without ſome *Animadverſion*, however the Magiſtrate will think fit to account with the *Author*, whom we neither know, nor will endeavour to gueſs. Had the *Memorialiſt*'s own Example been deem'd a good Pattern to follow, or that prevailing *Cuſtom* were a ſufficient Warrant for ſuch a Practice, 'twere eaſy perhaps to trace and diſcover the true *Author*; or, if there was a *Club* of them, 'twere eaſier ſtill to exerciſe our Satyr on their *Characters*, as a certain Duke and a Doctor, a Lawyer and a Poet (the two laſt I believe unjuſtly) have already experienc'd from other Hands on this very Account.

But ſince we are only to examine the *Merits* of the Matter, we are nothing concern'd for the *Names* of the Perſons. Our Cauſe has as little Need of ill Language as of violent Meaſures: For we are convinc'd *Scurrility* ſupplies the Want of *Reaſon*, and that ſuch Things as cannot by *Juſtice*, are maintain'd by *Force*. Yet of all Writers the *Memorialiſt* (for we'll ſuppoſe it one Hand) has leaſt Reaſon to complain of ſarcaſtick, licentious, or foul-mouth'd *Scriblers*, whether he conſiders the choice Flowers of his own gentle and good-natur'd Rhetorick, or whether he has any Regard to the Credit and Honour of his *Party*. If the *Whigs* have their *Obſervator*, have not the *Tories* their *Rehearſal?* The *Review* does not take more Liberty than the *Whipping Poſt*, nor is he a wilder Politician than the *Mercury*. And many will think it a meaner Character for *Ridpath* to be *Atwood*'s Antagoniſt, than to be Author of the *Flying Poſt:* For in one Reſpect I place *Atwood* on the *Tory* Side, ſince none in the Nation but the *Memorialiſt* and he aſſert our Dominion and Sovereignty over the Kingdom of *Scotland*. In free Countries ſuch *Writers* abound among all *Parties*, tho' they are commonly but Voluntiers, and ſupported more by their Hopes and good Opinion of themſelves, than by any real *Encouragement* from others, which makes it an unjuſt, tho' a common Practice, to charge whole Bodies of Men with their Faults or with their Virtues. And it argues Want of Conſideration or Integrity to ſay, as the *Memorialiſt* does, That the Government *by conniving, are pleas'd rather to countenance than to correct or put a Stop to 'em:* For our *Government*, unleſs they tranſgreſs the Laws, cannot ſilence theſe no more than other *Writers*, let them tell never ſo many unſeaſonable Truths, or form never ſo many

P. 11. 68.

Page 68.

indigeſted Schemes, which ſerve more for Entertainment than Inſtruction to the People. We may be ſure the *Government*, tho' none of theſe are maintained at its Charge, know what Uſe to make of their *Pens*; and I am in doubt whether it be more ridiculous or officious to put thoſe in Mind of ſuppreſſing ſuch *Papers*, who only can, and certainly will do ſo, whenever they think it lawful and convenient. This looks in itſelf like a trifling Matter; but ſuch as mean fairly and uprightly, will think nothing too little to be clear'd to well-meaning Doubters, tho' others may abuſe their Goodneſs by the impertinent Explications they demand.

For the reſt, let it be remember'd, that notwithſtanding we ſpeak for the State, we ſpeak our Thoughts; having the Happineſs to write in Defence of a *Government*, with which *Honeſty is the beſt Policy:* And ſo long as the *Pilots* of it keep to that Point, that is, ſo long as they appear to make the *Intereſt* of the Nation their own, and conſequently to purſue it with all their Heart, they need not be diſturb'd by the Clamour or Envy of any *Party*; nor fear that the People will grudge 'em thoſe Honours or Fortunes which are but the juſt Rewards of their Care and Pains for the publick Good. But thoſe *Princes* or *Miniſters*, who, from being the common Fathers and Shepherds of all the Subjects, degrade themſelves into the Petty Heads of one *Faction*, will probably in a little Time be undermin'd and blown up by the contrary Party, tho' it ſhou'd be the worſt and weakeſt of the two; for in ſuch a *State* Matters are no longer carry'd on by prudent Deliberations, unanimous Wiſhes, and mature Counſels, but by Numbers, Intrigues, Cabals, Expedients or Shifts, and at laſt by Tumults and Diſorders. When therefore a *State* that is ſenſible of theſe Things by Experience (ſuch as ours at preſent) comes to proceed on the true Foundations of *Government*, they muſt not only reſolve to bear at the Beginning with the Vehemence, Calumnies, Railings, and other Affronts of thoſe *Factions* or *Parties* that monopoliz'd all Profits and Preferments to themſelves before, and of ſuch as hop'd to gain their ſiniſter Ends in the Confuſion and Subverſion of the whole Frame: but alſo the Complaints, Murmurs, Grumbling and Repining, of thoſe other *Parties* or *Factions*, who, being hitherto oppreſs'd, and treated with Contempt, think it not enough that they are deliver'd from their *Hardſhips*, but judge themſelves unſecure from falling again under the like Misfortunes, unleſs they obtain the Place and Power of their Adverſaries; which is to change Hands, but not to alter Meaſures, and to continue all Things as they were, with the Addition of mutual Revenge and mercileſs Retaliations. People of either Stamp are aſtoniſh'd at *Indifference*; they condemn all prudent Meaſures as *lukewarm*, and abhor *Moderation.*

Notwithſtanding all this, we ſhall diſcourſe with Candour and Impartiality in the following Sheets, of the ſeveral *Churches*, *Parties*, *Miniſtries*, and *Pretences* of this Kingdom, commending their Excellencies, blaming their Defects, and expoſing their Miſcarriages; but ſo as to expect little Applauſe from the furious, bigotted, or deſigning Men of any Kind, tho' ſure of Thanks and Approbation from the calm, ſincere, religious, and publick ſpirited Perſons of all Denominations. The Grievances whereof the *Memorialiſt* complains, being

being the very Subject I propoſe to explicate, are chiefly reducible to three Heads, The *Church*, the *Diſſenters*, and the *Miniſtry*, to which may be added the *Toleration*. But that the true State of our *Religious Controverſies* may the better appear, and that the Reaſons of the preſent *Adminiſtration* may be the clearer perceiv'd, we ſhall begin higher with ſome of theſe Heads, than to unthinking Men will ſeem neceſſary; but not ſo to thoſe who conſider how *Conſtitutions* vary in their Frame, as well as *Words* in their Significations, both being in a perpetual Flux, and never long at a Stand. This produces great Difference of *Circumſtances*, not equally applicable to all Times, Places, or Perſons; and therefore ſkilful Pilots will alter their Buoys, and direct their Courſe, according to the ſhifting of the Sands or the Tides, and carefully avoid Shipwreck on that Bank, where there was formerly deep and ſafe Riding for the Ship of the *Commonwealth*.

Of the CHURCH.

AFter the *Chriſtian Religion* had been miſerably polluted and deprav'd almoſt over the whole World, and that it was metamorphos'd into the vileſt Superſtition, Idolatry and Tyranny that ever was, far beyond the Follies of the *Jews* or the Frauds of the *Heathens*; it was at laſt by the ſpecial Favour and Bleſſing of Almighty God, recover'd and *reform'd* in many Parts of *Europe*, and particularly in theſe Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. It cou'd not be expected that this *Reformation* ſhou'd be ſo perfect at the Beginning, as that all Perſons ſhou'd have the ſame Notions about it, no more than they all had the ſame Degrees of Application, Capacity, Light or Knowledge: And it was a much greater Wonder that any of 'em ſaw ſo much, conſidering the Groſneſs of the preceding Ignorance, than that many of 'em did not ſee more or further. However, by the *Church of England* was then underſtood (in other *reform'd* Countries) all the *Proteſtants* in *England* without Diſtinction, tho' from the very firſt they were divided in their Opinions; as we daily pray for the *reform'd* Churches Abroad, wherein the Differences both of *Doctrine* and *Diſcipline* are very numerous.

But as all Men are not agreed about what's *orderly* and *decent*, which *Ideas* cannot be the ſame to all Perſons or in all Places, as depending on habitual Cuſtoms and arbitrary Inſtitutions; ſo there aroſe many Diſputes here as well as elſewhere, about the beſt Manner of preſerving the *Purity* of our Religion, and the moſt acceptable Way of performing our *Worſhip* to God. Some were perſwaded that the *Doctrinal* Part being to be learn't only from the *Scriptures*, where it is fully expreſs'd, the *Circumſtances* of *Worſhip* ought to be regulated according to the Light of *Reaſon* and the *Cuſtoms* of each Country, which tho' varying in many Places might contain nothing wicked or prophane: as uncovering your Head in one Region, and only bending your Body in another, betoken the ſame *Reſpect* and with equal *Decency*. Theſe Men (who from a learned Phyſician of that Opinion were ſince ca led *Eraſtians*) thought the Government of the *Church* did not differ from that of the *State*, the ſame Perſons being Members of both, tho' the *Church* might have its

proper Officers, about whoſe Names, Parity, or Subordination, they were not very ſollicitous, provided they ſerv'd the Purpoſes for which they were deſign'd and ordain'd. Others, on the contrary, held all theſe Things to be particularly defin'd and ſpecified in the *Scripture*, both as to the Names, Degrees, and Offices; and that the *Eccleſiaſtical* was wholly different from the *Civil* Power. The *State*, which in the mean while thought of theſe Matters with leſs Paſſion and more Circumſpection, concerted the moſt effectual Meaſures of bringing the Body of the *People* to embrace the Purity of the Doctrine as the principal Matter; and were of Opinion it might ſooneſt be accompliſh'd by changing as little as poſſible in the external *Forms*, *Habits*, and *Ceremonies* of the *Clergy*. Wherefore for this and ſome other Conſiderations, after rejecting the *Pope*, *Cardinals*, and all *Spiritual* or *Foreign Headſhip* of the *Church*, they retain'd the Names and Offices of *Arch-Biſhops*, *Biſhops*, *Deans*, *Arch-Deacons*, and ſuch like. Yet few or none maintain'd the *Divine Right* of *Epiſcopacy* till later Days, tho' they highly and learnedly contended for the Expediency and Reaſonableneſs of the ſame, no leſs from its being of ſo long Standing in the *Church*, than from its Conformity with the Civil Part of our Conſtitution.

There were others, and from the very Beginning of the *Reformation*, who earneſtly ſolicited to have this Order of *Dioceſan Biſhops* quite aboliſh'd, as *Popiſh*, unneceſſary, not warranted by *Scripture*, and dangerous to the *State*. Theſe affirm'd the *Parity* of all the Goſpel Miniſters; but differ'd among themſelves about the Manner and Efficacy of *Ordination*, and the Power of *Synods:* They, who for that Reaſon were called *Preſbyterians*, allow'd *Preſbyters* only to ordain, and that with Impoſition of Hands, giving great Authority to their *Synods* over the inferiour *Preſbyteries*, equal to that of *Epiſcopal Convocations* in Matters of *Diſcipline* and *Doctrine*. And ſuch again, as were firſt call'd *Browniſts* from one of that Name, and ſince *Independents* from their Opinion, maintain'd againſt both the other, that *Proteſtant Synods* or *Convocations* cou'd claim no more Power or Infallibility than *Popiſh Councils*, and that all *Churches* or Societies (gather'd out of the World according to the Mind of *Chriſt*) might by common Suffrage chuſe their own *Paſtors*, who were to be in no Subjection to *Synods*, nor accountable for their Doctrine to any higher Power on Earth, ſince they allow'd no *Catholick Church* as an Organical Body with Spiritual Authority, meaning only the whole Multitude of Believers by the *Catholick Church* whenever they us'd that Phraſe. But *Epiſcopacy* was eſtabliſh'd by Law, and the moſt rigid of that Side affected to call themſelves the *Church of England* excluſively of others, which in Time obtain'd to be the Language of Cuſtom, as it was the Stile of the Municipal and Canon Law before. Endeavours were us'd to bring to a Conformity the *Independents* and *Preſbyterians*, who were all promiſcuouſly from their ſtrict Manner of Life and Converſation, branded with the Nick-Name of *Puritans:* and when they would not yield in Diſpute, nor be reduced by *Perſuaſion*, 'twas thought proper to treat 'em with *Force*; tho' but a little before we juſtly exclaim'd againſt the *Papiſts* for the like Practice, and expreſs'd our Abhorrence of all *Compulſion* in Matters of Religion as unreaſonable and tyrannical.

rannical. They who meant the moſt honeſtly in adviſing this *Rigour*, were ſuch as had a miſtaken Notion, that *diverſe Religions* or *Diverſities in the ſame Religion*, were inconſiſtent with Civil Government, which hereafter we ſhall demonſtrate to be an Error both in Right and Fact. They who meant worſe, were ſuch as profeſſedly allow'd of *Force* over Conſcience, at leaſt in Points of *Diſcipline*, or who by excluding others wou'd engroſs the whole Emoluments and Benefices of the *Church* to their own *Party*. And they who meant worſt of all, were the ſecret Favourers of *Popery*, who thought no Method ſo likely to reſtore it, as to put our Princes at graſping at *Arbitrary Power*, and ſetting our different Parties together by the Ears, thereby to weaken each other, or to drive ſome of 'em to join out of *Reſentment* with them.

I make no doubt but all *Proteſtants* are convinced, that the *Papiſts* have been carrying on a Conſpiracy againſt the *Reformation* in *England*, and conſequently againſt the *State*, ever ſince we aboliſh'd *Popery*; which is not ſo monſtrous in them who believe *Infallibility*, as *Perſecution* is in other People. They have endeavour'd to execute this *Plot* many Ways, and it has often broke out under various Circumſtances: But God has always defeated their miſchievous Deſigns, and ſometimes wonderfully delivered us when our Recovery was thought impoſſible. One of the Enemy's Devices was to exaſperate the *Church* againſt the *Nonconformiſts*, and to create ſtrong Jealouſies between both Parties. This they knew cou'd not fail of two Effects: The one to make the *Church* recede from the *Nonconformiſts* as far as they cou'd, which gave the *Papiſts* Hope they wou'd come the nearer to them; and the other, that the *Nonconformiſts* growing uneaſy under their Sufferings, and more apprehenſive of the Growth of *Popery*, might prove undutiful, and provoke the *Government* to uſe 'em worſe than before. In theſe Diſorders they expected to find their own *Account*, and he that is not unacquainted with Hiſtory, can tell how well they ſucceeded. By ſuch Artifices many of our *Clergy* became more concern'd to preſerve the *Hierarchy* than the *Proteſtant Religion*; and I fear the Brains of ſome others were intoxicated with the Grandeur and Splendor of the ancient *Patriarchs* and *Councils*, which made them in ſeveral Books regret the Loſs of certain Powers and Offices at the *Reformation*, no leſs than the Alienation of the *Abby* Lands to *Laymen*, as judging 'em neceſſary to ſupport the Dignity of the *Church*, for the *Church* in the Senſe of theſe Men was only a Corporation of the *Clergy*. Archbiſhop *Laud* gave much Reaſon to ſuſpect that he aim'd at a Sort of *Patriarchate*, and to be ſtil'd as the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was in former Times, *Alterius Orbis Papa*, *the Pope of the other World*, as the *Britiſh* Iſlands were reckon'd on their firſt Diſcovery: But I think 'em extreamly ignorant or unjuſt, who affirm that this great Prelate was in Doctrine a *Papiſt* or *Popiſhly* inclin'd.

The *Nonconformiſts*, on the other Hand, conſidering the *Biſhops* were eſtabliſh'd by Laws which muſt be only repeal'd by the ſame Authority, took ſometimes imprudent and unprecedented Methods to hinder them from acquiring further Power, and to prevent the introducing thoſe new or rather old *Ceremonies*, which were reviv'd to beget the greater *Veneration* for the *Eccleſiaſtical* Body under the Pretences of *Order* and *Decency*; but which in

Effect

Effect begot a more viſible *Conformity* between us and the *Church of Rome.* To Men of Senſe this cou'd do no Harm, yet was it of dangerous Conſequence to the *Vulgar*, who are ordinarily led by Appearances, and to whoſe Diſpoſitions great Regard is to be had in all Concerns of this Nature. The Generality of 'em were againſt theſe Things. And when the Struggle was begun between *Liberty* and *Prerogative*, the Aſſertors of the firſt got all the *Nonconformiſts* to join with 'em; to continue which Aſſiſtance they declar'd of Courſe againſt the *Biſhops*, who had medled too much in Civil Affairs, and particularly by raiſing the King's *Prerogative.* As a Return of this Service they hop'd to bring about their own Deſigns, and to make his *Majeſty* their ſteady Friend and Patron againſt all their Oppoſers, wherein he ſhew'd more Conſtancy and Gratitude than his Son *James* the Second did to the Preachers of *Paſſive Obedience.* The King's Enemies becoming ſuperior in the War, and the *Gentlemen* who join'd with the *Nonconformiſts* on a Political Bottom, minding the ſettling of the *State* and Foreign *Alliances* more than their particular *Diſcipline*; the *Nonconformiſts* (who were the greater Number) gave ſuch a weighty Turn to Affairs, that there was no protecting of their *Adverſaries* from their Vengeance. They return'd all their ill Uſage fourfold upon their own Heads, tho' it muſt be acknowledg'd they gave no ſuch remarkable Inſtances of Cruelty or Severity, as the *Star-Chamber* and the *Spiritual Courts* did before the War. But in their *Committees*, *Trials* of ſcandalous or unqualify'd Miniſters, in their *Deprivations*, *Cenſures*, and the like Exerciſes of Authority, there were more Abuſes and Injuſtices committed, than are capable of any Defence or Apology, and which the former rigorous Proceedings of the *Biſhops* cannot any Way juſtify in Men profeſſing the *Chriſtian Religion*, and that ſet up for Champions of *Civil Liberty*.

We all know by what Means *Royalty* and *Epiſcopacy* were afterwards reſtor'd; and from the Premiſes we may eaſily deduce the Original of the *Diſtinction* which has ever ſince continu'd, and which makes ſo much Noiſe among us at preſent, I mean the *High* and the *Low-Church*. By *Low-Church Men* are ſignified thoſe who approve of *Epiſcopacy*, the *Liturgy*, and *Diſcipline* eſtabliſh'd by Law, but who believe the *Proteſtant* Religion may ſubſiſt (tho' not ſo well) without them; who therefore have a brotherly Charity and Communion with all other *reform'd Churches*; and who wiſh the *diſſenting Proteſtants* at home wou'd comply with the Law in Matters indifferent or unſinful, tho' in their private Opinion not the pureſt; but who, if the *Diſſenters* will not allow this Indifference or Unſinfulneſs, are for bringing them to *Conformity*, with calm Reaſon and amicable Perſuaſion, and not by laying them under any Force or Compulſion, ſo long as they join with us in Defence of the ſame Doctrine againſt the *Papiſts*, and are as hearty as ourſelves for ſupporting the Civil *Government*. The *High-Church Men* are they who maintain the Order of *Biſhops* (ſuperior to *Preſbyters*) to be of Divine Inſtitution, being of ſuch abſolute Neceſſity that no true Orders can be conferr'd, and that no regular *Chriſtianity* can ſubſiſt without it; who on no Conſiderations are for making any Changes in our *Diſcipline* or *Liturgy*, tho' they neither profeſs themſelves nor the Authors of it infallible; who treat all *Proteſtants* Abroad

as

as if they were not *Chriſtians*; ſo far are they from acknowledging them for *Brethren*; and who are for compelling the *Diſſenters* at Home to *Conformity*, by Penal Laws, Cenſures, and Incapacities. The *Low-Church Men* have been always for limitting the Civil *Government* with Laws, preſerving to the King and to the other two Eſtates, their ſeveral Privileges and Prerogatives, and their Liberty and Property to the People. But the *High-Church Men* have been generally for the uncontroulable Power of the Prince in *Temporal* Affairs, as moſt agreeable to the Juriſdiction they claim themſelves in *Eccleſiaſticks*; tho' 'tis obſervable that they have twice declar'd for *Limitations* to the Crown, firſt when they queſtion'd the Prince's *Title*, and next when the Prince was not for their *Purpoſe*.

From this ſhort View, and from the whole Courſe of the *Engliſh* Hiſtory it appears, that the *High-Church* is not the *Church of England*; but a certain Number of *Clergymen* and *Laymen*, who are either Favourers of *Popery*, or who are averſe to our mixt Government and her *Majeſty*'s Right; both which Sorts make thoſe their Tools who keep a mighty Noiſe to be let into Places, or who raiſe a great Clamour for being turn'd out of them. The Body of the *Church of England*, on the contrary, are as zealous for the *Proteſtant* Religion, and the Liberty of the *Government*, as any Community in the World, yielding to none for Learning, Piety, or Virtue. And therefore they are not to be charg'd with Diſaffection to her *Majeſty*, or Inclination to *Popery*, from the Diſcourſes, Writings, or *Actions* of thoſe *Conſpirators*, who, under ſo many different Colours ſince the *Reformation*, have been labouring to deſtroy her, and who at length in our Days have boldly thrown off the Maſk, many of 'em refuſing all *Communion* with us, and arrogating the Name of the *Church of England* ſolely to themſelves. Nor needs there a more palpable Demonſtration of their *Hypocriſy* to any Man of common Senſe, than the *Schiſm* that moſt of 'em have lately made from us, with whom they yet profeſs to agree in *Doctrine*, *Diſcipline*, and *Worſhip*: having ſeparated for no other Reaſon than becauſe we *depos'd* a *Prince* that wou'd rob us of this ſame *Doctrine*, *Diſcipline*, and *Worſhip*; and becauſe our *Parliament* depriv'd thoſe *Biſhops* who wou'd not approve our thus preſerving our Spiritual and Civil Rights, according to the Laws of Nature and the Land, tho' we ſupply'd their *Sees* with Men of eminent Learning, Piety and Zeal, who ſignaliz'd their Abilities in Defence of our *Religion* and *Liberty*.

From the *Church of England* we muſt likewiſe transfer to theſe Men, the Reputation we have got of being both *uncharitable* and *unmannerly*. 'Tis paſt Controverſy, that their Notions of *Schiſm* and *Ordination* (never approv'd or underſtood by the fiftieth Part of our *Church*) have occaſion'd the Imputation of *Uncharitableneſs*, and not without Reaſon, had we been juſtly chargeable with ſuch ſtrange Opinions. 'Tis no leſs evident, that it is in the Polemical, or rather Political Books of the ſame Men, you read the ſcurrilous Reproaches they caſt on others, and the vain-glorious *Commendations* they beſtow on themſelves, which are indeed the Quinteſſence of ill Manners: Such as that *they are the beſt Reform'd Church in the World*, which may be true, tho' not fit for

for them to ſay; *that they ſteer between the gaudy Dreſſes of affected* Rome, *and the ſlovenly Attire of naſty* Geneva; and the *Memorialiſt* ſays, Page 21. That *no Sect or Sort of Chriſtians whatſoever can boaſt of ſo extenſive a Charity, or ſo good-natur'd a Diſcipline*, when in the ſame *Libel*, he who pretends to be their Mouth, arraigns the *Government* for not paſſing the *Bill againſt Occaſional Conformity*, falls foul on the *Biſhops* for the Mildneſs of their Diſcipline, in relation to their *Proteſtant* Brethren, without mentioning a Syllable of the *Popiſh Recuſants*: and, finally, he heaps on the *Nonconformiſts* all the contumelious Nicknames, opprobrious Language, and ſcandalous Imputations, that ever the *High-Church Men* invented ſince the *Reformation*. Our *Church* then, but not that uncharitable and unmannerly *Conventicle* which publiſh'd the *Memorial*, does glory in her *Moderation* whilſt thoſe others declaim againſt her as indifferent or treacherous on this very Score; and, as we ſhall ſee anon, they cannot endure the very Sound of the Word *Moderation*. To ſpeak of our *Church* likewiſe as Part of the Civil Conſtitution in her *Diſcipline*, ſhe's truly the Mean, and for that Reaſon ought to be a *Mediatrix* between other *Churches*: But the Minute that ſhe complies with the Schemes of the *High-Church* Faction, ſhe becomes a *Party*, either by perſecuting the *Diſſenters*, which is not the Office of a Reconciler; or, out of Hatred to them, by making too near Approaches to the *Papiſts*. May ſhe therefore ever preſerve and merit this moſt *Chriſtian* Character of being *Moderate*; and not forfeit ſuch a Claim in Deeds, whilſt ſhe boaſts of it in Panegyricks of her own Making? May ſhe avoid as much as ſhe profeſſes to diſlike the narrow Temper, inſolent Stile, and irreligious Conduct of the *Conſpirators*, which render 'em odious to all ſerious Perſons! May ſhe daily improve in all *Chriſtian* Graces, making continual Advances in *Reformation!* And may ſhe for all Ages be an Ornament and Defence to the *Proteſtant Cauſe*, as well as be reckon'd a particular Favour and Happineſs from Heaven to this Nation!

We ſhall now proceed with the Hiſtory of the pretended *Churchmen* to this preſent Time. Inſtead of compoſing Differences at the *Reſtoration* (notwithſtanding the dreadful Shipwreck they had ſo lately eſcap'd) they deſtroy'd all Projects of an Union, their Deſign being, as ſome of 'em plainly profeſs'd it, to keep the *Diſſenters* out of the *Church*, and not to bring them into her *Communion*. It was their uſual Cant, that no body knew what Alterations they demanded, and therefore 'twas uncertain where they wou'd ſtop. Whereas the *Diſſenters*, to do 'em Juſtice, had offer'd in Writing ſeveral *Schemes*, all of 'em for Peace Sake more moderate one than another, which are ſince printed, and yet theſe pretended *Churchmen* continue the ſame Cant to this very Hour. The *Court*, having a Game of their own to play, fell in with the Reſentments of the *Clergy*. Hundreds of the *Diſſenting Miniſters*, many of whom wou'd have been of excellent Service to the *Church*, were turn'd out of their Livings in one Day. The moderate and true *Churchmen* cou'd neither help nor prevent theſe Things, the other Party having the Countenance of the *Government*, and ſo not only appropriating to themſelves the

the Name of the *Church*, but calling in queſtion the *Loyalty* as well as the *Orthodoxy* of all that wou'd not mount to their own Pitch of *Violence*, which they ſanctified, as is uſual in ſuch Caſes, with the holy Pretence of *Zeal*. The ſeveral Penal Laws which were made againſt the *Diſſenters*, were executed with great Rage and Rigour, and the Statutes formerly paſt againſt the *Papiſts* (tho' ſeldom exended to them) were turn'd againſt our *Proteſtant* Brethren with the utmoſt Severity. It was a ſtrange kind of Edification to hear *Clergymen* quoting thoſe Laws inſtead of the *Goſpel*, for urging *Conformity*; witneſs the numerous Libels they daily publiſh'd, and the *Sermons* which they preach'd before all Perſons in Authority, eſpecially at Aſſizes, to animate the *Judges*, which are as laſting Inſtances of their *Moderation*, as their Books for *Paſſive Obedience* are Indications of their Affection to *Civil Liberty*. What impious, vile, and infamous Things were laid to the *Diſſenters* Charge, to make 'em odious to the People, and by all diſhoneſt Repreſentations to render 'em the Abhorrence of the World! They were accordingly uſed with the utmoſt Contempt and Scorn, loaded with Opprobries and Reproaches, left at the Mercy of wicked *Informers*, and more corrupt *Judges*, laid in noiſom Goals in company of Felons, Rogues and Scoundrels, diſpoſſeſs'd of their Goods, many of them baniſh'd, and ſome of them ſtarv'd to Death in Priſon.

This is undeniable and recent in moſt Men's Memory. And what was the Occaſion, I don't mean the real and ſecret Reaſon of the *Court* to deſtroy the *Proteſtants* by one another, but the Reaſon that was openly pretended? The *Stateſmen* ſaid, it was becauſe they wou'd not conform to the *Church*; and the *Churchmen* ſaid, it was becauſe they wou'd not comply with the *State*. This is the ſtale Pretence of the *Clergy* in all Countries, after they have ſolicited the *Government* to make Penal Laws againſt thoſe they call *Hereticks* or *Schiſmaticks*, and prompted the *Magiſtrates* to a vigorous Execution, then they lay all the Odium on the *Civil Power*, for whom they have no Excuſe to alledge, but that ſuch Men ſuffer'd not for Religion, but for Diſobedience to the Laws. But, O reverend Guides and Fathers, What Precept or Example do you find in the *Goſpel* of our Lord, to make the Doctrine or Diſcipline of Religion the Subject of human Laws and Puniſhments? The Terms of Communion you impos'd on the *Diſſenters*, were all of 'em in your own Judgment indifferent, and many of 'em unneceſſary; while the *Diſſenters* believ'd ſeveral of 'em to be uncertain, moſt of 'em falſe, and none to be forc'd on ſcrupulous Conſciences. They were not permitted to declare their Senſe of the *Subſcriptions* requir'd, or to make any Explications of the *Oaths* they were to take, tho' willing on ſuch Conditions to *conform*; whereby it ſtill appears there was a fix'd Reſolution not to receive 'em, for this agreed not with the deſign'd *Monopoly*. If they refus'd *Conformity*, they were reported to do ſo, becauſe inconſiſtent with their Principles and Purpoſes of *Rebellion*; but if they ſubmitted, then 'twas to get Preferments in *Church* and *State*, that they might be the more capable to deſtroy both. This was the Language of that Time, as it is of many at preſent. In this Manner therefore they ſhut the *Church-Doors* againſt them, and then excommunicated 'em for not coming in. King *Charles* indeed took upon him once to grant them Liberty by *diſpenſing* with the Penal Laws; though ſome wiſe Men of that

Time ſuſpected it was not out of Tenderneſs of Conſcience, or Kindneſs to them, but that he might *diſpenſe* with all the other Laws of *England* according to this Example. His Brother King *James* made the like Uſe of his *Prerogative*, that this *Liberty* might alſo be extended to thoſe of his own Religion. And tho' ſome Excuſes might be made in favour of human Nature under the miſerable Circumſtances of the *Diſſenters*, yet (if they underſtood our *Conſtitution)* they were certainly to blame, not who us'd this
Page 18. Liberty, which was their natural Right, but who *addreſs'd* for that Indulgence, tho' very few in Compariſon of the reſt. But this ought not to be made an Objection to 'em by thoſe, whoſe *Abhorrences againſt Parliaments* are as much upon Record to Poſterity, as
Page 23. the *Memorialiſt* will have theſe *Addreſſes* for *Liberty of Conſcience* to remain; and 'tis no uneaſy Thing to gueſs which of 'em Poſterity will be moſt inclin'd to pardon.

It wou'd be ſuperfluous to relate how the *Prieſts* of the *High-Church* preach'd *Paſſive Obedience* to our *Popiſh Princes*, and promoted their *Arbitrary Power* over the *Proteſtant Laity*, till they perceiv'd King *James* was bringing *Papiſts* into their *Colleges*, Biſhopricks and Benefices, and that tho' he had made 'em his Scaffolds, they were not the Hands with which he meant to work. Then and not till then, not for God's Sake nor the People's, but for their own Preſervation and Intereſt, *the Nature of theſe High-Churchmen* (to uſe
Page 16. the Language of the *Memorial) begun to rebel againſt their Principles*; and ſo they join'd in their Fright with the *Low-Churchmen*; nay, what is yet ſtranger, they leagu'd with the *Diſſenters* themſelves to call over the *Prince of Orange*, who generouſly came to reſcue our *Religion* and *Laws* from *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*. At this ſtupendous and memorable *Revolution* the true State of the *Church of England* did manifeſtly appear; and thouſands were cur'd of their innocent *Prejudices* againſt her, which they had unwarily imbib'd from the *Conſpirators* aſſuming that Name of a long time wholly to themſelves. The Bulk of the *Epiſcopal Laity*, who never conſented to the Hardſhips we have mention'd (tho' they cou'd not hinder them, nor believe they wou'd be carry'd ſo far) did now moſt chearfully concur to remove them. They ſhew'd their Deteſtation of the *High-Church* Meaſures, and their Contempt for *Paſſive Obedience* more (if it were poſſible) than the very *Diſſenters*, and were as forward to grant, as theſe to deſire a *legal Toleration*; which is a ſufficient Juſtification of the *Church of England* (as ſuch) that ſhe never was nor ever will be for *Perſecution*.

It muſt be confeſs'd, that as more Pains were taken by the former *Courts* to pervert the *Clergy*, in order the better to ſeduce the *Laity*; ſo in Proportion many more of the *Clergy* than of the *Laity* were at this Time in the *High-Church* Intereſt. And 'tis obſervable, that the *Jacobites* are ſtill moſt numerous where the *Clergy* are moſt powerful, as in your *Cathedral* Towns and the *Univerſities*. This is likewiſe the Reaſon, why, in the *Convocation* ſummon'd immediately after the *Revolution* to heal our unhappy Breaches, there was not found that Readineſs and Compliance to cementing peaceable, and moderate Reſolutions, as appear'd in the *Parliament*; and therefore the *Toleration*

ration was far from being *purely the Reſult and Indulgence of the Church*, meaning thereby the *Clergy*, who now wou'd not conſent Page 25.
to the leaſt *Alteration*, notwithſtanding their late repeated Promiſes to the *Diſſenters*. On the contrary, the *High-Churchmen* ſeem'd every where to repent, that once in their Lives they had been in the Right. They oppos'd King *William*'s coming to the Crown, and conſequently Queen *Anne*. But, when they cou'd not prevent his *Election*, they were induſtrious to furniſh him with a falſe *Title*, as if he had been only a King *de facto*, or by Force and Uſurpation; but not *de jure*, or by Right and Law. They were engag'd in continual *Plots* againſt him all his Life, and never preach'd *Paſſive Obedience* to him no more than they do to her preſent *Ma eſty*, tho' profeſs'd Members of the *Church of England*, and zealous *Defenders of the true Faith*. King *William* (moſt ingratefully accus'd of Jealouſy, Coldneſs or Indifference in that
Point, by the *Memorialiſt*, did more than all his Predeceſſors to- Page 25, 26.
gether for the *Church of England*, not only in expoſing his Perſon
to deliver her out of the *Pope*'s expanded Jaws, and ſo perpetually *ſecuring* to her all her Privileges and Emoluments, but alſo in filling the Places of thoſe who were depriv'd (for adhering to King *James*) with the very Perſons who had appear'd during his Reign with the greateſt Magnanimity, Learning, and Applauſe, in Defence of the *Church* againſt *Popery*. He likewiſe gave the Royal Aſſent to Laws excluding for the future all *Popiſh* Kings and Queens from the Throne, that the *Church* may never hereafter fall into the like Danger with that ſhe then eſcap'd: And afterwards, in the new *Limitations* of the Crown, he provided that the *Proteſtant Succeſſor* ſhou'd be a Member of the *Church eſtabliſh'd by Law*, which is the utmoſt that cou'd be reaſonably wiſh'd or deſir'd. I mention theſe but as the Principal of very many other Laws that paſs'd in his *Reign*, whereby the *Church of England* (both as it means all the *Proteſtants* of this Kingdom, and particularly as it ſignifies the *National Eſtabliſhment* of Worſhip and Diſcipline) was left by him in a moſt ſafe and flouriſhing Condition, as it ſtill continues under our moſt gracious and excellent *Queen*, bred from her Infancy of the *Epiſcopal* Perſuaſion, tho' abounding with Love and Charity to all other good *Chriſtians*.

But the *High Church-men*, who can no longer *monopoliſe* the Dignities and Benefices to themſelves, nor *domineer* over their Fellows by the *Prince*'s Favour, at the Expence of the *People*'s Liberty, are enrag'd to be brought down to an equal Level with others, and wou'd fain perſuade us that the *Church* is in imminent Danger, tho' they are wonderfully put to it to ſhow us what or from whence we are to fear. *Popery* they don't pretend, of which on the contrary they endeavour to *leſſen* our Apprehenſions, becauſe they are
themſelves in the Intereſt of a *Popiſh* Pretender to the Crown, and Page 48.
therefore cloſely link'd in Amity, Counſels, and Purpoſes with the
Papiſts that adhere to him. And 'tis Matter of Fact, that partly from this odd Conjunction, and partly from their implacable Reſentment, very many of 'em have apoſtatiz'd to *Popery* ſince the Revolution. What is our Danger then? Firſt, they fondly imagine, that after ſixteen Years Exp.rience the Na-

tion is ſtill blinded with thoſe Prejudices which the *High-Church-men* had formerly created againſt the *Diſſenters:* Next, they do as vainly ſuppoſe, that all who acknowledge the *Diſſenters* as Brethren will be held for Favourers of their Cauſe and Way: And, laſtly, from theſe Premiſes, which they expect will be taken for granted, they conclude that the *Diſſenters* are a very formidable Party, likely to overthrow the *National Religion*, and ſo to ſet up for themſelves. But of this Argument we'll evince the Fallacy and Impoſſibility, when we come to conſider the preſent State of the *Diſſenters.*

Nevertheleſs to gain Credit to ſuch abſurd Suppoſitions, the Tongues and Pens of the *High-Church-men* are let looſe againſt the moderate Clergy every where, repreſenting 'em all as *Preſbyterians.* Their Rage is ſharpen'd in a ſpecial Manner againſt the *Biſhops*, whom they revile, beſpatter, and abuſe in a Strain neither becoming *Prieſts* nor *Gentlemen*; tho' many of theſe worthy *Fathers* be the individual Perſons, whoſe Zeal and Fortitude they extoll'd in King *James*'s Reign, and with whoſe learned Labours they do at this Time reproach the *Diſſenters.* This, among others, is done by the *Me-*
Page 23. *morialiſt*; boaſting, *that the Church of* England *alone defended the*
Page 22. *Proteſtant Religion againſt Popery*; and yet ſays, that *the Corruption is ſo far ſpread, that Lawn-Sleeves are no ſure Sign of a Churchman.* But in King *Charles* the Firſt and Second's Days, when the Severities uſed againſt the *Diſſenters* (as Oppreſſion will make wiſe Men mad) had provok'd 'em to cenſure the immoral Actions of certain *Biſhops*, tho' the Facts were not deny'd, yet the very Character of thoſe *Biſhops* was urged as a ſufficient Reaſon not to have their Failings expos'd: But theſe were favourite *Biſhops*, Men famous in their Generation for preaching *Will* and *Pleaſure* to the Prince, *Non-Reſiſtance* and *Paſſive Obedience* to the People, and for preſſing inexorable Executions againſt the *Diſſenters.* For theſe Vertues the preſent Want of 'em is regretted by ſuch as are animated with the ſame
Page 34. Spirit; and the *Memorialiſt* ſadly complains, that *the Church has loſt ſeventeen of thoſe heroick Prelates that gave Life and Vigour to thoſe noble Sentiments; and that moſt of their Places are fill'd with Men of another Stamp, who, not being warm'd themſelves with the ſame Zeal for it, by preaching Indifference to the Intereſts of the Church under the ſpecious deceitful Name of Moderation, have very much damp'd, and in a manner extinguiſh'd that noble Spirit, which their Predeceſſors had infus'd into the inferior Clergy.* The beſt News that ever *England* heard, and the greateſt Service the *Biſhops* ever did the *Church!* I ſhall not particularly examine into the Characters of theſe ſeventeen *Heroes:* but I hope it's no Crime to ſay, that, to the great Loſs of the *Church*, one of 'em dy'd in *Ireland* with King *James*, when he was fighting there againſt the *Proteſtants*, and had fill'd all their *Churches* with *Popiſh* Eccleſiaſticks; and that four of 'em, who join'd firſt with the Prince of *Orange* againſt King *James* at the *Revolution*, deſerted him in a Month's time to King *James* again, as they and others of theſe ſame *Heroes* have deſerted the Communion of the *Church of England* ever ſince. They are loſt therefore to the *Church* to all Intents and Purpoſes; and we heartily wiſh for the Sake both of *Church* and *Government*, that the furious *Spirit* of Bigotry and Perſecution,

cution, with the arbitrary and ſlaviſh *Sentiments* which they have infus'd into ſome of the *Inferior Clergy*, were not only (as they now are) *much damped*, and *in a manner extinguiſh'd* by the free Principles and Moderation of the preſent *Biſhops*, but likewiſe that they were entirely loſt with their deceas'd and abdicated Authors, Infuſers, and Abettors.

Thus from its firſt Original, and thro' all the Gradations of it, we have given the brief Hiſtory of the *High-Church*, that, in the firſt Place, by ſhewing what the *Memorialiſt* and his Party mean by the *Church*, the *Diſſenters* might be undeceiv'd from their Prejudices, and not raſhly impute to the *Church of England* the Principles or Practices of a headſtrong, ambitious, or *Popiſh* Faction, which ſhe never approv'd: And, Secondly, That no true *Church-man* might be impos'd on by Words or Names, but judge of all Perſons by their Actions, bleſſing GOD inceſſantly for a *Queen*, who is ſo true a Nurſing Mother to the *Church*; for *Biſhops* ſo Learned, Charitable, and Religious; and for living under ſo wiſe and good a *Government*, where *Righteouſneſs and Peace kiſs each other.*

Of the DISSENTERS.

WE have already diſcours'd of the Riſe of the *Diſſenters*, and their various Fortune till the late *Revolution*; ſince which Time they are tolerated by Law, and enjoy at preſent the Benefit of her *Majeſty*'s glorious Reign in common with her other Loyal Subjects.

Tho' we be no *Diſſenters* ourſelves, yet the Principles of the *Church of England* have taught us to be juſt to them as well as to all the World: and tho' we do not join in their *Diſſent*, yet as we wou'd not uſe Force to reduce them to *Conformity*, ſo we would lay nothing to their Charge, but what in Juſtice they deſerve. Wherefore we muſt needs ſay, that they ſpeak improperly, who repreſent 'em as leaving our *Church*, and who are for treating 'em on that Account as *Schiſmaticks*. There were as early and illuſtrious *Reformers* in this Kingdom of their Opinions as any whatſoever, and even ſeveral *Biſhops* profeſs'd themſelves of their Mind in Matters of *Diſcipline* and *Worſhip*; which are the only Things wherein we differ. They were Fellow-Sufferers with us in the *Marian* Perſecution: *Hooper* was not the only Perſon of theſe Sentiments, who offer'd his Body to the Flames in Defence of the *Proteſtant Religion:* And the Exiles from the *Popiſh Fury*, carried their Diviſions about thoſe Points along with them, and kept 'em ſtill on foot in the Places of their Refuge. We commend not the *Rigidneſs* of the one Side or the other, tho' we cannot blame Men for modeſtly teſtifying their Diſagreement where they are not fully ſatisfied in their Judgments. They may call it *Conformity*, but it wou'd be *Hypocriſy* to do otherwiſe.

On the ceaſing of the Perſecution, by Queen *Elizabeth*'s mounting the Throne, they all return'd to *England*, but more poſitively reſolv'd in their Diviſions; thoſe we now call the *Diſſenters* being encouraged and confirm'd by the Example of Foreign *Churches*. Exceptions indeed they have always made to the *Liturgy*, either as imperfect, tho' excellent for the Time; or as ſym-

ſymbolizing too much with the *Maſs*, which was counted needleſs after the general Converſion of the Nation; or as actually containing certain *Errors* which they cou'd not ſubſcribe, and much leſs read in the *Church*. Catalogues of theſe Exceptions they have often deliver'd the *Lincoln* Miniſters and others before the Civil Wars, and after the *Reſtoration* at the *Savoy Conference*. They have likewiſe given the *Liturgy* compleat, as they wou'd have it *reform'd*, which is ſtill extant in Print. And here we have two Things to obſerve: Firſt, That the *Diſſenters* are miſrepreſented, when accus'd of never offering the *Terms* on which they wou'd unite: And, Secondly, That they never declar'd peremptorily againſt the Uſe of all *Liturgies*, no more than the other *Reform'd Churches* which have their ſet Forms, without excluding the Gifts of their Miniſters in *Extempore* Prayer, which is alſo practis'd by the Miniſters of the *Church of England* before their Sermons. I wou'd therefore charitably believe, it is in Expectation of a more favourable Diſpoſition for a Union, that they have hitherto neither tranſlated the *Liturgy* of the other *Reform'd Churches*, nor ever eſtabliſh'd any of their own. But the Innovations in Archbiſhop *Laud*'s Time drove 'em too much to the other Extreme; and made 'em guilty of many unſeemly and ſometimes uncharitable Expreſſions againſt our *Common Prayers:* With which nevertheleſs the whole Body of them is no more to be charg'd, than the *Church of England* with all the Exorbitancies of the *High-Church*. No Man pretends but the *Diſſenters* had their Tantivies of ſeveral Sorts: nevertheleſs, where Men are inclin'd to Peace, ſuch Things are mutually forgot; and if they have but natural Equity, the Faults of a few will never be imputed to all.

But in the *Memorial* the *Diſſenters* are made to aim at ſubverting the *Church* and the *Monarchy*, which is the principal Subject of the Book. Cou'd this Charge be prov'd, I ſhou'd not be the Man to make their Apology. They enjoy already as full, as free, and as legal a *Liberty* as any others, to worſhip GOD according to the Dictates of their own Conſciences, in which Reſpect they have nothing more to deſire, and they neither can nor do complain. But throughout the whole *Memorial* 'tis inculcated, that they deſign to overthrow the *Hierarchy*, and to make themſelves the *National Church*. Whoever gives himſelf Leiſure to conſider never ſo little, will perceive how wild and groundleſs this Suppoſition muſt needs be, and how diſſonant from the true State of Things. For if the *Diſſenters* had the Power, 'tis impoſſible they cou'd altogether and at once become the *National Church*, ſince they conſiſt of various Sects and Conſtitutions, as different from one another, as every one of 'em is from the *Church of England*, which is a Thing
Page 21. indiſputable and ſelf-evident, own'd even by the *Memorialiſt*.

But then if they had the Power, I deny they can have the Will
Page 12. to be the *National Church*. The *Quakers*, with whom the *Memorialiſt* is very angry, are againſt all ſtated *Clergymen*, againſt any Spiritual *Juriſdiction*, *Church Revenues*, or *Maintenance* of *Miniſters* from the Publick; and therefore they ought not to be reckon'd among the Candidates for a *National Church*, which without theſe Things cannot ſubſiſt as ſuch, and for the Sake of which the *Quakers* alledge that all the Buſtle is made. They allow

allow every individual *Chriſtian* (not excepting their Women) to pray and preach in their *Meetings*, according to every one's Meaſure of *Light* or Knowledge, and as they are diſpos'd by the *Spirit* of God to propagate his *Goſpel* of Truth for the Benefit of their fellow Creatures. This is the Account they give of themſelves agreeable to their Practice; and therefore are not concern'd by Intereſt or Inclination to aſſiſt one *Party* more than another in their Contentions about this Matter. But finding their Safety in Civil *Liberty* (from which *Toleration* in *Religion* is inſeparable) they join in *Elections* for Parliament Men, with the *Party* likelieſt to grant or to preſerve it, in which regard they are indeed tthe exacteſt *Trimmers* in the Nation. Their Conduct in the laſt *Election* is one of the Fruits of the *Bill againſt Occaſional Conformity*, and we know it to be the Cauſe of the *High-Church-men*'s Diſpleaſure againſt them now; but they ſhou'd remember the Time (for 'tis within Memory) when they voted, and that judiciouſly on their *Side*, which was one of the two Times I mention'd that the *High Church-men* were againſt the *Prerogative*, and would paſs for profeſs'd Converts to *Liberty* both Civil and Religious. The *Memorialiſt* was therefore in a Paſſion, when he raſhly ſaid, *that they never extend their Alliance, Commerce, or Charity, beyond their own Sect.* *Ibid.*

The *Independents* are as little as the *Quakers* for a *National Church*, allowing only of *Congregations* voluntarily gather'd and call'd out of the World, which Societies are *independent* of all *Dioceſes* or *Preſbyteries*, not admitting *Synods* with any Manner of *Church Power*, but only for mutual Help and Advice. The *Memorialiſt* poſitively affirms, that *every individual Paſtor among them is Biſhop of his Congregation, abſolute, arbitrary, and uncontroulable in Spirituals*, which will find Credit only with thoſe who examine the Truth as little, or diſſemble it as much as himſelf: for an *Independent* Miniſter is ſo far from having any Point of *Epiſcopal Juriſdiction*, that he can do nothing without the joint Conſent of the *Church-Members*, among which the Women are permitted in-ſome Caſes to give their Suffrage. He farther affirms, *that each Miniſter is ſubject and accountable in Matters of Religion to none but God*, which is no Privilege more peculiar to him than to every one of his Congregation, and what every *Proteſtant* profeſſes as the firſt Principle of the *Reformation.* But meaning it, as he does, of the Miniſters *Authority* in ordering and directing Matters of *Religion* or *Diſcipline*, he has no Power at all, ſo far is he from being Arbitrary and Abſolute. The *People* may withdraw from him when they have juſt Exceptions to his Life or Doctrine. Nor does *Ordination* alone conſtitute a Miniſter among them without the *Election* of his Hearers, which is another Thing inconſiſtent with a *National Church*; and I ſaid before that they reject the Notion of a *Catholick Church*, as a Society veſted with Authority, and to which all *particular Churches* are in Subordination and Subjection. Page 42. *Ibid.*

Thus the Jeſt of the *Memorialiſt* is ſpoilt, *That the Independents have a little Pope in every Congregation, and that every individual Preacher among them is a whole petty Antichriſt himſelf.* This indeed is Language befitting ſuch as only think of Dragooning Men to their Way without ſatisfying their Reaſons; but not leſs becoming thoſe who underſtand *Ibid.*

as

as little of the *Controverſies* they manage, or the Men they condemn, as the *Spaniards* or the *Turks*. This appears further in the like Sarcaſm upon the *Preſbyterians*, who, he ſays, *have one Pope in each Nation, which is the Synod; and that the ſeveral Miniſters of which it is compos'd, are but ſo many Limbs of Antichriſt.* The *Anabaptiſts* agree in all the foremention'd Things with the *Independents*, permitting every Man that has Gifts enabling him for it, to teach in the Congregation; and truly (as a Perſon of ſingular Worth, Knowledge, and Moderation, ſaid once in a merry Humour) the *Anabaptiſt* is but an *Independent under Water*.

Ibid.

The *Preſbyterians* therefore are the only Rivals the *Church of England* has to fear. They place Authority, we own, in their *Preſbyteries* over the *Parochial* Miniſters; but none ought to arraign 'em for that, who allow as much to the *Biſhop* in his *Dioceſe*, for this is only a Diſpute about the proper Hands wherein to ſettle the Power. What wou'd the *Memorialiſt* infer from it, if we granted that the *Preſbyterians lodge the Juriſdiction of Archbiſhops and Biſhops in their Synods and Claſſes*, tho' it be not in all Things the ſame Power? Beſides that the ſame Power differently lodg'd makes a great Alteration in *Government*, as the Supreme Power in a *Single Perſon* is one Thing, and quite another Thing in the *Three Eſtates*. Now, we readily yield him what no body ever deny'd, that the *Preſbyterians* are capable of being a *National Church*, and that they are actually ſo in many Places of *Europe*. But he unfairly repreſents them, when he ſays, *their Clergy pretend to be infallible, and exempt from Lay Juriſdiction; and that the Sentencing and Correction of Sinners without Limitation of Kind, either of Sin or Puniſhment, belongs to their Miniſters.* I defy any Man to produce an Inſtance, wherein the *Jeſuits* did ever more audaciouſly calumniate. But becauſe he was aware that nothing of this is known in *England*, he affirms, that *it is ſtill practis'd in* Scotland, *where upon whatever Account the Preſbytery is pleaſed to excommunicate any one, the Cuſtom of Horning ſtill remains, that is, of ſeizing all his Eſtate and Effects at the Sound of a Horn, which is the Kirk's Warrant for Execution; and againſt this Sentence (however unjuſt) the Government dare not give any Relief.* If it were really thus in *Scotland*, what's that to the *Churches* where it is not ſo; as in *Holland*, for Example? For *Biſhops*, no more than *Preſbyters*, have not equal Power every where, theſe and the like *Temporal* Privileges being eſſentially inherent to neither; but as the *Civil Government* is pleas'd to grant or to take them away in ſuch Degrees or Proportions as they think moſt convenient. But every Syllable of what he ſays is falſe in Fact; and indeed there was never known a more diſingenuous Writer. In the late *Reign* the Civil Sting or Puniſhment of *Excommunication* was aboliſh'd in that Kingdom by *Act of Parliament*; which is one of the important Services King *William* render'd the *Proteſtant* Religion there: And certainly 'tis no ſmall Service to Religion to take away any Power from a *Church*, which is liable to be partially or vindictively exercis'd; and perhaps on very ſlight or trivial Occaſions; beſides that this was one of the worſt Reliques of *Popery*, not grounded on *Scripture*, nor to be tolerated by common *Prudence*. 'Tis moſt un-

Ibid.

Page 41.

Page 43.

unqueſtionably true, that by the Handle of *Excommunication* inſufferable Abuſes were formerly committed in *Scotland*, whereof we hear nothing ſince the *Revolution*; tho' we need not go far for Examples, when in our own *Church* (a Thing which all the ſound Members of it paſſionately long to ſee reform'd) Men are daily made over to the *Devil* with great Solemnity for a Tithe-Pig, or Eaſter-Eggs, or three Tiles of a Church, whereby their Credit is ruin'd, their Goods ſeiz'd, and their Perſons often impriſon'd. Beſides the Blemiſh this brings on our excellent *Church*, it takes away in great Part the true Ends and Awe of the *Scripture Excommunication*; nor ſhou'd this Power of inflicting Civil Puniſhments be committed to any *Church*, being a blame-worthy Article wherever found, whether among the *Epiſcopals*, *Preſbyterians*, or *Papiſts*, from the laſt of which both the others have borrow'd it. But ſtill 'tis objected with an ill Grace by us to the *Preſbyterians*, till we come to a Temper firſt to reform it at home. As for *Horning*, 'tis not the Warrant of the *Kirk*, but of the *State*, on occaſions of Treaſon or Outlawry. But in ſuch of his *Miſtakes* we are no further concern'd, than to ſhew with what an Air of *Aſſurance* he utters the groſſeſt Falſhoods.

Now the laborious Reſearch of the *Memorialiſt*, to diſcover which Sect of the *Diſſenters* bids faireſt for the *National Church*, on the ſuppos'd Downfal of our *Hierarchy*, appearing impertinent; and acknowledging it poſſible for the *Preſbyterians* alone to become the *National Church* in that Caſe, yet 'tis moſt certain that their *Miniſters*, in the firſt Place, would be no Gainers by it, they being already as well if not better (and the *Memorialiſt* owns more equally) provided for, than the *Inferior Clergy* of the *National Church*. The rich *Dignities* wou'd not fall to the Share of their *Clergy*, with whoſe *Parity* they are incompatible; but, as it happen'd here as well as in other Places before, and lately in *Scotland*, they wou'd all devolve to the *State*. Neither wou'd their *People* get any more by it, than to be exempted from their voluntary *Contributions*, which among ſo many are inſenſible, and no ſuch Burden as that to eaſe their Purſes of it, they wou'd madly hazard their Civil and Religious *Liberty*. None of the other *Sects* wou'd aſſiſt the *Preſbyterians* in ſuch an Enterprize, it being indifferent to them which is the *National Church*, provided they enjoy a free *Toleration* of their own Way: For as to the Degrees of Severity they felt in their Turns under each, they are not more natural to one than to the other, all *National Churches* being ready enough at that Sport, where the *Clergy* are not over-rul'd and kept on their good Behaviour, as they are in every wiſe *Government* by the Civil *Magiſtrates*.

Page 21. 37, 38, &c.

Page 41.

But it will be objected, That Men have often acted by Paſſion and Ambition againſt their Intereſt, and that the other *Sects* did actually join with the *Preſbyterians* before. We grant the *Preſbyterians* may act againſt their Intereſt as well as other Men; but we deny, that, if they were infatuated enough to deſign it, they can ever be able to contend with the *National Church*, in reſpect of which they are an inconſiderable Number, and indeed deſerving little Regard when the other *Sects* and the *Church* are both unanimous againſt them. But the other *Sects* did combine with them before.

They did ſo; but it was not to advance 'em to the Preheminence of a *National Church*, but to pull down another *Church power* that oppreſs'd 'em all with a heavy Yoke and an intolerable Hand. The *Gentlemen* who reſiſted the Encroachments made on their native and legal *Liberty*, invited to their Aſſiſtance the *Nonconformiſts*, who were Sufferers for their *Religion* under the ſame *Power*; and as ſoon as the Order of *Biſhops* was aboliſh'd, the *Preſbyterians* did of Courſe, and as a Reward of their Services, come without Competitors to be the *National Church*. Yet this Exchange was not made with the Conſent or good Liking of the other *Sects*. For in the Beginning of that unhappy War, nothing was generally propos'd but reducing the *Prerogative* within its juſt Bounds, and timely reſtraining the *Innovations* of the *Clergy*, without Peoples laying any Schemes before-hand of what was to be done in caſe they ſucceeded, becauſe they really deſign'd no Alteration in the Civil *Government*. Therefore after they had obtain'd their principal Aim, all Sorts of Men found themſelves deceiv'd in their particular Expectations; and, as it ſeldom fails to happen in ſuch *Confuſions*, ſome were inſenſibly and moſt were impetuouſly carry'd beyond their firſt Intentions with the Torrent. To exemplify this in detail, ſuch as intended no more than the ſecuring our *Conſtitution*, which they reaſonably thought to be in ſome Danger from certain *Arbitrary* Proceedings, did above all others abhor the Invaſion of the *Military* Power, and the barbarous *Murder* of the King. The *Independents*, the *Anabaptiſts*, the new ſprung Sect of the *Quakers* and others, were not leſs irritated to find the *Preſbyterians* rigidly exerciſe the ſame Power the *Biſhops* had done before, which they promis'd themſelves wou'd be *aboliſh'd* here for the future in all *Churches*, loudly proteſting that they chiefly fought for this Purpoſe, and that the *Liberty* of the Nation was not *compleat* without it. The *Republicans* were no leſs diſappointed in their *Models* of Government by *Cromwel*'s treacherous *Uſurpation*. And all of 'em together ſucceſsfully join'd to undermine the *Preſbyterians*, the *Army* for their proteſting againſt the King's *Death*, the *Sectaries* for their refuſing *Liberty of Conſcience*, and the *Epiſcopals* (to name no others) that they might return once more to be the *National Church*. For in Conjectures of this Kind, there's no Neceſſity of Agents or Treaties between the ſeveral *Parties* (as there was then no ſettled Intercourſe or Correſpondence berween ſo many hoſtile and repugnant *Intereſts*) becauſe all are united by their preſent Suffering, or impending Danger; and, however diſagreeing in their other Actions, yet by a Sort of *Mechaniſm* in *Politicks*, they naturally tend to the ſame Center of Oppoſition againſt their common Adverſary. This Obſervation was eminently verify'd by the univerſal Reſiſtance made to the late *Bill againſt Occaſional Conformity*; and prudent *Governors* will accordingly ſquare their Meaſures in all ſuch Occurrences.

The other *Sects* therefore and the *Preſbyterians* did once join together; but it depends upon us that they never do ſo again. Let not our *Clergy*, inſtead of looking after the *Souls* of their Flocks, buſy themſelves in *Politicks*; let them not be the Inſtruments of the *Prince* to enſlave the *People:* and let them neither be rigorous themſelves, nor excite others to be ſo, againſt ſuch as *diſſent* from them in Matters of *Religion*. The only poſſible Way for the *Preſbyterians*

rians to become the *National Church*, is by the *Laity*'s being ever forc'd again to call for their Help, (and they'll never do it unleſs they be forc'd) or by obliging the other *Sects* to confederate with them for their mutual Defence. But we leave every one to judge, whether the *High-Church* Methods be the moſt likely to prevent ſuch a fatal Cataſtrophe; eſpecially if it be conſider'd (for I think it worth repeating) that the very *Quakers*, who are not immediately touch'd by ſuch a Law, yet ſtrenuouſly oppos'd the *Bill againſt Occaſional Conformity*, as a Degree of Infraction upon our common *Liberty*, and which they reaſonably expected might afterwards be *extended* to other Matters. For any thing elſe in the World, not reliſh'd by the Faction of the *High-Church*, might as well be call'd *Spiritual-Juggling*, were they left Judges of Men's Sincerity or Hypocriſy: And all Acts of Worſhip perform'd by *Diſſenters*, tho' agreeable to our Confeſſion of Faith or *Liturgy*, might be reputed, *proſtituting thoſe Conſciences of which they pretended to be ſo tender, and profaning the moſt ſolemn and holy Myſteries of the Chriſtian Religion, to the baſe ſiniſtrous Ends of eluding the Law.* Page 18. Page 25.

It wou'd therefore be a lamentable Proſpect (were we not ſecure in the Temper of our *Government*, and the Wiſdom of our *Miniſters*) to ſee how certain Perſons, inſtead of bending their Care to preſerve the preſent *Tranquility*, labour with all their Might and Induſtry to bring us again to *Confuſion*, uſing the moſt ſophiſtical and nefarious Arts imaginable to compaſs their wicked Deſigns. They talk of Diſſenters always in a Lump, to render 'em the more formidable to ignorant Bigots, as if they had all the ſame concerted Views, or were equally chargeable with the ſame Imputations. Three of their *Accuſations* I ſhall diſtinctly examine, as injurious to the *Diſſenters*, tending to diſturb the Peace of the *Church* and *Government*, and reflecting on her *Majeſty*'s Perſon.

Firſt, They are all charg'd with being *Common-wealths-men*, or for popular Government, in oppoſition to our eſtabliſh'd Conſtitution of *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons*. This Invention might paſs on thoſe Princes who held all for *Republicans*, that diſlik'd their Deſigns of *Arbitrary* and *Deſpotick* Power. But now, that the *Liberty* of the antient *Engliſh Government* is ſecured to Poſterity, by the *Confirmation* of all former Laws in its Favour, by the *Bill of Rights*, the *Limitations* on the next *Succeſſor*, and by divers other excellent Regulations; there is not a *Diſſenter* in the Nation a *Republican* in any other Senſe, than as being ready to expoſe his Life and Fortune for this admirable *Form*, whereof they daily taſte the incomparable Bleſſings, which have cur'd the few *Democraticks* we had (and thoſe moſtly *Church-men*) from the Impreſſions they receiv'd by King *Charles* and King *James*'s Adminiſtration. They were all moſt cordial for King *William*; they are as truly loyal and dutiful to Queen *Anne*; and not one of 'em but are ſuch *Republicans*, as to be zealous for the Houſe of *Hanover*, which is like (they ſay) to furniſh the Crown with numerous Succeſſors. But conſidering the *High-Church-men* had ſo lately endeavour'd to turn the *Monarchy* into an *Oligarchy*, or rather from the Conſequences of it into an *Anarchy*, by the *Regency* they propos'd at the *Revolution*;

tion; they ought to be the more reſerv'd in aſperſing ſome with the Chimera of a *Common-wealth*, as they would fright others with the ridiculous Sham of the *Church*.

The *Diſſenters* are, *Secondly*, accus'd of being againſt a *Toleration* to one another, or to others, becauſe ſome of 'em were for *Perſecution* in the late Times. 'Tis the moſt abſurd and unjuſt Thing conceivable, and ſufficiently refuted by daily Experience, to make Parties, Opinions, Virtues or Vices, ſo abſolutely *hereditary* to Families or Nations, that they can never be cured of 'em. Had this Poſition been true, how from *Heathens* cou'd we have become *Chriſtians*, or from *Papiſts* turn *Proteſtants?* All the Poſterity of the late *Sectaries* have no more the ſame Deſigns with their Fathers, than all the Deſcendants of the *Royaliſts:* For not a few of both Sides have very ſignally diſtinguiſh'd themſelves in contrary Notions and Parties to their Progenitors.

Page 3. But the *Memorialiſt* tells us, not only that *the Sons of thoſe Men yet remain, and inherit many of 'em the Principles of their Fathers*; but that *it wou'd therefore be no very uncharitable Suppoſition, without any other Argument, to imagine 'em Heirs of their Deſigns likewiſe.* It were certainly moſt uncharitable to take that for granted, which is poſſible to be otherwiſe; but if we us'd *no farther Argument* in the Matter, that is, if we made no Uſe of our *Reaſon*, we cou'd imagine this as eaſy as any thing elſe, and all Things in the World alike. The *Independents* and *Anabaptiſts* were profeſs'd Advocates for *Toleration* from the Beginning; and they ſtill continue of the ſame Opinion as well as the *Quakers*. The *Preſbyterians* were not always ſo, but have ſometimes us'd *Compulſion* in Matters purely religious, and publiſh'd diverſe *Books* to juſtify their Proceedings. Yet Experience, and a more ſedate Conſideration of Things, have furniſh'd 'em with clearer Information and better Diſpoſitions. As many antient and modern *Churches* have frequently chang'd their Sentiments about certain Articles, ſo the *Preſbyterians* are all now for *Liberty of Conſcience* to all Men in Points of mere Religion or Opinion; and they have expreſly declar'd their Minds to this Purpoſe in ſeveral of their *late Books*, particularly in the Writings of Mr. *Calamy*, which they generally approve. But, as an Evidence of their Sincerity in Fact, I'll give an Inſtance worthy of Publick Notice. Certain *Quakers* came not long ſince to ſome of the moſt eminent Miniſters of the *Diſſenters*, complaining that their Friends were hardly uſed in *New-England*, and even ſome of 'em put to Death for their Perſuaſion, tho' under the thread-bare Pretence of *diſobeying the Laws*. Wherefore they deſir'd thoſe Miniſters, that, if they allow'd of the ſame *Liberty* to others they enjoy'd here from the *Government*, they wou'd write their Thoughts of this Affair to their Brethren in *New-England*, who, they doubted not, wou'd reſpect their Judgment. Whereupon thoſe Miniſters, after *conſulting* the reſt of their Body, and receiving their *Conſent*, diſpatch'd two Letters to *New-England*, one from the *Independents*, and another from the *Preſbyterians*, to the perfect Satisfaction of the *Quakers*.

The *Diſſenters* are, *Thirdly*, accus'd of *Diſaffection* to the Queen's Perſon. Of all Calumnies this ſurely is the moſt hardy, as well as the moſt groundleſs. 'Tis now the Fourth Year of Her Majeſty's Reign (which GOD long continue)

continue) and in this whole Time there has not been one Diſſenter heard to murmur or repine, ſo far are they from being found guilty of any *Conſpiracy* or *Treaſon*; whereas 'tis notoriouſly known, that many who highly value themſelves on being *Church-men*, do obſtinately diſown her *Title*, and very undutifully reflect both upon her *Perſon* and *Government*. Never was Prince ſo rever'd and belov'd almoſt to Adoration by her Subjects, and by all the *Proteſtant Sects* without Exception, as is Queen *Anne*, for her Wiſdom, Juſtice, Piety, Moderation, Clemency, and other Royal Virtues without Number. She's truly *Head* and *Queen* of all her People, which has ſeated her Throne ſo *firm*, that ſhe may reſt ſecure and eaſy at all the rude Clamours of the *Conſpirators* (and not even be provok'd to let the Laws looſe againſt them) were they twenty Times more numerous; conſidering ſhe has the Hearts and Hands of all the *Low-Church-men* at her Service, that is, of almoſt the whole *Laity* and *Clergy* of the *Church of England*, with the powerful Addition of all the *Diſſenters* in the Kingdom. In Reſpect of theſe the *Papiſts* and *High-Church-men* are but a Handful; and are therefore, in their preſent ſeditious *Invectives* and ſenſeleſs *Menaces*, rather the Objects of all Men's Laughter, Scorn and Contempt, than of her *Majeſty*'s Notice or Indignation.

Notwithſtanding the evident Truth of this, yet one Part of the grand *Conſpiracy*, and on which did hang the moſt promiſing Hopes of the *Popiſh Pretender*, was a deſperate Effort the *High-Church-men* made to impoſe on the *Queen* at the Beginning of her auſpicious Reign, before (as they imagin'd) ſhe cou'd have Time or Opportunity to learn the true State of her *Subjects*; and ſo to prepoſſeſs her Royal Breaſt with an Opinion that the *Whigs* and *Diſſenters* were ſworn Enemies to her Perſon, that they had always endeavour'd to leſſen her *Reputation* with the People, and enter'd into cloſe Meaſures with the late King to *exclude* her from the Crown. Theſe Things, we may remember, were induſtriouſly ſpread and reported every where with the utmoſt Aſſurance: and had her *Majeſty* been more credulous, or worſe inform'd, ſhe muſt of Neceſſity have caus'd inexpreſſible *Grief* to the greateſt Number of her Faithful *Subjects*, to be ſo unhappily miſunderſtood by her; and perhaps ſhe had through a fatal *Miſtake* thrown herſelf into the Arms of inſidious Men, who preferr'd the *Title* of another to hers, and were prepar'd to deliver her *Perſon*, the *Church*, and all of us into the Hands of their *Foreign Protector* and *Confederate*.

The *Queen*, to the unſpeakable Felicity of theſe Nations, knew better Things; and every Day of her Life ſince has afforded her freſh Proofs that ſhe was not deceiv'd. But for the Satisfaction of the People, a *Committee of Lords*, who had examin'd the King's *Papers*, publiſh'd their Report by Order of the *Houſe*; and Dr. *Drake*'s Book was, by the ſame *Houſe*, Order'd to be burnt as Falſe, Malicious, Villainous, and Scandalous, tending to create Diviſions and Jealouſies between her Majeſty and her People, for countenancing and promoting that heinous *Aſperſion*, without being able to produce any Voucher or Author for the ſame. But the *Memorialiſt*, as if he were ignorant that any thing of this had happen'd, harps ſtill on the ſame String, and

ſtrives

Page 5. ſtrives in vain to render the *Diſſenters* ſuſpected, in ſpight of the Queen's and the Nation's Experience. *They*, ſays he, *who not a Month before* (the King's Death) *breath'd nothing but Defiance, and inſulted the Church, and treated the Princeſs with the moſt ſcandalous Indignities and rudeſt Calumnies, were in an Inſtant grown the moſt dutiful Subjects, the moſt affectionate Friends, and the moſt peaceable, meek, and Chriſtian-ſpirited People in the Univerſe.* This is the Ironical Turn he gives the Matter, becauſe the Queen did not find 'em what they were repreſented by the *High-Church.* And in another Place he inſinuates a Diſtruſt of their peaceable Demeanor, Perſonal

Page 17. Reſpect, and chearful Submiſſion to her *Majeſty*, by aſking whether *we are ſure, that they who ill treated and beſpatter'd the Princeſs, and hop'd that ſhe never wou'd reign, are grown ſincerely fond of the Queen, and heartily glad that ſhe does reign?* By no Means; he'll have their *Loyalty* and *Moderation* only a Copy of their Countenance, from the terrifying Appre-

Page 5. henſion of their Guilt. *Was it natural*, ſays he, *No*, he anſwers himſelf! *but they had juſt before* (tho' Dr. *Drake* could not tell how, or by whom, or where, or when) *injured and affronted the Princeſs and Church of* England, *in ſo inſolent and outragious a Manner, upon Preſumption that durable Schemes were upon the Anvil in their Favour, that their own Conſciences upon the vaniſhing of them, prompted them to ſeek Pardon and Peace, from thoſe they had ſo abus'd, by an extraordinary Submiſſion.* One wou'd think by reading ſuch Paſſages, that there had been Tumults againſt the *Church*, Endeavours for a *Bill of Excluſion*, and infamous *Libels* at leaſt diſpers'd againſt the *Princeſs*; when all was orderly and quiet, without a Word or Syllable of this Matter. The *Project* they reported to be found among the King's *Papers* is broadly hinted by the *durable Schemes upon the Anvil*, which we muſt needs call, tho' we love not ſuch Language, a *Villainous Calumny* in the Forgers of the Story, and *incorrigible Impudence* in the *Memorialiſt*. Yet the Fancy of it tickles him; for in the ſame

Ibid. Page he ſays, that *the Diſſenters were mortify'd, humbled, and diſappointed at the late King's Death*, and that the *Whigs* wou'd have been glad *to have taken a general Indemnity, with an Excluſion from all Truſt and Office:* Whereas King *William*'s Death (for which the *Diſſenters*, no doubt, were ſorry) was no otherwiſe a Diſappointment to them than as it was to all *Europe*, having had no Deſigns of their own to carry on by him, ſeparate from the Common Cauſe of *Liberty* and the *Proteſtant Religion.*

Neither were the *Whigs* conſcious to themſelves of any Crimes why they ſhou'd need or deſire an *Indemnity* from that Faction he calls the *Church*, who thought to manage all without Controul at that Time, and who were never known to be ſo liberal of their *Pardons* when they had 'em to give. They were thoſe *High-Churchmen*, on the contrary, who wanted an *Indemnity*, and had it at the *Revolution*, having juſtly deſerv'd to be *forever excluded from all Truſt and Office*, which they had forfeited by their baſe and traiterous Surrender of *Charters* to the foregoing Kings; whilſt the *Whigs* as bravely and loyally oppos'd that Invaſion of our Rights, for which they were fin'd, impriſon'd, baniſh'd, hang'd, and libell'd for *Rebels* by thoſe pretended *Churchmen* all over

the

the Nation. But are the *Whigs* no better known yet to the *Memorialiſt*, who ſo often goes out of his Way to dive into the inmoſt Folds of their Hearts? Whereas, when on the Suppoſition of thoſe *Forgeries* which he imprudently revives, a certain *diſmal* Gentleman, of ſuch deep *Politicks* that his *Wiſdom* never appears till he quits *Buſineſs*, and of ſuch unparallell'd *Eloquence* that his Speeches are never underſtood for the muſical *chiming* of his Words; I ſay, when this Secretary of the *High-Church* had gravely propos'd ſuch an *Indemnity* to certain *Whigs*, they rejected his Offer with the Scorn and Indignation that became their *Innocence*, letting him underſtand (in very plain Language) who it was that ſtood in greater Need of a *Pardon*; and that they were reſolv'd with the laſt Drop of their Blood to ſtand by the Queen's *Perſon*, to ſupport the Freedom of the *Government*, and to maintain the *Proteſtant Succeſſion* againſt all Attempts and Adverſaries whatſoever, wherein they have been hitherto, and ever will remain, as good as their Words.

We held ourſelves oblig'd in duty as good Subjects, who deſire the Peace and Welfare of our Country, and that our Fellow Citizens (who are hearty for the ſame Cauſe) may not fight againſt one another in the Dark, to defend the *Diſſenters* againſt the virulent and manifold Miſrepreſentations of the *Memorialiſt*. But in particular we ſincerely aim'd at three Things: That the *Church* may not be diſturb'd by imaginary Fears of the *Diſſenters* forming any Deſigns againſt her *National* Eſtabliſhment; that the *Diſſenters* may be convinc'd, 'tis neither their Intereſt nor in their Power to deſtroy the *Church*; and that every body may perceive what a perfect *Harmony* there is between all the Subjects of this Kingdom *to perpetuate the Toleration of Religions*, except a certain *Faction* (more conſiderable for their Noiſe than for their Number) who ſedulouſly endeavour to ſet the *Queen* againſt all the reſt, that that they may the eaſier ſet up a *King* of their own againſt her *Majeſty*.

Of the TOLERATION.

THE right Notion of the *Church*, and the true State of the *Diſſenters* being thus fairly ſettled, 'tis Time we ſhou'd begin the Vindication of the *Queen* and her *Miniſters*, who are invidiouſly traduc'd as favouring the *Diſſenters* againſt the *Church of England*. But becauſe we begun ſo high with the other Heads of this *Diſcourſe*, as to leave nothing ſuppos'd or to be underſtood that was neceſſary for the clearing of what follow'd; ſo the *Toleration of Religions* (which extends much further than a bare *Permiſſion of Publick Worſhip*) being the avow'd Principle of the *Queen* and her *Miniſters*, and one of the *principal Maxims* by which they govern, to inſiſt a little on that *Subject*, before we deſcend to Particulars, will neither be unneceſſary nor unprofitable. According to the *Memorialiſt*, there *is no High-Churchman of 'em all who would break in upon the Toleration, if it were in their Power, provided that the Ambition of the Diſſenters would ſtop there.* Page 36. But who is to be *Judge*, whether or no they preciſely keep to the *Toleration?* When Writing or Preaching in Defence of their *Separation* may, by the ſtronger *Party*, be deem'd exceeding what they are allow'd; as the *Perſecu-*

tion

tion in *France* did firſt begin under Pretence that by the ſeveral *Edicts* the *Proteſtants* might publickly perform their *Worſhip*, but not defend their *Religion* by oppoſing the *Roman Catholick*. Beſides that we have Reaſon ſtill to believe, that the *High-Church-men* are no real Friends to the *Toleration*, ſince the Promiſe of ſecuring it in the *firſt Bill againſt Occaſional Conformity* was wholly forgot in the *laſt*. But be this as it will, 'tis impoſſible to diſcourſe intelligibly and diſtinctly of *Comprehenſion*, *Occaſional Conformity*, the *Sacramental Teſt*, and *the Conſiſtency or Inconſiſtency of many Religions with Civil Government* (which come all under that Head) without previouſly ſtating the Nature and Extent of *Toleration*.

Firſt then, we muſt conſider that no Argument can be drawn for *Compulſion* in Matters of *Religion*, from the Power of the *Magiſtrate* to puniſh *Offenders* in the State, for the Buſineſs of the Magiſtrate being to take care of the Publick Quiet, and to preſerve every Subject from Violence and Fraud, he takes Notice only of *Actions* which confeſſedly tend to the Diſturbance or Subverſion of the *Society*, and to the *injuring* of any Man in his Perſon or Poſſeſſions; but he has nothing to do with what either does no *Harm* in theſe Reſpects to any body, or that wholly conſiſts in *Speculation* and *Opinion*. He therefore reſtrains outward Tranſgreſſions and immoral Actions, let the *Motives* of him that commits them be what they will. But he can take no Cognizance of thoſe *inward Diſpoſitions* which are wholly ſeated in the Mind, nor can he certainly judge of the Docility or invincible Errors of others, whether they truly want Light and Satisfaction, or are whimſical, obſtinate, and refractory. So that, with reſpect to the *Government*, 'tis all the ſame to the *Magiſtrates*, whether a Man be *ſincere* or a *Hypocrite* in his Opinions, ſince no other receives any Damage, tho' perhaps he gets no good by them himſelf. Had the *Memorialiſt* obſerv'd this Diſtinction, he had not confounded *Perſecution* for Opinions with *Puniſhments* for Crimes, as he does when he ſays, that *if diverſe Perſons were not almoſt daily perſecuted at certain Places call'd* Old Bailies, *we ſhou'd neither ſleep, walk, nor ride in Safety*. And then applying this worthy Principle to the *Diſſenters*, he adds, that *if taking away the Benefit of Hypocriſy be Perſecution, hanging for picking a Pocket is undoubtedly Martyrdom*. But leaving him to pleaſe himſelf, for I'm perſwaded he'll convince no other, with ſuch ſtrange ſort of *Reaſoning*; we are all agreed, that as Men have different Capacities, Apprehenſions, and Opportunities, ſo they cannot poſſibly but have *different Notions* of Things. This is no truer of Men in *free* than in *arbitrary* Dominions. But a great Variety of Opinions is a certain Sign of a *Free Government*; and no wonder, ſince Men are there permitted to live as Men, making uſe of their Reaſoning Faculties, and ſpeaking what they think, as they think what they pleaſe.

Page 17.

Page 18.

It being granted then, that we cannot be of the ſame Mind in all Things, the only Queſtion is about *openly profeſſing* our Sentiments, and particularly about joining to this Profeſſion ſuch *external Ceremonies*, as every *Sect* or Perſon does judge the moſt agreeable to GOD, or convenient among Men. As for the mere Articles of any Man's *Creed*, they hurt no body beſides; for tho' a

Man

Man may ſpend his Time in vain, who thinks he profits very much by praying an Hour to a *Saint* or an *Idol*, how does ſuch his Belief injure any other? And if the *Rites* he uſes be as harmleſs to his Neighbour, tho' in themſelves abſurd or ridiculous, why ſhou'd any compel him if he will not be perſuaded to quit them? As a Man may kill his own *Calf*, or eat his own *Loaf* at home, (to uſe the Inſtance of a celebrated Author) ſo he may do in his *Cloſet* or in his *Temple*, without Loſs or Danger to any Man. But whenever ſuch Obſervances are with Juſtice prohibited, 'tis not as they are the *Ceremonies* of any Religion, but as they are deſtructive of *Society*; for which reaſon *human Sacrifices* deſerv'd to be aboliſh'd, but not as Honour was intended thereby to the Deity. Otherwiſe, no Man hurts another by his particular *Doctrines* or *Worſhip*. And therefore he ought not to be puniſh'd, becauſe not guilty of a *Fault*. The *Time* or *Place*, the *Habit* or *Poſture*, and other neceſſary *Circumſtances* of Worſhip, may be good and convenient after ſeveral Manners; but to all Men and in all *Seaſons* and *Countries* they cannot poſſibly be the ſame. But as all *Societies* agree on their particular *Rules*, what imports it me how they order their *Affairs*, if they leave me at *Liberty* to do in mine as I pleaſe? Yet ſuppoſe my holding another Opinion were to be *reſtrain'd* or *puniſh'd*, where ſhall we find a *Judge* in ſuch *Controverſies*, I do not ſay *infallible* which is a Jeſt, but who is of *neither Side*; as the Magiſtrate ought to be in point of Property? Or where will the Conſequences of this Practice ſtop? For ſuch as are *perſecuted* now, will reſent this Uſage when they are got uppermoſt, as it often happens in this changeable World: and the others cannot perſuade them that they ought not to do as themſelves did, becauſe they (forſooth) are *ſound* and *orthodox*, and theſe are *Schiſmaticks*, *Hereticks*, *Idolaters*, *or Unbelievers*; for every Man thinks himſelf in the Right, and will or may uſe the like Power when he's able. And therefore 'tis a Wonder how ſuch as are Advocates for any ſort of *Reſtraint* among us (for they are grown aſham'd of the Word *Perſecution)* ſhou'd pretend to blame the *Severities* under the *Roman* Emperors, or declaim againſt the *Mahometans* for propagating the *Alcoran* by the *Sword*; when the Chriſtians in *perſecuting* one another, and ſometimes forcing whole Countries to their Way (as *Charles the Great* did the *Saxons*, and the *Houſe of Auſtria* the *Bohemians)* have often out-done the moſt barbarous Nations, are a Shame to Humanity, and far more ſavage than Lyons, Bears, or Tygers.

Here ſome *Sect* or *Party* will ſay, we are not ſo cruel and bloody as thoſe you mention, but very *moderate* in our Reſtraints, laying only ſuch eaſy *Mulcts* and *Penalties* as may diſpoſe People to *conſider*, or perhaps bring them to *Church* to be in the Way of Inſtruction, and that they may *hearken* to the Truth. Now all this is Sophiſtry and Illuſion. There's no *Puniſhment* ſo ſmall but it juſtifies a greater. He that *fines* me a Shilling every Sunday I am abſent from the publick Worſhip, may *fine* me two, or ten, or twenty, if he thinks this will make me *comply*. He that likewiſe deprives me of my *Liberty* may deprive me of my *Life*; and he does as much in effect who brings me to *Poverty* or *Diſgrace*. Every one of theſe *Puniſhments* is a real *Perſecution*, which is but *a Man's ſuffering in any Manner for his Opinion*. And 'tis plain

that the leaſt of theſe *Perſecutions* does naturally, if not inevitably, lead to the greateſt; nor without good Reaſon, ſince if a ſmall *Degree* has any Effect, a greater muſt have more. They impoſe on themſelves and others therefore, who pretend that an *Incapacity* from Places of Honour, Truſt, or Profit, is no *Perſecution*, nor inconſiſtent with the *Toleration of Religions*. But of this hereafter. As for compelling Men to come into the Way of *Inſtruction*, this Treatment, inſtead of diſpoſing 'em to *hearken* and *examine*, does infallibly *prejudice* and *imbitter* them, taking themſelves to be mock'd by thoſe who profeſs a *Tenderneſs* for them, and nevertheleſs uſe 'em as barbarouſly as if they were not reaſonable Creatures: eſpecially when they reflect that the ſame *Kindneſs* is pretended by ſuch as revile, impriſon, or baniſh, who deliver their Bodies to the *Executioner* here, and their Souls to the *Devil* hereafter. And indeed the Teſtimonies or Arguments which *Perſecutors* alledge in Behalf of Religion, tho' poſſibly true in themſelves, yet loſe all their Weight with their Hearers, who remark that they do not truſt their Cauſe to the *Evidence* of ſuch Proofs; and therefore believe they commend it out of *Intereſt*, as they ſupport or propagate it by *Violence*, which may as well be done for the falſe as the true Religion.

Men, you'll ſay, ſhou'd not think thus, but 'tis certain they will think thus. And in all *Political* or *Legiſlative* Proceedings, we are not ſo much to mind what Men ought to be, as what they are. Then, as for laying 'em under *gentle Fines* to make 'em *conſider*, it looks as if we thought none did *conſider* but ourſelves; or if we allow any others to do ſo, why do we hold thoſe that do *conſider*, and thoſe that do not *conſider* alike culpable? If it be reply'd that they have not *conſider'd ſufficiently*, tho' they proteſt to have ſincerely us'd their utmoſt Application; the Meaning is plain, that we allow none to think *ſufficiently*, but ſuch who think as we do. Wherefore to ſay, that thoſe who do not *conform* are *weak* or *obſtinate*, is but to ſay, that they are *weak* or *obſtinate* who do not *conform*.

Now, from all this it follows as clear as the Sun, that the *Magiſtrate* taking care of the Civil Intereſts of the *Government*, is to leave Men to their own *Perſuaſion* in Matters of mere Religion; and that Admonitions and Advice, Perſuaſion, Arguments, and Examples, are the only efficacious *Spiritual* Arms, or juſt Means of converting the *Erroneous*. The Queſtion is not if Men's *Opinions* be true, or their *Ceremonies* the beſt, but if they be hurtful or not; and they are ſtill leſs to be forc'd when reckon'd *Indifferent*, becauſe they may not be ſo to another, or, if they be *indifferent* to him, 'tis like he will not have them impos'd on him as *neceſſary*. In theſe or the like Caſes 'twere better to let ſuch *Diſputes* inſenſibly drop on all Hands, than to create any *Diſturbances* about Matters of little Importance. So long as we are not hurt or injur'd, God is Judge of the Honour or Diſhonour done to him; and that Law of Antient *Heathen Rome* is to be wiſh'd were obſerv'd in Modern *Chriſtian Rome*: *Divos adeunto caſté*; *ſiquis ſecus fecerit, Deus ipſe vindex eſto*: *Let the Gods be purely worſhip'd*; *but if any is guilty of the contrary, let God himſelf be the Avenger*. But theſe *Pagans* thought God to be potent enough to vindicate prophane Addreſſes, or clement enough to forgive devout Ignorance;

but

but we *Chriſtians* muſt *come to the Help of the Lord againſt the Mighty*, and be readier to execute his Juſtice, than to exerciſe his Mercy.

But *Perſecution* is in itſelf ſo horrid and abominable, ſo prejudicial to *Truth*, and ſo deſtructive to *Society*, that nothing more demonſtrates the Pravity of humane Nature, than to find it ever had any Advocates or Abettors in the World. It obſtructs all Progreſs in *Knowledge* or Advancement of *Learning* and *Sciences*, which is as true of *Divinity* as of *Politicks* or *Philoſophy*. And on the other hand, it begets Ignorance, Prejudice, Narrowneſs of Soul, a ſlaviſh Diſpoſition, and a brutal Barbarity. Theſe Effects are as natural to *Proteſtant* as to *Popiſh Perſecution*. *Lubeck* in its empty Streets, ſmarts as much for denying Liberty to its Inhabitants, as *Colen*. And the contrary of all this is ſeen wherever Men enjoy a free and impartial *Toleration*; witneſs the Plenty, Riches, Power, and Populouſneſs of *Holland*. How amazing is it that Men ſhou'd proceed ſo far as to put their Fellows to Death by Murders, or Maſſacres, or under Forms of Law, not becauſe they are not Temperate, Charitable, Meek, Honeſt, Good or Pious, (which Vertues have been often reckon'd the Symptoms of their *Hereſy*) but for Notions, Faſhions, abſtruſe Speculations, Diſcipline, and Rites. Putting a Man to Death for a Religion by which you think *Salvation* is not to be had, is no better nor worſe than the Action of that *Italian*, who made his Enemy *blaſpheme* GOD, and then ſtabb'd him, that he might be *damn'd*. We may expreſs what Deteſtation we pleaſe againſt thoſe *Heathens* who are ſaid to have offer'd *human Victims*; but putting Men to Death for Religion, is abſolutely making them grateful *Sacrifices* to GOD for corrupting his *Inſtitution*, as Goats were offer'd to *Bacchus* for ſpoiling his *Vines*. The Papiſts *openly* aſſert, that *Death* ought to be inflicted on *Hereticks*, which with them are all thoſe that will not do as they are bid; and, under this execrable Pretence, they have deſtroy'd many Millions by ſeveral other Barbarities beſides their horrendous, moſt unmerciful, and unparallel'd Court of *Inquiſition*, never ſatiated with *Blood*, nor weary'd with *Tormenting*, indiſcriminately exerciſing their Cruelties on *Mahometans*, *Jews*, *Infidels*, and all *Chriſtians* that will not be abſolute Slaves to the *Pope* and his *Clergy*. *Calvin*, *Beza*, and *Rutherford*, are not the only Proteſtants who wrote *Books* to recommend *Compulſion* in Matters of Religion, and to juſtify in certain Caſes the putting of *Hereticks* and *Apoſtates* to Death. *Servetus* was burnt for *Arianiſm* at *Geneva*, and *Valentine Gentilis* for *Tritheiſm* at *Bern*. *Franciſcus Davidis*, for denying Adoration to *Chriſt*, was ſeverely perſecuted by the *Socinians* in *Poland*, who themſelves deny'd him to be GOD; and were they in Poſſeſſion of executive Power, I doubt not but *Davidis* had been prevented by the Fire or the Sword from flying for Mercy among the *Turks*. We burnt ſome *Anabaptiſts* here in *England* at the Beginning of the *Reformation*. *Bartholomew Legat* and ——— were put to Death for the ſame Opinion, and for defending thoſe of the *Arians* and *Socinians*, in the Reign of King *James* the Firſt, who was more eager than the very *Biſhops* to cry out Faggots and Flames: And I wiſh no other Inſtances of this Kind could be produc'd among *Proteſtants* any where before or ſince that Time.

But how is it poſſible to prevent this, if *Perſecution* be allow'd in any Degree; for we have prov'd that the leaſt does juſtify the greateſt. The *Clergy*, when poſſeſs'd of ſuch a Power, will not fail (as univerſal Experience ſhews) to preach ſuch Notions as make for their own *Credit* and *Advantage*, and none muſt contradict them under Pain of ſuffering for it one Way or another: but wiſe *Miniſters of State* will obſerve, that, conſidering the Paſſions and Frailties of human Nature, the moſt *Orthodox Divines* are inclin'd to ſuch Methods, no leſs than the moſt *Heterodox* and *Erroneous*. This is not the worſt. In all Ages and Countries, ſince the Eſtabliſhment of *Chriſtianity*, ambitious or diſcontented Perſons have endeavour'd to gain the Multitude to their Side, by *Zealots* and ſeditious *Preachers*, as making the deepeſt Impreſſion on the Minds of the People; who think they obey *God*, when they obey their *Miniſters*, but that they only obey *Men*, when they obey their *Magiſtrates*; and ſo, according to their ſeveral Intereſts or Inclinations, they apply the *Scripture* to their own Purpoſe, that *it is better to obey God than Men.* This is what ſome directly aim at among us now; but their Labour is ſpent in vain, ſince there are no *Diſcontents* for want of Liberty. And, upon the whole, as nothing can proceed from God but what tends to our *Happineſs*, 'tis impoſſible that *Perſecution* ſhould be acceptable to him, which diſturbs the Peace of the World, and deſtroys all Vertue, Familiarity, Friendſhip, and true Love among Men.

There remain two *Objections* againſt this Doctrine: that *Conventicles* are not to be ſuffer'd, as dangerous to the *State*; and that *Diverſity of Religions* is inconſiſtent with all good *Government*, as being the Occaſion of Tumults and Diſorders. In Anſwer to the firſt of theſe, we have already prov'd, that *Conventicles* are not to be fear'd on the Score of Opinions, the *Magiſtrate* having no Right to diſturb any *Church* as a *Conventicle* or unlawful, ſince what they are about is lawful and good, to wit, the Worſhip of God. As to the Danger from *private Meetings*, where Men might be hatching Treaſon under Pretext of preaching Religion, the Severity of their Enemies is to blame, if the Privacy of ſuch *Conventicles* be ſuſpected, and all Complaints againſt 'em will ceaſe wherever a free *Toleration* is eſtabliſh'd, as may be ſeen now in this Kingdom; where no ſuch *private Meetings* are held, the Doors of all *Religious Aſſemblies* being as open and free for any Man to enter, as thoſe of the *publick Church*. And 'tis moſt impertinent, I may ſay diſingenuous and inſolent, for *perſecuting Magiſtrates* to brand any *private Meetings* with the Name of *Conventicles*, as the firſt *Chriſtian* Aſſemblies were opprobriouſly call'd by the *Heathens*; or for *perſecuting Writers* to challenge an *Anſwer* to what they publiſh themſelves, and then to *puniſh* the Authors for defending their Belief, tho' at their own Requeſt and Deſire. This commonly keeps the Advocates of *Truth* ſilent, and makes their Adverſaries ridiculouſly *triumph*.

The ſecond Objection againſt a compleat *Toleration* brings us nearer to our Point: for if *Diverſity of Religions* in the State, or even *Diverſities in the ſame Religion* be inconſiſtent with good *Government*, it muſt be confeſs'd that all we have ſaid hitherto about *Toleration*, was to no Purpoſe, and that the *High-Churchmen* are the only Men of the Nation that are in the Right. But

is

is it not obvious and manifeſt, that not the *Difference* of Opinions, but *uſing Men ill* for this Difference, is the true Cauſe of the Hatred and Animoſity between various *Sects?* Of this the *Heathens* are an Example, who differ'd among themſelves as much as we do, and wrote as many *Books* againſt one another, which is praiſe-worthy and lawful for each to inform, inſtruct, or perſuade his Neighbour; but none of them ſuffering for their *Diſſent*, and being all employ'd in the *State* without Preference or Diſtinction, there were no Diſorders among 'em on a religious Account. This is not more peculiar to the Genius of *Heathens*, than to any other Communities of Men under the like Circumſtances, as it appears in *Holland*, in many Parts of *Germany*, and ſome other Places of the World, where they have many Religions, and yet they occaſion no Diſorders. We ourſelves the nearer we approach this State, the more we enjoy the Benefits of it, and the more we are likewiſe convinc'd that *Diverſity of Religions* is ſo far from being dangerous, that it ought rather to be counted beneficial, as it creates a noble Emulation in Manners, Learning, Induſtry, and Loyalty. The *Diſſenters* are as faithful to the *Queen*, and as zealous for the *Government*, againſt all Foreign or Domeſtick Enemies, as the *Church eſtabliſh'd by Law*; their Purſes are as open to ſupport both, and their Hands (if they were permitted) are as ready to defend them as any whatſoever. Our People of all Sorts drive their Traffick and Commerce, ſet up their Stocks and Companies, and keep their Feaſts and Clubs *promiſcuouſly*, without Exception to one another's Opinions. And who ſees not that the Heats which yet remain among us, are by no Means owing to the *Church of England*, or the different Perſuaſions from it; but to that Party, who, under Pretence of being this *Church*, endeavour to take away our *Liberty of Conſcience*, or, which is as bad, to hinder the *Government* from making it more durable and compleat; I appeal to all the Subjects of *England* if this be not ſo in fact; or, if any is yet in doubt of what can be a Secret to nobody, let him read the *Memorial*, and ſee who are the Complainers, the *Diſſenting* Religions, or certain Members of the *Eſtabliſh'd Church*. 'Tis a Notion therefore falſe as common, that *it's neceſſary for a Government to have but one Religion.* Nor do I ſee any Reaſon why we ſhou'd even wiſh for ſuch a Thing, as many good *Tolerants* do; for to worſhip God purely and ſincerely, it is not neceſſary that it be done by every body in the ſame Manner; beſides that it's fooliſh to wiſh what is impoſſible to be obtain'd, ſince Men will inevitably be of *different Opinions*, and that in free Governments they may ſafely profeſs their *Diſſent*.

If the *Memorialiſt* has any Project in reſerve (for he's as ſingular a Projector as Sir *Humphry*, the other *Don Quixote* of the *Church*) to make all Men in all Things of one Mind, let him publiſh ſo advantageous a Diſcovery to the World: But as for the *Expedient* he wiſhes from Dr. *Davenant*'s Politicks, *by which the Queen might have the Hearts of all her Subjects*, I, that am no Projector nor Politician, will for once help him to that, and not value myſelf on the Secret neither, as being the moſt audible Voice of God and Nature: And it is, that her *Majeſty* may go on to adminiſter Juſtice equally, and to employ all her good Subjects indifferently. Let the *Reward* of ſome Opinions, with the *Puniſhment* of others, be taken away; and there

Page 16.

there will be no longer any *Quarrel* about them, tho' Men may *differ* ſtill as they did before. Let the *Clergy* of the *National Church* be oblig'd to preach *Liberty of Conſcience*, as being the conſtant Tenour of the *Goſpel*, the *Diſſenters* (we may be ſure) will not petition the *Government* to be perſecuted; and then all will be for *Peace*, as all will be for *Liberty*. May not our *National Church* continue in her Splendor, tho' the *Diſſenters* continue in their Obſcurity; as a great *Lord* lives never the worſe, that he has ſome mean neighbouring *Cottages?* They deſire, according to the Precept of our *Saviour*, and the firſt Rule of *Morality*, that we would but do by them, as in the like Caſe we would be done unto ourſelves. And, conſidering among the *Papiſts*, that *Heretick Aſſemblies* are hunted to Deſtruction, while *Gangs* for Debauch and Riot are left undiſturb'd, it was a juſt Requeſt, tho' odly worded, which the *Proteſtants* made to them ſomewhere, That they might have as much Liberty to ſerve *God*, as the *Church*'s *Friends* had to ſerve the *Devil*, and they wou'd deſire no more.

Now do we expect to hear the hideous Roar of ſuch as with open Throats, and not without a Volley of Curſes, will aſk a thouſand Queſtions in a Breath, but all ending in this; Whether we would have the *Sacramental Teſt* taken away, and the *Diſſenters* let into Civil Employments as well as the *Churchmen?* which they are peremptorily reſolv'd never to ſuffer, nor to allow 'em as much as a *Comprehenſion*. We anſwer as plainly as we are poſitively aſk'd the Queſtion, That *we are for repealing the Sacramental Teſt*; becauſe this is the moſt infallible Method of preſerving the *National Church*, and of perpetuating the Tranquility, as well as augmenting the Wealth, Power, and Plenty of the *Nation*. But before we give our Reaſons for this, we'll ſpeak one Word concerning the long projected Deſign of a *Comprehenſion*, which we hold to be abſolutely impracticable, from what has been already ſaid of the *different Opinions* which will be neceſſarily profeſs'd, where Men may freely declare their Minds. There can never, therefore, be any *Comprehenſion* of all the *Sects* at once with the *Church*: And if the *Deputies* of any one of them will come to an amicable Conference with her (as they may eaſily do, provided ſhe pleaſes to admit of it) and that they ſhou'd happen, which is not likely, to agree, theſe can only promiſe for themſelves; or if the whole *Party* ſhou'd come over, 'tis but as every individual Perſon of 'em is perſuaded from the Arguments offer'd by the *Church*, or his own *Miniſters*. All this is commendable, as are all other Ways by *Reaſonable* or *Chriſtian* Overtures. But for a *Comprehenſion* between the Church and any *Party* (as the *Preſbyterians* for Example) on condition that all others be deny'd their *Liberty* who will not come into it, what elſe is this, but that the *Oppreſſion* us'd by one *Party*, will be infinitely more grievous by the *Combination* of two? Yet this Deſign was once upon the Anvil, but quickly abandon'd by the worthy Undertakers, when once they were made to perceive the Conſequences. The *Memorialiſt* therefore needs not dread a *Comprehenſion* of all the *Diſſenters* with the *Church*, and might have diſpens'd with the great Pains he has taken, both in reflecting on the *Biſhops* and *Miniſters of State* for favouring ſuch a *Project*, and in examining the ſeveral *Methods*, whereby it might be effected, where he is abſurdly miſtaken in every Particular.

Page 37, 38, &c.

cular. But the *Comprehenſion* being according to himſelf, chimerical, we ſhall not diſpute with him about the Means. How ill did ſuch pious but weak *Endeavours* ſucceed with *Caſſander*, *Duræus*, *Calixtus*, *Grotius*, and all others whoſe charitable and moderate Diſpoſitions engag'd them to write about the *Reunion of Religions*, as of all *Chriſtian Churches* in general, or of the *Lutherans* and the *Papiſts*, or the *Calviniſts* and the *Lutherans*, or the *Epiſcopals* and *Preſbyterians*, and the like numberleſs Diviſions! The *End* they propos'd was undoubtedly good, being the ceaſing of *Perſecution*, and the eſtabliſhing of *Brotherly Love*. But this is only poſſible by granting *Liberty of Conſcience* and *Community of Employments*, but by any manner of *Comprehenſion* or *Reunion* is impracticable; which ought to be well conſider'd by all *Princes* and *Miniſters of State*, who deſire the Peace of the *Church* or *Country*, but who abhor any Methods of *Force* or *Perſecution*, and therefore in Affairs of this Nature their *Prieſts* muſt never be their *Counſellors*. Page 36.

We ſhall now examine which is the likelieſt Way of preſerving the Dignity and Safety of the *National Church*: Whether by *excluding* all others but the Members of it from *Civil Truſts*; or by letting all others *ſhare* with them, who love and own the *Government* as much as themſelves. That is the *National Church* (true or falſe) whoſe *Prieſts* and *Places of Worſhip* are maintain'd at the common Charge of the *Nation*, which may be done in ſeveral manners, as by Tythes and Offerings among the *Jews*, by Land and Tythes here in *England*, or by Money quarterly iſſu'd out of the Treaſury, as in *Holland*. Thoſe of the *Heathen Greeks* and *Romans*, tho' falſe in their Opinions, were admirably accommodated to the *Government*, yet not more than genuine *Chriſtianity*; but they were ſo different in their *Conſtitution* from ours, that we ſhall ſay no more of 'em, as foreign to our Purpoſe. The *Tolerated Churches* are they which maintain their *Prieſts* and *Places of Worſhip* (or their *Places of Worſhip* only as the *Quakers*) by the voluntary *Contributions* of all the Members that are not diſabled by Poverty. We have already prov'd, and the *Church of England* does acknowledge, that ſuch *Tolerated Churches* and *Diverſities of Religion* are conſiſtent with the Safety of the *Government*, or ſhe had never conſented to grant them a *Legal Toleration*: Though the *Memorialiſt* knows ſo little the Senſe of that *Church*, in whoſe Name he preſumes to write, that he repreſents all the *Diſſenters* as Enemies to *Monarchy*, in ſeveral Places of his *Libel*. The only Queſtion therefore is this, Whether, although they are *good Subjects*, it be for the Safety of the *National Church*, to have them admitted into a Share of the *Civil Government?* Where I would have it noted, that I fling out of the Queſtion all who neither will nor can be *good Subjects*, as they who admit of any Power ſuperior or more binding than that of the *State*, ſuch as the Members of the *Roman Church*: Or if any were found who think that *Dominion is founded in Grace*, as if none had a Right to govern, or indeed to poſſeſs any thing, but the *Elect* of God; and then nothing but *Confuſion* could follow, ſince all Sorts wou'd believe or pretend themſelves to be the only *Saints*. But we are certain, that among all the *Diſſenting Sects* there is not one that holds this *Tenet*, whatever ſome *Enthuſiaſts* might have formerly vented in *England*, or elſewhere; Page 3, 21, &c.

Page 39, 40. where; which makes it highly unfair in the *Memorialiſt* to inſinuate, as if at leaſt the *Preſbyterians* of *Scotland* were ſtill of this Opinion.

Now, ſo far is the Safety of our *Church* from conſiſting in the *Excluſion* of *Diſſenters*, that this is the ſole inteſtine Danger ſhe has to fear. Neither the *Independents*, *Anabaptiſts*, or *Quakers* (as we have ſhewn) would be the *National Church*, if permitted; nor can the *Preſbyterians* ever be ſo, but by the Help of others. And what Help can they ſo probably expect as of thoſe, who though good and faithful Subjects, yet are not only infamouſly *branded* for their Opinions, but depriv'd of the *common Benefits* of Nature, and from ſharing what is due to their *Abilities*, or ought to be the Reward of their *Services?* The *Memorialiſt*, by his Leave, is much miſtaken, when he ſays, that *it is no Man's Birthright to enjoy Civil Truſts, but the Reſult of the Confidence the Government has in his Merit or Fidelity.* If the *Aſſertion* were meant of this or that particular Man, nobody wou'd queſtion their Preferment's being a Matter of *Grace* and not of *Right*; ſince there are many others as capable as that one, and that the *Government* among all may chuſe the beſt: But intended (as by him) of a whole *Sect*, which by the ſame Principle may as well be done of a whole *Country*, 'tis egregiouſly falſe. The *Government* has no Right (however it may have Power) to *exclude* from a Poſſibility of obtaining ſuch *Truſts*, thoſe who from Nature, Birth, or Endowments, have an equal Title with all of the ſame *Nation*, unleſs they had juſtly *forfeited* their Claim, of which forfeit *Speculative Opinions* in Religion can be no adequate Cauſe; neither will any wiſe *Government* deprive themſelves of the Heads, Hands, and Hearts of ſo many Thouſands, as if they were *Captives* taken in War, to be diſpos'd of at the Will and Pleaſure of their *Maſters.* The *Preſbyterian Miniſters*, or any other Set of *Miniſters*, might preach *Sedition* long enough to little Purpoſe, if their Deſign was only to induce the People to make them the *National Miniſters*; but when the Cauſe is the *People's* own, as to remove any Yoke laid upon them by the *National Church*, they are diſpos'd enough all over the World to hear their *Miniſters*, or any others that exhort them to ſhake off a *Power* by which they think themſelves *oppreſs'd.*

Page 18.

What is to be done then? In the firſt Place let the *National Church* continue in her *Legal Eccleſiaſtical Prehéminence* to Perpetuity; let her *Clergy* enjoy all their preſent Dignities, Immunities and Poſſeſſions; and, to confirm theſe beneficial Privileges, let *New Laws* be added to the *Old*, if any be wanting. Secondly, let the *Tolerated Churches* likewiſe enjoy their *Legal Religious Liberty* for ever; let them be treated, as well as reputed, like *good Subjects*; and admitted without any *partial Diſtinction* to all Offices in the *State.* And, Thirdly, let it be the *Irrevocable Law* of this Land, that whatever *Sect* is not contented with this *Civil* and *Religious Liberty*, but ſhall endeavour at any time to make themſelves the *National Church*, be to all Intents and Purpoſes reduc'd to the Condition of *Helots* or Slaves. But there will be no Fear of this *Direful Misfortune* befalling any; for thoſe of the *National Church* finding themſelves in all Reſpects ſecure and unmoleſted, will never ſeek to oppreſs the

the *Diſſenters*. The *Diſſenters* being permitted to worſhip GOD as they think moſt proper, and equally ſharing with others in the *State*, will never go about to diſturb the *National Church*, merely to be eaſed of what they contribute to their *Miniſters*. And the *Miniſters*, being as largely provided for in this Manner as if they had the *inferior Benefices* of the *Church* (for the *greater Dignities* agree not with their *Parity*) would contentedly remain as they are, ſince they could get nothing, and would run a Hazard to loſe all, by the *Change*. Thus the Temptations and Cauſes of *State-Hypocriſy* would be effectually taken away. But I muſt not forget to mention, that as the *Doctrine* I here deliver is not only grounded on what Men ought to be, but alſo on what conduces to their *Intereſt*; ſo it is actually obſerv'd, and with ſuitable Succeſs, in other Places of the World. Yet as in all I have hitherto written of *Toleration* I am perſuaded I ſpeak the Senſe of my *Superiors*; ſo, in propoſing *to abrogate the Sacramental Teſt*, I only deliver my own *private Opinion*, which I ſubmit to the Judgment of others. How the *High-Church* Faction obtain'd the *Corporation Act*, and for what Ends it was granted by the *Court*, is too well known to need a particular Hiſtory here: But as it is no Diſparagement, but a glorious Teſtimony to the Wiſdom of the *Government*, and the Charity of the *Church*, to diſpenſe with Part of the *Act of Uniformity*, and to reſtore *Liberty of Conſcience*, which was taken away by the ſame Men; ſo it will highly redound to the Safety of the *Church*, to the Strength of the *Government*, and to the Eternal *Honour* of both, by repealing that other *Statute*, to compleat and perfect our *Civil Liberty*.

But the *Conſpirators* are ſo far from ſuch *peaceable* and *prudent* Diſpoſitions, and are ſo averſe to bringing the *Diſſenters* into the *Church*, that they cannot bear even their expreſſing any *Approbation* of our Way, or their *conforming occaſionally* to our Worſhip, either to ſhew their charitable and good Opinion of us, or their laudable Inclinations to a *Union*: But they declaim againſt this Practice as *hypocritical*, and *equivocal*, a novel *Trick* to elude the Force of the Law that *incapacitates* them for Civil Truſts. This Charge is contrary to Charity, Fact, and Prudence. GOD alone can judge of the *Diſſenters* Sincerity or Diſſimulation in this Caſe; but they certainly make *Hypocrites* of others, who force them to come to *Church*, or to profeſs what they don't believe; and are *Hypocrites* themſelves, who ſay they do this for GOD's Sake or Religion's. The *Diſſenters*, from the Beginning of our Diviſions, own'd the *Church of England* to be a true and moſt *Proteſtant Church*, tho' not ſo pure as ſome other *Reform'd Churches*; yet not ſo corrupt, but that they could communicate with her Members as *Brethren*, which they could not do with a *Church* ſo deprav'd and idolatrous as the *Popiſh*. Thus they profeſs *Communion* with the *Lutheran Churches*, and even with the *Greek*; it being an ordinary Thing for the *Preſbyterians*, *Independents* and *Anabaptiſts*, to communicate with one another. In Effect, they did generally *communicate* in our *Churches* (except the *Browniſts*) before the *Civil Wars*, and would continue to do ſo after the *Reſtoration*, if by *Oaths* and *Subſcriptions* (with which it was impoſſible for moſt of 'em to comply) they had not been caſt out of the *Church*; and afterwards in a Manner out of the *State*. Yet ſeveral of their moſt eminent

Miniſters (of which I ſhall name for an Example but the deceas'd Mr. *Baxter* and Dr. *Bates*, with Mr. *Humphreys* ſtill alive) and a great many of their *Laity* have practis'd this *Occaſional Communion* long before the *Revolution*, and in Times when *Entire Conformity* could not get the *Whigs* of any Sort into Places of Truſt, whereof they had then no Proſpect or Expectation. But the Ignorance or Malice of thoſe who charge the *Diſſenters* with inventing this as a *Trick* to evade the Laws, is at once laid open and forever baffled by a Proof I am going to produce beyond all Exception: For the *Independents*, who in the Year 1658 were no *Diſſenters*, but rather had the Diſpoſal of moſt *Preferments*, and who nevertheleſs, ſince they are become *Diſſenters*, get into Preferment the ſeldomeſt of any, did allow and ratify *Occaſional Conformity* in *the Declaration of their Faith and Order* agreed unto by their *Elders* and *Meſſengers* in their Aſſembly at the *Savoy* the ſame Year. After declaring, in the Twenty-ninth Article or Paragraph of their *Diſcipline*, that *Perſons ſound in the Faith, and of Converſation becoming the Goſpel, tho' of different reforming Churches, ought not to refuſe the Communion of each other, ſo far forth as may conſiſt with their own Principles reſpectively, tho' they walk not in all Things according to the ſame Rules of Church Order:* The next Article, which is the laſt in the Book, runs in theſe Words; *Churches gather'd and walking according to the Mind of Chriſt, judging other Churches, tho' leſs pure, to be true Churches, may receive unto* **Occaſional Communion** *with them ſuch Members of thoſe Churches, as are credibly teſtify'd to be godly, and to live without Offence.* The Text is ſo plain for the Name and Thing, that it needs no Comment, and ſo I leave it to the *High-Churchmen*'s Conſideration.

The *Readers* may be aſſur'd that what we have hitherto ſaid, is not out of any particular Favour or Affection to the *Diſſenters*, whom we have not forborn to blame and condemn, when we found they deſerv'd it; but out of a due Concern for the *National Church*, which we thought ourſelves bound in Duty to vindicate from the Aſperſions of the *Conſpirators*, and the Prejudices of the *Diſſenters*. All who wiſh well to our *Churches* Peace, are exceedingly pleas'd with the Practice of *Occaſional Conformity*, which has already brought over great Numbers to her *conſtant Communion*, among whom are many conſiderable *Families*; and the reſt, tho' they ſtill keep to their own *Meetings*, have yet a better Opinion of us than ſuch as never come into our *Churches*. For ſuch as leaſt frequent either Way of *Worſhip*, or that never ſaw but their own, are obſerv'd to be the moſt poſitive in their *Cenſures*, the baſeſt in their f*Repreſentations*, and the boldeſt in their *Calumnies*; becauſe *Ignorance* is always urious and inconſiderate, as not being moderated by the Dictates of *Reaſon*, nor enlighten'd by the Rays of *Knowledge*. Our Governors both *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, perceive theſe Approaches with Joy, and forward 'em by their Encouragement, as the Care of the *Church* and *State* requires at their Hands. But they who deſign the Subverſion of the *Government*, and conſequently of the *Church*, by ſetting over both a *Popiſh Head*, are enrag'd to ſee all their *Meaſures* ſo wiſely diſconcerted, and their *Projects* of dividing us ſo happily diſappointed. For this, without Fear or Caution (as Men plainly in *Deſpair*) they damn the *Diſſenters*, rail at the *Whigs*, unchurch the *Biſhops*, degrade the *Lords*,

Lords, threaten the *Miniſters*, vilify King *William*'s Memory, inſult and traduce *Queen ANNE*. Inſtances of all theſe, and much worſe Things (if worſe can be) are to be read in their late *Memorial*, whereof we have mention'd ſome, and many more will follow.

Of the MINISTRY.

IT appear by the conſtant Series of our *Hiſtory*, as well as by the Deduction now made of our *Controverſies*, that the greateſt Grievance and Unhappineſs of this Nation, was to have ſome of its *Princes*, who miſcarrying in their Aims at a larger Power than the *Conſtitution* allow'd, were forc'd to make Uſe of certain corrupt *Inſtruments*, that for their own Luſt, or Gain, or Grandeur, would make no Scruple of betraying their *Native Country*; and theſe again, having no real or true *Intereſt* among the People, were oblig'd to make Uſe of *Parties*, either reſolutely to carry their *Point*, or to *extricate* the King and themſelves out of the Difficulties their *Miſmanagement* had occaſion'd. This Method of *Government* did of Courſe produce a moſt unſtable and contemptible *Adminiſtration*, hated at home, and without Weight or Credit abroad. Frequent *changing of Hands* was one of its Principal, but unavoidable Effects; and how this encreas'd our *Diviſions*, exaſperated the *Parties* againſt each other, and made *Oppoſition to the Court* the ſureſt Way to *Preferment*, with the pernicious *Influence* of ſuch weak Counſels on all our publick and private *Affairs*, cannot be unknown to any Man of Obſervation, and therefore is a Subject, that wants not here to be illuſtrated.

But it being now our unſpeakable Felicity, to have a *Queen* on the Throne, who has no *Intereſt* of her own ſeparate from the *Good* of the Kingdom, and conſequently no need of *Governing by Tricks or Expedients*, ſhe has graciouſly choſen a *Miniſtry*, not only moſt capable of diſcharging their ſeveral *Offices*, but inſtructed and inclin'd to treat all good Subjects without any *Diſtinction* or *Partiality*, having no Deſigns to carry on by one *Party* againſt the reſt, her *Majeſty* being the common Mother, Ruler, and Protectreſs of *all her People*. Theſe *Miniſters*, as they are each of them ſincere Members of the *National Church*, which they deſervedly prefer to any other, and for whoſe *Welfare* they'll always be no leſs vigilant, than zealous in it's *Support*, as a part of the *Government* committed to their Care by her *Majeſty*; ſo they can *tolerate* others according to their private Judgments and the Laws of the Land, without being *lukewarm or indifferent* in their own Faith, which is the common Accuſation of *Bigots*, againſt thoſe who are for *Peace and Liberty of Conſcience*. In the *Diſtribution of Employments* they chiefly conſider the *Fitneſs* of the Perſon, yet confer no Truſt on any that is not *qualified by Law*, whatever Opinion they may have of his Fidelity or Merit: but, for the Reaſons we have alledg'd above, they do not reckon *Occaſional Conformity* to be *Hypocriſy*, nor is it dangerous (as was ſhewn) but ſerviceable both to *Church* and *State*. They are ſo thoroughly engag'd for *Liberty* (which is the nobleſt as well as the moſt honeſt and certain Way of recommending themſelves to the Love of a *Free Nation*) that they are againſt all new *Impoſitions* in matters of

Religion; and ſo far from keeping up or perpetuating our *Differences*, that they do not unreaſonably impute to any of the preſent the *Rebellions* of the paſt Age; moſt Men now alive being then unborn, others oppoſing what was done, many of the Guilty having ſince repented, and all diſapproving thoſe Actions, which are much fitter to be forgot, than reviv'd on every trifling Occaſion; for no *Party* could be innocent, were they accountable for the Opinions or Practices of their *Predeceſſors*. As the *Church of England* has their Heart, ſo the *Diſſenters* have their Protection, they finding them to be peaceable and loyal Subjects, numerous, wealthy, and induſtrious, Improvers of Land, and Managers of Trade like other People, increaſing the publick Revenues in Proportion with their Neighbours, and paying their Taxes as willingly. But as *vaſt Numbers of People* are the trueſt Riches of a Country, not only by their manifold Poſſeſſions, but alſo by their Strength or Wiſdom, and, in a Word, by the *united Service* of all their Corporeal and Intellectual Faculties; ſo neither the preſent *Miniſters*, nor any future Set that will be deſirous to reſemble them, will adviſe or contrive to rob the *Queen* of ſuch powerful Aſſiſtance, or by any Degree of *Perſecution* to diminiſh the Wealth and Glory of the Nation; either to gratify the *humorous Ambition* of a few, or for Differences about certain Points not eſſential to *Chriſtianity* or good *Morals*, and which on all Sides are conſiſtent with the Civil *Government*.

Such a *Prince* and ſuch a *Miniſtry* have long been the Objects of the *People*'s Wiſhes, and for the happy Enjoyment of both, their *Expreſſions* are as grateful as their *Satisfaction* is compleat. They are ſo univerſally pleas'd with the ſteady and equal *Meaſures* at Home, with the great and glorious *Actions* Abroad, with the unparallell'd *Oeconomy* and faithful *Application* of the Publick Treaſure, that neither the malicious Aſperſions of the deſpairing *Conſpirators*, nor the ſubtil Devices of any Sort of *Abdicated Miniſters*, can gain the leaſt Credit with either Moderate *Churchmen* or *Diſſenters*, who are all aware both of thoſe who *envy* the Nation's proſperous State, and of thoſe who are *enrag'd* they are out of the *Miniſtry*, or that they cannot poſſibly get into it.

Diſcontented *Stateſmen*, and *Traitcrs* to the Government are thus ſtrictly combin'd againſt the preſent *Adminiſtration*. But next the Queen's *Majeſty*, the Lord *Treaſurer* is the principal Object of their Spite: Firſt becauſe he purſues theſe excellent *Maxims*, and then becauſe he's not ſo weak as to be *frighted* or *bully'd* out of them; for the Enemies of all *wiſe Men* do hate 'em the more on this very Account, that they ſtill continue to be *wiſe*, and will not fall into thoſe *Snares*, which they have laid for their *Diſgrace* or *Deſtruction*. Nevertheleſs their Venom is ſhed without poyſoning the Judgment of the meaneſt Peaſant, ſince 'tis not unknown to any body, that all his *Fault* is for being faithful to the *Queen*, impartial to the *Subjects*, and firm for the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, while the moſt virulent of his Enemies can make no Exception to his *Ability* in the Poſt he poſſeſſes, or to his *Integrity* in the Diſcharge of it; and truly 'tis an odd Way of attacking a *Publick Miniſter*, by owning that he's the moſt deſerving in the Nation of his *Publick Truſt*, and yet to be unmeaſurably angry with him, without ever ſhewing that in his

Office

Office he has been guilty of the leaſt *Miſcarriage.* This ſerves but to render his *Worth* more generally known, and to make him the more belov'd and valu'd by the *People*, whoſe Favour no *wiſe Man* ever neglected; for an Inclination to *Popularity* from meritorious Services, is not the *Weakneſs* expos'd by Hiſtorians, but the *vain Pretences* to it, on very ſlight or no Foundations. His incomparable *Management* needs no Foils to ſet it in a better Light, and therefore I forbear to reflect, as much as I juſtly might, on any other *Treaſurer* who kept not his Accounts ſo fair and *entire*, or whoſe Zeal for the *Church* is hard to be prov'd from being employ'd in *King* James's *High Commiſſion.* How infatuated is the *Faction* grown, to pretend my Lord *Godolphin* is no good *Churchman* by reaſon of his moderate Carriage; at the ſame Time that they complain they are wrongfully accus'd themſelves of being againſt the *Toleration?* Whereas no *Family* in the Kingdom has been more devoted to *Epiſcopacy* than his, and that he himſelf is acknowledg'd to have done moſt ſignal Services to the *Church.* But they ſay (without offering to prove it) that he has deſerted his *Principles* and *Party*; and, ſup- Page 7. poſing it Matter of Fact, that through the Contagion of King *Charles*'s Court (in which he was early bred) he were tainted with *Principles* that had engag'd him to any *Faction*, contrary to that *Moderation* and *Latitude* he now appears to have; the quitting of ſuch a *Party* and *Principles*, will but confirm the Reputation he has obtain'd in the World of being a *wiſe Man*, and add Luſtre to his *Name* in Hiſtory. We muſt not forget that the pretended *Churchmen* (as it's commonly known) do take it for granted, that his Lordſhip is extreamly *timorous*, from their miſtaken Notion of the *Caution* which is inſpir'd by that *Wiſdom* they are forc'd to allow him; and the main End of publiſhing their *Memorial*, was, on that Suppoſition, to terrify him into their *Meaſures*, or out of his own. But they ought to conſider, not only that the moſt *cautious* are the moſt *conſtant*; but that as the *Conſpirators* have great Fury, ſo they have little Force. However, they are in the mean while moſt prodigal of their *Menaces*, eſpecially againſt one, *who*, the *Memorialiſt* ſays, *has got the Reputation of a cunning Man*; *Ibid.* to whom they allude in another Place, when they complain of ſome Men's Coldneſs to what they call the *Church*, *which*, they threaten, *for all their cunning*, *may at ſome Time or other undergo a ſevere Examination:* Page 12. And, at laſt, when they would have us expect no leſs than an open *Inſurrection* from their *Party* (tho' few in their own Account) or at leaſt, that they'll lay violent Hands on the *Miniſters*, they tell us *the Treaſurer is wiſe* (they mean timorous) *let him therefore look to it*, *and maturely weigh who are to be provok'd at this Juncture.* Page 16. Now after all, if the *Treaſurer* proves ſtout as well as wiſe (which we have no Reaſon to doubt if his Political be as good as his Perſonal Courage) what a Diſappointment will it be to our profound Politicians; and to what a fruitleſs Purpoſe, was the *Memorial* contriv'd, the laborious Reſult of ſo much Oil and Thought. Beſides that, if the old Saying be true, *forewarn'd*, *forearm'd*, his Lordſhip underſtands what *Quarter* he's to expect, and ſo will probably *ſecure* himſelf where he is. If they think him

wiſe

Page 31. 32. *wiſe* (and if they don't, I gueſs who are *fooliſh*) why do they trouble him with *Advice*, whereof no *wiſe Man* was ever ignorant; as if all Perſons in elevated Poſts did not know, that their *Flatterers* were mix'd with their *Friends* at their *Levees*; the Men of *Expectations* with the Men of *Buſineſs*; and while he diſtinguiſhes the one from the other, he needs not grudge the worſt of them Room in his *Anti-Chamber:* For his Reliance is not on ſuch *tranſitory Crowds* attending his Office, which are common to him with all *Miniſters*; but in the Knowledge of his own *Integrity*, in the *Confidence* of his Queen, and in the *Gratitude* of his Country.

His Grace the Duke of *Marlborough*, at the Time that he expoſes his Perſon abroad in Defence of the *Church* againſt her profeſs'd Enemies, though he was one of the firſt, who, to reſcue the ſame *Church* from *Popery* at home, join'd with the pious Arms of the Prince of *Orange* (for which he'll never by

Page 8. ſome Men be forgiven) yet he too is repreſented in the *Memorial* as having *warpt* from the *Church*, tho' we are ſtill left to conjecture what *Sect* he has embrac'd, except that we are certain he's not a *Quaker*; witneſs the immortal *Trophies* gain'd by his victorious Sword at *Schellemberg*, *Hochſtet*, and by his forcing of the Lines in *Flanders*. But this, even this, is his Crime; he thus irrecoverably defeats all the *French Schemes* of the Mock Court at *St. Germains*, and fruſtrates the Expectations of their *Popiſh* and *High-Church* Friends on this Side of the Water. He approves and aſſiſts the *moderate Councils* of his Royal Miſtreſs, without which he could not be ſo truly

Ibid. faithful in her *Service* as his Duty and Gratitude oblige him. For the ſame Reaſon the Dutcheſs of *Marlborough* is alſo made to paſs for an undutiful Daughter to the *Church*, becauſe ſhe will be neither *tempted*, nor *threaten'd*, nor *libell'd*, to abuſe the Truſt repos'd in her Fidelity by her *Majeſty*, whoſe Honour, Safety, and Tranquility, ſhe's bound above all Things

Page 28. to ſtudy and deſire. The Reflection of the *He* and *She Miniſters* is ridiculous and childiſh, as well as ſpiteful and little; as if all *Queens* did not conſult the *Ladies* who are firſt in their Court, or their Eſteem, whoſe *Advices* won't be conſider'd by the People as *He or She Advices*, but as they are noxious or ſalutary to the Kingdom: And we are not unfurniſh'd with Examples in our own *Annals*, where ſome of our wiſeſt *Princes* did not diſdain to receive good Counſel from the *Female Sex*. But theſe nice *Church-Men* would find no Fault with her *Grace*, did ſhe but in Conjunction with them, betray the Kingdom to *France* and *Popery*, no more than they did with thoſe famous Miſtreſſes, who reign'd over their own King *Charles* the Second.

The Right Honourable Mr. *Secretary Harley* is not once nam'd or characteriz'd in the *Memorial*, which was not done by our *High-Flying Politicians* out of Deſign to render him ſuſpected; for he's ſo much an *Engliſhman*, that, temerarious and unthinking as they are, they could not hope to make him paſs, even with the moſt *credulous* of their own implicit Herd, for a Friend to their Cauſe. But all Mention of him was omitted, either out of *Hope*, or *Fear*; being too conſiderable to be neglected or forgot. If they *fear'd* to ir-

ritate

ritate him, and to rouſe ſo formidable an Adverſary, their *Caution* is certainly to be commended: For none in the Three Kingdoms better underſtands the Extent of the People's *Liberty*, the Bounds of the Prince's *Prerogative*, the Privileges of *Parliaments*, or the Force and Tenour of our *Laws*; all which Qualifications, with his conſummate *Literature*, render him indeed the moſt capable of any to encounter thoſe, who would confound all our Rights, and bring us under a ſlaviſh and barbarous *Subjection*. But if they had any ſuch Fore-ſight, as to *hope* he would become a Mediator on their Behalf, in caſe they found no Poſſibility of *ſucceeding* in their Deſign, they are again no leſs to be commended; for in every *Party* he always hated *Extremes*, which are apt to carry the beſt too far; and he has often generouſly endeavour'd to bring thoſe of *all Sides* to a right Underſtanding and Love of the true *old Engliſh Government:* wherefore even thoſe miſled or pretended *Church-men*, may ſecurely depend on his good Offices, whenever they are ſo penitent as to deſerve, or ſo wiſe as to ſue for them.

So far is the *Government* from being unforgiving or implacable at the infinite Affronts offer'd by theſe Men (whoſe *Welfare* no leſs than that of other Subjects they would gladly procure) that whenever they return to themſelves and their Duty, they may expect the ſame *Mediation* from all her Majeſty's *Miniſters*, who ('tis moſt apparent) were not advanc'd to the high *Poſts* they enjoy, either for being all *Tories*, or for being all *Whigs*, and therefore much leſs for being the keeneſt of either *Party* to execute the Vengeance of the *Court*, or to gratify their own private *Piques* againſt the other; but for being Men of clear *Eſtates* and undoubted *Intereſt* in their *Country*, of fair and unſpotted *Reputations* with all Men, declar'd Advocates for *Peace* and *Toleration* about diſputable Opinions, and, notwithſtanding any Difference about ſmaller Matters, having an *extenſive Charity* for all Denominations of *Engliſhmen* that will unanimouſly agree to ſupport her *Majeſty*'s Title and the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*. Although this Character does very particularly belong to his Grace the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, whoſe being more intimately receiv'd into her Majeſty's *Councils*, was univerſally eſteem'd the Preſage of an upright and impartial *Adminiſtration*, as being a Perſon that could have no other poſſible End or Proſpect but the Service of his Country, in taking upon him the Trouble of any *Poſt:* Yet, without competent Meaſures of theſe *Qualifications*, Men of the greateſt *Abilities* may aſpire in vain to the Honour of being the Queen's *Miniſters*, in whom ſhe indiſpenſably requires a high Degree of *Moderation*. For this Diſpoſition, we deny it not, *they were pick'd out among ſo many*; in theſe Things we acknowledge *they are ready to do as they are bid:* And we have all the Reaſon in the World to believe, that the *Queen* will ſtill prefer the beſt and wiſeſt Men among the *Whigs* and the *Tories*; though 'tis ſomewhat odd, that no ſooner a *Tory* is known to be *moderate*, but he's preſently reported by his *Party* to turn a *Whig*.

But why ſhou'd this become the Subject of our Wonder? when even the *Queen* herſelf, for daily practiſing and recommending this healing Vertue of *Moderation*, is moſt unworthily and falſely traduc'd in the *Memorial*, *as partial to the Diſſenters*, and *obſtructing Laws in favour of the* Page 10.

Church

Church of England, for which the Author of that *Libel* ſticks not boldly to ſay, that *her Zeal is dampt*, and that *the Church holds not the ſame Rank in her Eſteem and Confidence that ſhe held heretofore.* This needs no *Aggravation*, and as little needs any *Anſwer*, conſidering her Majeſty's ſtrict *Education* in the Principles of the *Church of England*, her adorning the Doctrine of it with a *Life* ſo religious and exemplary, appearing at the *Revolution* in its Defence (attended with the moſt critical *Circumſtances*) even to the Hazard of her Life, and being ſo remarkably kind and bountiful to the *Clergy*, ſince her happy Acceſſion to the Throne; and without queſtion their numerous *Addreſſes*, wherein they aſcribe all our *Succeſſes* to her appropriating Part of her own Revenue for their *Maintenance*, will be thought a more authentick Evidence of her *Affection* for the *Church*, than the wretched Inſinuations of the *Memorialiſt* concerning her *Partiality* to the *Diſſenters*. All theſe Things are as fully known to the Nation, as that the *High-Churchmen* never treated *Charles* the Second at this Rate, nor gave any Warning of the *Church*'s Danger then, notwithſtanding the haſty Advances made to that *Popery*, which appear'd bare-fac'd in his Brother's Reign. Wherefore their *Calumnies* are ſufficiently anſwer'd by repeating them, and thereby ſhewing to the World the *High-Churchmen's* matchleſs Ingratitude. But what can it be that has thus inflam'd their *Rage* beyond any Regard to Truth or Probability? The Cauſe is plain and confeſt. *Her Majeſty's repeated Cautions in her Speeches* againſt Diviſions, *Her frequent Inculcations of the Neceſſity of moderate Counſels*, and *Her repeated Exhortations from the Throne to Peace and Union* (the moſt glorious Elogies of the beſt of Princes) by which not the *Church of England*, but the *Conſpirators* againſt both it and the *Government*, *find themſelves* (as the *Memorialiſt* complains) *ſenſibly reproach'd with want of Chriſtian Charity, and the true Spirit of Peace.* Now for this very Reaſon, every Man endu'd with ordinary Senſe, muſt needs conclude them *guilty*; for if they are *innocent*, why ſhould they apply thoſe Advices *particularly* to themſelves, which her *Majeſty* without *Diſtinction* directs to all her Subjects repreſented in *Parliament?* For, in order to conclude a *Peace*, both Sides muſt conſent, and have the ſame Diſpoſition.

Page 10, 11.

Yet this *ſenſible Reproach from the Throne* is not all the Cauſe of their *Diſcontent*. *Moderation* quite ſpoils their Deſigns, being the only Thing that can *unite* the Nation againſt them, while their main Hope conſiſts in our *Diviſions*, which cannot be more ſucceſsfully effected than by *Rigour* and *Perſecution*. For this it is that the very Word *Moderation* is abhorr'd, and ſo many *Invectives* have been made of late againſt the Thing, that it has rais'd a kind of Civil War among the *Learned*, one of 'em being forc'd at laſt to write a whole Book, to prove *Moderation a Virtue*; which Book was anſwer'd and defended. The *Author* would run no ſmall Riſk of being counted phrenetick and ridiculous by Poſterity, if the other *Party* had not ſo warmly written againſt him: And that *the Memorial of the Church of England*, with ſeveral other ſuch Libels, will fully prove, that there was then in being the *Sect of the Tories*, otherwiſe call'd *High-Churchmen*, who deny'd *Moderation to be a Virtue*; and that it will be recorded as a Commendation, which few other

Sects

Sects deſerve, that their *Practice* was ever agreeable to their *Profeſſion*. Nor will it be mention'd with leſs Honour to their *Critical Learning*, that one of their prime *Doctors* prov'd *Moderation* to mean *Perſecution*, when we are commanded in *Scripture*, *to let our Moderation be known to all Men*, which was an Exhortation to the *Biſhops* (as the Doctor will have it) to let the Effects of their *Church Government* be ſeverely felt by all *Hereticks* or *Schiſmaticks*, or other *obſtinate* and *contumacious* Perſons; ſince, in the *Latin* Tongue, *moderor* ſignifies to *ſteer* and *govern*. Now was not this an admirable Argument for ſo worthy a Cauſe? And what Pity is it the Doctor was neither ſo good a *Divine*, as to know the *New Teſtament* was originally penn'd in *Greek*, nor ſo good a *Claſſic* as to know, that tho' *Moderamen* be put for *Government*, *Moderatio* is never ſo, which makes me hope that this *Sermon* was not preach'd before the moſt literate Auditory at St. *Mary*'s in *Oxford*.

By this Time every Man muſt perceive the Meaning of the Outcry againſt both the *Queen* and her *Miniſters* for their *Moderation*; and what the *Memorialiſt* intended a *Reproach*, is ſure to be hereafter, as it is at preſent, the trueſt and nobleſt *Character* of this Reign, that **Moderation** *was the Word, the* Paſſe-par-tout *that open'd all the Place-doors between the* Lizard-Point *in* Cornwall, *and the Town of* Berwick *upon* Tweed: And that, at her firſt coming to the Throne, the *Head of the Church inclin'd not only to forgive, but to forget paſt Injuries*; for the Exerciſe of which *Heroic Virtue* ſhe has ſtill Occaſion enough, as appears by the *Memorial*, and the Behaviour of certain of her Subjects, who abuſe her extraordinary Lenity and Goodneſs.

Page 9.

Page 5.

The *Memorialiſt*, among many other unneceſſary Pains he has taken, might have likewiſe omitted helping the Miniſters to an Apology for their moderate and impartial *Conduct*, ſince they need no *Excuſes* of any Sort, and leaſt of all ſuch as he borrows or makes for them; as if *they were forced to comply with the Times*, and to *act by Neceſſity againſt their Inclinations, till they find a favourable Opportunity of putting thoſe Projects in Execution which they keep in Reſerve.* The *Miniſters*, on the contrary, are plain and above-board, they have none of the *Old Games* to play in the dark; and one of the *Excuſes* he makes for 'em (a ſtrange Thing indeed to be made an *Excuſe*) is the true and only Ground on which they act, the fundamental *Maxim* whereby they ſquare and order all their Meaſures, which is, that *the Queen muſt have the Hearts of all her People, and in order to it, give equal Encouragement to all her loving Subjects without Diſtinction of Parties.* And is not this to be in the higheſt Manner God's Vicegerent, *who is no Reſpecter of Perſons, but in every Nation, he that fears him and works Righteouſneſs, is accepted of him?* If the *Miniſters* (as I doubt not but they will) do ſteadily abide by this *Profeſſion*, and convince the Nation of their *Sincerity* by their *Practice*, they may boldly bid Defiance to all the Machinations and Enterprizes of their *Adverſaries*. But the *Memorialiſt*, who undertook to fright 'em out of their Wits, pretends they are not ſo ſecure, for that *they have forfeited the Eſteem and Affection of the whole Body of the Churchmen, to make themſelves the Heads of a prick-ear'd Faction*:

Page 13, 24.

Page 13.

Page 28.

As if loſing the good liking of the light and high-flying Body of ſuch *Churchmen* as he means, was not the moſt certain Way of recommending 'em to the Love and Conſcience of the whole weighty Body of the *Nation*, able indeed to cruſh a corrupt *Miniſtry* to Pieces (as it has frequently happen'd) but an unſhaken Support to the *good* and the *wiſe* of all Sorts. By the Contempt expreſs'd in the Phraſes of *prick-ear'd Faction*, *ſpiriting up a Faction*
Ibid. p. 29. *that was down*, and a *broken dejected Faction*, one would think the *Memorialiſt* has not ſo good a *Memory* as he ſeems to have a Claim to; for we have it more than once (as we are going to ſee) under his own Hand, that his *Party* is but miſerably ſmall, and that the *Whigs* (on the contrary) are both numerous and formidable. Nor can I perceive that the Flower of his *Churchmen* are many in Number above *the conſtant honourable*
Page 34. *few*, who only by a ſingle Couple exceed *one hundred thirty and*
Page 13. *four*; and theſe without any Dependance or Support, ſince *their ſuppos'd great Friends, Aſſertors, Paſtors, and Protectors*, are, according to himſelf, gone over to their Enemies: So that, for ought we can learn, they are without *Prince, Biſhops, Miniſters*, or *Stateſmen*.

Why therefore all this hectoring, bluſtering, and ſwaggering, from a *deſpicable Handful* in ſo lamentable and forlorn Condition? Conſidering eſpecially, that in the brighteſt Sun-ſhine of the *Tories* Favour and Power, they were not an equal Match for the *Whigs*, tho' labouring under a thouſand Diſadvantages, and wholly depriv'd of the Countenance of the Court? Should I be ſuſpected herein of Partiality, I humbly deſire the *Memorialiſt* may for once be heard
Page 34. with Patience: *If while the Court was for us* (ſays he) *the Houſe of Lords almoſt entirely with us, the Houſe of Commons undebauch'd in their Principles, and the Laws vigorous on our Side, even in thoſe Days, the* Whigs, Republicans, *and* Fanaticks, *encreas'd and multiply'd upon us; how how will they inſult us now, when all our Strength is reduc'd to a Remnant in the Houſe of Commons only, and thoſe oppos'd by the other Houſe, Brow-beaten by the Court, and aſpers'd, vilify'd, and abus'd by the* Whigs, Republicans, *and* Fanaticks *all the Nation over?* It may be juſtly wonder'd how, after ſo long Experience of their *Principles* and *Practices*, they ſhould happen to have a *Remnant* any where among ſo free and intelligent a People! The beſt on't is, that the *Court*, the *Lords*, and the whole Body of the *Nation*, are againſt 'em in their own Opinion, as well as in Reality: And, ſince their *Remnant* in the preſent Houſe of *Commons* is almoſt reduc'd to nothing, they are rather to be pity'd than to be fear'd; for the moſt helpleſs Women and Children in their Anger, are as liberal of their Threats as of their Tears. As for the *Whigs*, there are among them, as in all other great *Bodies* of Men, ſelf-intereſted and corrupt Perſons, for whom I ſhall be far from making any *Defence*; I only juſtify ſuch as keep to *the Principles of the Party*, which the *Tories* themſelves know to be *the Principles of the Nation*, by affecting to honour the Memory of the *Old Whigs*, whom yet they impriſon'd, baniſh'd, or hang'd, in the foregoing Reigns, pretending now that the Practice of the *Modern Whigs* is not
Page 59. anſwerable to their Profeſſion, being *baſe Recreants, recanting all their old Principles*, in the Stile of the *Memorial*, which we grant

cannot

cannot be objected to the *Antient*, or *Modern Tories*, they being acted by the ſame uniform Spirit of Arbitrarineſs, Violence, and Perſecution; and whenever any of them quits theſe *Principles*, he's thought to quit his *Party* (as we ſaid) and to become at leaſt *a Whig de facto*.

By the Way, one prime Artifice of the *Conſpirators*, is, to talk conſtantly of the *Whigs*, as if they were all *Diſſenters*, when their main Body are Members of the *Church of England*; the Diſtinction of *Whigs* and *Tories* being wholly Political; and relating only to *Civil Affairs*. The *Whigs* maintain, That all good *Governments* are (under God) originally from the *Choice* of the People, for whom, and by whom, they are *eſtabliſh'd*; and that no *Government* is good which does not *conſiſt* of *Laws*, by which the *Magiſtrates* are reſtrain'd and regulated no leſs than the *Subjects*, for their common Happineſs. This End of all *Society*, they think, may be compaſs'd by ſeveral Methods, Means, and Forms, ſince the *Sovereign Authority* is ſafely and commodiouſly lodg'd in a few or many Hands; and, among the reſt, they like none ſo well as our own *mix'd Form*, of King, Lords, and Commons, the latter being purely *Elective*, the ſecond, abſolutely *Hereditary*, and the firſt *partaking of both*: For the *Regal Line* is on the one Hand, *Hereditary*, to avoid the Uncertainty, Venality, Tumults, and Diſorders, of frequent Elections from different *Families*; but on the other Hand, to prevent the worſe Inconveniences of having for our Kings Mad-men, Fools, Tyrants, Papiſts, or Perſons otherwiſe unfit to govern, the *Succeſſion* is ſo limited by Laws, as to be ſubject to divers *Incapacities*, and 'tis at the Pleaſure of the Legiſlative Power to encreaſe or diminiſh ſuch *Incapacities*, as they ſhall find moſt conducing to the Welfare of the Nation. From theſe Principles of the *Whigs*, and from ſuch a *Conſtitution*, 'tis eaſy to conclude, That, in the firſt Place, they hold it lawful to *reſiſt* Tyrants and Uſurpers by Arms; believing *Princes* to be made for the *People*, and not the *People* for the Uſe, Will, or Luſt of the *Prince*. Secondly, That the ample *Revenues* of Princes are a Reward proportionate to the high Dignity, and vaſt Pains, of their *Office*: which are paid by every Man in particular (according to their Ability) for the aſſiduous Care thoſe *Fathers of the Country* take of all the Subjects Intereſt in general. That, Thirdly, the *Reſpect* which is paid to their Perſons, is a grateful Acknowledgement of their prudent Councils, equitable Adminiſtration, or valiant Actions; and that thoſe *Honours* are only due by Cuſtom to bad Princes, the greateſt Profeſſions of Fidelity to *abſolute Maſters* being never offer'd from the Bottom of the Heart, when either *Fear* requires ſuch Ceremonious Submiſſions, or when *Flattery* finds 'em convenient. The *Whigs* are therefore avowedly Defenders of *Liberty* and *Laws*, Oppoſers of *Licence*, and *deſpotick Power*, Maintainers of the *Legal*, but not *Abſolute Succeſſion* of the Crown; the *Friends* of good Princes, for whom they wou'd freely expoſe their Lives, as they wou'd do the ſame againſt Tyrants to whom they are *Enemies*, being every one of them for *Liberty of Conſcience*, and moſtly for a *general Naturalization*.

The contrary of all this is a *Tory*, one who is for *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non Reſiſtance* to the Will of the Prince, for the *Hereditary Succeſſion* of the

Crown without any *Limitations*, yielding a ſervile and blind Obedience to the *Prerogative*, being all for *Perſecution* in Matters of Religion, and very few or none for any Sort of *Naturalization*. 'Tis true, *their Nature is often apt to rebel againſt their Principles*, but that theſe are their *profeſs'd Principles*, is undeniably evident from all their *Laymen* and *Divines Books* in *Charles* the Second's Time, which was properly their own Reign. The contrary Principles they did then (as they do ſtill) object to the *Whigs*; for which, under the Name of *Republicans*, they render'd them odious to ſome of our Princes: And here I refer in particular to the *Decree* publiſh'd by the *Univerſity* of *Oxford* in the Year 1683, and which (as I am inform'd) did lately, if not at preſent, hang in ſome of their *College Halls*, notwithſtanding their *Oaths* to King *WILLIAM* and Queen *ANNE*, and the *Oath of Abjuration*, which contains the Right of the Houſe of *Hanover*; with all which, and the *Arms* taken up in their Defence, that famous *Decree* is flatly incompatible. But whoever rejects and diſowns this *Decree*, or denies thoſe to be his *Principles*, which are here imputed to the *Tories*, he may diſlike the Word *Whig* or *Republican* as much as he pleaſes (and nobody will quarrel with him for *Names*, commonly given to all Sides by their *Enemies*) but he certainly agrees about *Things* with the *Republicans*: for there are no *middle Principles* between theirs and thoſe of the *Tories*; and we have already hinted, that a *Whig* does not peculiarly ſignify a *Diſſenter*.

Page 16.

Now where is the Wonder, if the *Whigs* have been always too hard for the *Tories?* That is, if the Bulk of the *Engliſh* Nation, who live under a *free Government*, and are in their Principles for *Liberty*, ſhould continually get the better of a certain Faction of ambitious *Stateſmen* and *Clergymen*, with their few implicit Followers; who, to gratify their own Vanity, Avarice, Revenge, or Superſtition, would ſacrifice all our *Civil* and *Sacred Rights*, nay, *human Nature* itſelf, to the arbitrary Will of the Prince: for a *Deſpotick Government* is truly and properly a *Government of Beaſts*, though even moſt of theſe will grumble, ſnarl, roar, kick and bite, at *Paſſive Obedience*. Opinions in *Religion* then are not concern'd in the Diſtinction of *Whig* and *Tory*; for may not a Man be indifferently a *Whig*, or a *Tory*, whether he holds *Baptiſm* is beſt adminiſtred by *dipping* or by *ſprinkling?* Whether he underſtands *Biſhop* to be a ſynonymous Name for *Preſbyter*, or the Stile of a *higher Order?* Or which ſoever he prefers, receiving the Lord's Supper *Sitting* or *Kneeling*, or to hear his Parſon preach in a *Cloak*, or in a *Surplice*, or without *either?* And were *Whiggiſm* reſtrain'd to the *Diſſenters*, I fancy the *Memorialiſt* would find it a hard Taſk to make 'em ſo *wiſe and powerful a Body* as he's forc'd ſometimes to repreſent 'em: But the late *Revolution*, with the Acts conſequential to it, is the moſt infallible *Teſt* whereby to diſtinguiſh and diſcover the true *Whigs*.

The Generality therefore of the *Church of England*, and all the *Diſſenters* being *Whigs*, the *Memorialiſt* is in the right to adviſe the *Miniſters*, to *be ſure that they are able to ſteer clear of theſe Rocks, which no Man has hitherto done:* He might have added, *no, not the Whig Miniſters themſelves, when they were playing a Tory Game*, to the Diſadvantage of the

Page 31.

Principles

Principles for which they were preferr'd, and to the Indignation of thoſe whoſe *popular Recommendations* brought 'em firſt to the Knowledge of the Publick, and then advanc'd 'em on their Shoulders to thoſe *Poſts*, which ſome of them ſo little afterwards deſerv'd by their mean *Complaiſance*, and thoſe haſty Methods which others took to raiſe *Eſtates*, wherein *Tools* are ever neceſſary; and this laſt is the true *Reaſon*, why they generally deſerted or neglected their *Old Friends*, and were fonder of employing Footmen, Bankrupts, Poets, Players, and Pettyfoggers, than Men of Family, Learning, Ability, or Virtue, beſides that one or two of 'em cou'd bear no Rivals to their reputed *Capacities*, which made 'em diſcountenance thoſe of their own *Party* who were fitteſt for *Buſineſs*, and therefore all *Buſineſs* quickly miſcarry'd in their Hands. But (this Conduct relating only to their *private Intereſt*) what made 'em incur the *Diſpleaſure of the Nation*, was their endeavouring (tho' in vain) to bring all the *Whigs* to vote againſt the *Triennial Bill*, the *Judges Bill*, the *Bill for regulating Trials in Caſes of High Treaſon*, the *Bill for diſbanding the Army*, and their contriving to gain certain other *dangerous* and *invidious Points*, in order to make their own *Court* or *Fortunes*, tho' directly contrary to their former Profeſſions, which induc'd ſeveral to call their *Ability* in queſtion, no leſs than their *Integrity*. As a Judgment of God the *Tories* might juſtly ſuffer in King *William*'s Time under *brib'd Judges* and *perpetual Parliaments*, without Knowledge of their *Crimes*, or Advocates to plead their *Cauſe*, for promoting theſe *Hardſhips* formerly againſt others, without conſidering how another Time they might turn on themſelves. But ſuch a Spirit of *Partiality*, *Arbitrarineſs*, and *Revenge*, was ſtrangely unbecoming any *Whigs* (and deteſted indeed by the true *Whigs*) who by their *Principles* are Patrons of the Liberty of Mankind, and formerly ſtruggled to obtain thoſe *Laws*, as being the moſt genuine Dictates of *Nature*. Of theſe and the like Things, that make for or againſt the Common Good, the *People* are ordinarily ſharp-ſighted *Judges*, even thoſe of 'em who know not what is meant by the Words *Whig* and *Tory*: And therefore all *wiſe Miniſters*, will *take care to ſteer clear of theſe Rocks*, on which they may otherwiſe be ſure to ſplit. Even our Deliverer and Reſtorer King *William* himſelf, when (by the *Miſinformation* of ſuch as ought in Duty to him and the Publick, to have *adviſ'd* him better) he fell once or twice into *Meaſures* not contributing ſo directly (as he intended) to his own *Glory* or the *Intereſt* of the *Nation*, found the *Whigs* no ſtupid ſilent Slaves, no obſequious *Aſiatick* Sycophants, which the *Memorialiſt* mentions to their *Reproach*, calling their Oppoſition in ſuch Caſes *Ungrateful Returns*, and themſelves *bitter and ungentile Enemies*: Page 31. Whereas others will remember this to their *Everlaſting Praiſe*, thus to obſtruct the Miſtakes of a *Prince* whom they ſo highly truſted, lov'd, and valu'd, without defrauding the very *Tories* of their Share in that Honour; for 'tis no Matter to the State who are for a *good Thing*, nor for what *Ends*, provided the *Thing* itſelf be truly uſeful, ſeaſonable, and neceſſary.

But how comes the *Memorialiſt* all of a ſudden to be thus ſollicitous for the Safety of the *preſent Miniſters*, againſt whoſe Fame, Deſigns, and Management, he has publiſh'd ſo lewd an *Invective?* Why, meerly to create Diviſions

ſions and Miſunderſtandings, according to the fundamental *Maxim* of the *Conſpirators*; and our Author (it ſeems) was choſen for the ſubtle *Ulyſſes*, to ſet the *Lord Treaſurer* and the *Whigs* together by the Ears, by giving wonderful wiſe *Cautions* to the one againſt the other, as being equally concern'd for the good of both. You have heard how ſagely he was admoniſhing the *Miniſters* againſt the *Whigs*; for he ſuppoſes my *Lord Treaſurer* all this while to act a Part, and to be againſt the *Whigs* in his Soul, tho' the *Whigs* are ſo ſimple as to be well ſatisfy'd of the contrary. Now he addreſſes himſelf to the *Whigs*, *who*, he ſays, *if they be wiſe, will conſider for what Ends they are at preſent careſs'd, and whether their own Share of the Nuts they are employ'd to rake out of the Fire, be worth burning their Fingers for.* They have *conſider'd* it, and will conſider it the more to gratify their kind-hearted, civil, and ingenious Friend the *Memorialiſt*; but ſtill they are ſuch ſtupid *Politicians*, and ſtand ſo much in their own *Light*, that they can never *conſider* to his Purpoſe, ſo long as they find their Share of the *Nuts* is honeſtly given them. Well, if he can't prevail with the *Whigs*, he'll try his *Lordſhip* once more, and tell him a Story of *Katherine de Medicis*, the *French Hugonots*, and the *Pariſian Maſſacre*; whereof the *Moral* is in his own Words, that *Friendſhips founded on Ambition are fallacious and dangerous, and never laſting: For he that to ſerve a preſent Turn, gives up his old Friends, to ſerve a future one, will give up his new ones to them to recover 'em again.* And no doubt but the *Treaſurer* (who acts not for *new* or *old* Friends, but for the *Queen* and the *Nation*) will look on the Application of this *Moral* as a mighty Complement; eſpecially when 'tis thus by way of *Advice*, from ſo zealous a Well-wiſher, who in the very next Lines ſays as much to his ſuppos'd *Whiggiſh* Bubbles. I forbear to recite any more of theſe *Counter-Advices* juſt upon the Heels of one another, it being a nauſeous Piece of Vanity in the *Memorialiſt*, when purblind Children may ſee through his Cobweb Devices, to dream of deceiving the Eyes of one of the moſt perſpicacious and wiſeſt Men in *Europe*; or of a *Party*, that in his own Account made ſhipwreck of all the *Kings* and *Miniſters* that did not keep clear of 'em. Nay, *they prov'd too hard for* Sunderland *himſelf*, who, without all queſtion, was the ableſt *Stateſman* of his Time; and to whom, when his Story comes to be impartially told, *England* will appear to owe the higheſt *Obligations*, tho' no leſs ungratefully uſed by a few of the leading *Whigs*, than vilely miſrepreſented or miſunderſtood by moſt of the *Tories*. But what all theſe could not effect, one ſingular *Politician* propos'd heroically to atchieve in the Name of the *Church*, as if that Word had carry'd ſome irreſiſtible *Charm*; and when he has done it, we'll be content to raiſe him *Trophies* as high as her *Steeples*.

Page 24, &c.

Page 30.

Page 29, 30.

Page 31.

What, is all the Wind and Venom againſt the *Miniſtry* thus idly ſpent, and is there no Dirt that can ſtick? No Imputation that can faſten, or paſs at leaſt for probable with the unthinking *Mob* of any Side? Yes, a *double Charge* yet remains; and if neither hits, ſomebody is like to die in Deſpair. Firſt, We are told, that there needed no managing of the *Diſſenters*, by obſtructing the *Bill againſt Occaſional Conformity*, and that therefore it was an unneceſſary

unneceſſary Oppoſition to the *Church*, which makes it the leſs excuſable. But 'tis ſuppos'd *gratis* here, that this was done by way of *Trimming* or *Management*, but not on the Principles of *Toleration*; and that *Occaſional Conformity* is injurious or dangerous to the *Church*: For both theſe *Notions* we have already exploded. Yet, contrary to all Reaſon and Experience, the *Memorialiſt* affirms, that the *Diſſenters* would not be diſoblig'd, if the *Bill againſt Occaſional Conformity* had paſs'd. But what if the *Diſſenters* were diſoblig'd? *What is it*, ſays he, *the Publick wants from them?* He anſwers, *The Aſſiſtance of their Hands and Purſes. The firſt of theſe*, continues he, *we have not*, and pray, whoſe Fault is it, theirs who *offer* or *refuſe* that Aſſiſtance? And if our *Fleets* and *Armies* did wholly conſiſt, as they do not, of ſuch as can always conform to the *Publick Service*, yet would it not be ſtill much better, if all good *Proteſtants* and faithful Subjects might join their Strength in the Progreſs of our *Arms*, tho' they cannot agree in the Methods of their *Prayers?* Beſides, that if our *Forces* (whoſe Gallantry expoſes 'em daily to a thouſand Deaths) are all form'd of *Churchmen*, the *Diſſenters*, according to *Political Arrithmetick*, muſt in Time ſurpaſs us both in Wealth and Number, and conſequently in Power. As for their Purſes, the Taxes, he ſays, *being impos'd by the Legiſlative Authority, they could not refuſe, unleſs they would rebel.* An Oracle fit for a *High-Church* or a *Morocco* Politician to utter! but not to be heard in *Free Countries*, where States and Princes muſt have the *Hearts* of their Subjects, as well as their *Hands* or *Purſes*; being never ſure of the two laſt, without poſſeſſing the firſt, and being only ſure of the firſt by an *equal Diſtribution* of Law and Juſtice. But, if his Word be taken for it, there is no Fear of their refuſing to *lend* Money to the Government, while they receive good *Intereſt*; and may not this as well be turn'd upon the *High-Churchmen?* only that they are neither ſuch *good Subjects* nor ſo *rich* (few *Merchants* being againſt *Liberty*) that the *Government* ſhould much depend on their *Loans*.

Page 15. *Ibid.* *Ibid.*

Now the *Memorialiſt* turns Adviſer again, and is not a little concern'd that the *Diſſenters* are abetted, headed, or ſupported by *Latitudinarians*, *Socinians*, and other Men of no Principles or immoral Lives. Our *Bigots* of the *High-Church* little think what *Honour* they ſometimes do (by their unwary Heat) to thoſe they intend to *diſcredit* or *defame*; for if any Man be more *ſerious* or *ſtrict* in his Converſation than others, he's ſtrait eſteem'd a *Preſbyterian*, as if *Levity* and *Looſeneſs* were eſſential to a *Churchman:* Or he's branded for a *Socinian*, if he poſſeſſes more than ordinary *Learning* and *Judgment*; as if a Man of any *Knowledge*, *Thought*, or *Reach*, could not poſſibly believe the received Opinions: And every one's a *Latitudinarian* in their Account, who has any *Friendſhip* or *Intercourſe* with others, tho' never ſo firmly grounded in his own particular *Faith*; as if the Cauſe of a *Churchman* was ſo very weak, that he muſt needs give it up to the firſt who keeps him Company, and therefore thoſe Babes of the *Church* are to be carefully kept out of Harm's-way by their *Spiritual Pedagogues*. But, not to run into Digreſſions, the *Diſſenters*, (if they be not *Enthuſiaſts* indeed) would

Page 19.

doubtleſs

doubtleſs rejoice to obtain Favour or Aſſiſtance from *Governors*, *Stateſmen*, and *Politicians* (as ſuch) tho' not of their Perſuaſion, nay even from *Mahometans* or *Heathens*, were they under their Rule or Dominion. And
Page 20. if ſome of the great Men, the *Memorialiſt* names as their Patrons, were guilty of the *Immoralities* he lays to their Charge, 'tis evident from the Experience of all Ages, that an ill Man in his own Life may do excellent Things for the *Publick*, as a great Pretender to *Religion* may poſſibly be a great *Knave*, a rapacious, cruel, or bloody *Tyrant*, who either ſeeks to cover his Villanies under this *pious Cloak*, or imagines to atone for his Impieties by formal and ſuperſtitious *Obſervations*, of which we might produce numerous Examples. The *Diſſenters* therefore are not to blame, if ſome of the late *Whig-Miniſters* (as they are call'd) be neither finiſh'd *Saints* nor *Heroes*. They
Ibid. were all ſtaunch for *Liberty of Conſcience*; although in the *Memorialiſt*'s uſual Rhetorick, *they can never be brought to ſubmit to the ſower Rules and ſaucy Encroachments of Edinburg and Geneva.* And might not good Men prudently wink at the Frailties of others in ſcraping for *Eſtates* at home, ſo long as either to ſecure theſe, or from a nobler Principle, they would be zealous and vigorous againſt our *Enemies* abroad?

Now, might I put in for an Adviſer with the *Memorialiſt*, I would conclude, from the Conſideration of ſuch heterogeneous and repugnant Intereſts, as the *Deiſts*, *Socinians*, *Latitudinarians*, and the ſeveral *Sects* of *Diſſenters* (ſuppoſing 'em all combin'd, as he's pleas'd to tell us) that neither the *Church* nor the *State* ought to purſue any *Meaſures* that will unite all theſe againſt them: Since they can never naturally agree, unleſs compell'd by ſome *Neceſſity*, which *Neceſſity* muſt directly, or by Conſequence, touch 'em all; and therefore muſt be in itſelf a *National Grievance*. It may well be ſome common *Oppreſſion* of all other Men, to gratify the *Humour* or *Ambition* of a few, but cannot be any Regulation for the *Publick Good*; for to all proper Laws for reſtraining Murther, Theft, Adultery, and the like Vices, the *Deiſts*, *Socinians*, *Latitudinarians*, and *Diſſenters*, are ſure to concur: And ſo will the very *Atheiſts* (if ſuch there are in the World) as in all Things elſe where *ſocial Vertue* is concern'd, and whereby they are to be *Gainers* as well as others. Nor will they likewiſe ever oppoſe any Thing, wherein they are not particularly to be *Loſers*, ſuch as all Laws in Favour of the *Church*, which tend not to the *Injury* or *Detriment* of others.

But that the clamorous and bitter *Zeal*, which ſome Men of late have expreſs'd for the *Church*, is nothing elſe but a *Struggle for Places*, and that the *Bill againſt Occaſional Conformity* was but a mere worldly Project to monopolize all the Places to a few *High-Churchmen*, and a particular Set of *Tories*, is as true and certain, as commonly known and believ'd: And we are not to learn how the Brains of *Projectors* are diſturb'd, when their Deſigns prove abortive, are diſcover'd or deſpis'd; and therefore they muſt have leave to talk, tho' not to engroſs that Commodity to themſelves, giving others, at leaſt, the Liberty to laugh. And who can forbear doing ſo, when we are told the *Church* is betray'd, ruin'd, and undone, becauſe the *Queen* has been pleas'd to make ſome Alterations in her *Miniſtry*, tho' ſhe has not brought one

Diſſenter

Diſſenter into Office, and that (without Envy be it ſpoken) all Things both at home and abroad are much mended, ſince her Majeſty has mended her *Miniſtry*. This cannot be unknown to any Man in *Europe*; for the Characters of our ſeveral Sorts of *Miniſters*, are not more known at home than abroad, tho' they are not all equally lov'd, as they are not all equally fear'd in *France*: And which of 'em has done more Hurt to *France*, or more Good to *England*, given better Orders at Sea, or furniſh'd readier Supplies at Land, the reſt of the World is left to judge.

Is it ſuch a novel Thing then for the *Prince* to change Hands, without any other Reaſon ſometimes, but to gratify Men of *Merit* by this kind of *Rotation?* Or if *frequent Alterations* be the Occaſion of their Complaint, why was no Alarm rais'd when the *Queen* chang'd her *Miniſtry* before. O but the laſt *Miniſters* were *the great Patrons and Aſſerters of the Church at Court, able Miniſters, and the ſteady Champions of the Church, the* D. of *B——m*, the E—ls of *R——r*, *N——m*, *J——ſy*, *W——ſea*, *D——rt*, the L—ds *Gu——rd*, *G—w—r*, *Gr——le*, Sir *E——d S——r*, Sir *G. R—k*, &c. Here's the *Church's* White Liſt, or Black Liſt, which you will. And how bold ſoever the *Memorialiſt* was pleas'd to make with certain *Noblemen's* Perſonal Characters, even to the imaginary Faults of their moſt private *Receſſes*; yet I frankly profeſs to decline his Example, as being neither ſo little a *Chriſtian*, not ſo angry, nor ſo deſperate. Nevertheleſs, without having Recourſe to ſuch uncharitable and improbable *Conjectures*, or relying on *common Fame*, which is often a *common Liar*, I might quickly ſwell this *Diſcourſe* into an authentick Hiſtory from Materials of the moſt Publick Records, as the *Paper Office*, the *Council Book*, and the *Journals of Parliament*, where it will appear that ſome of theſe Champions (if we be not miſtaken in their Names) are accus'd of being in the *Popiſh Plot*, and *Penſioners* to *France*, for which Crimes they were voted *Enemies to the King and Kingdom.* Some of 'em were employ'd in King *James*'s *High Commiſſion* to deſtroy the *Church of England*, and not far from the *Treaſury* when that *Prince* levy'd Money on the Subjects by his own Authority. The ſame, and others of 'em, were open Enemies to the late *Revolution*, oppos'd the *Abdication* of King *James*, and the *Bill for recognizing King* William's *Title.* Theſe are undiſputable Facts, and ſo is the notorious Corruption and Bribery of one of 'em in *Parliament*, with the Behaviour of others in her Majeſty's *Councils*, and of ſome in divers Tranſactions both by *Land* and *Sea.* I cannot therefore but admire at the Imprudence of the *Memorialiſt* to give the leaſt Provocation of examining the Merits of his *able Miniſters.* If their Foreman the D. of *B——m* was to ſpeak for them (for they want but one to make them the *Churches Jury* as well as her *Champions*) we would grant the whole Contents of the *Memorial* to be true, could he find half as many reputable Men, in any one, or in all the *Parties* of the Nation, that ſaid he was a good *Chriſtian*, a good *Subject*, or a good *Man*, without ever deſcending to Particulars. Yet God forbid that the *Innocent* ſhould ſuffer in their *Reputations* with the *Guilty*, for a *Libeller*'s tacking their Names together without their *Conſent:* For (if according to his own Rules) we are to judge of the Children by their Parents, then my Lord

P. 33. 74.

Gower (who is not turn'd out as he reports) may poſſibly be miſtaken, but can never be otherwiſe than a true *Engliſhman*; or if *Underſtanding* and *Vertue* be the beſt Foundations for the Love of *Liberty*, my Lord *Guilford* may (as it daily happens) loſe his *Poſt* for a Time, but will be never the more for *Popery* or *Arbitrary Power*.

Page 33.

Reading the *Court* for the *Church*, and *Places* for *Power*, in many Parts of the *Memorial*, the Book will become a great deal more plain and intelligible: For if *Diſcipline* (as ſome would have it) were the ſole Occaſion of our *Diſputes*, then the Controverſy (one would think) might be manag'd with more *Order*; or certainly with more *Decency*, if we only diſagreed about *Ceremonies*. No, no, there's another Matter at Bottom: And if we are to judge of the Tree by its Fruits, 'tis ſomething quite different from *Religion*, which naturally produces Goodneſs, Meekneſs, Peace, mutual Forgiveneſs and Forbearance. However, 'tis not unſerviceable to our *Conſtitution*, that now and then (as it ſometimes happen'd) Men of *Arbitrary Principles*, or Adherents to the *Popiſh Intereſt*, ſhou'd get into a few Employments, becauſe the *Prince* will thus have an Opportunity of ſatisfying the *People*, why the reſt are excluded from any Share in the *Adminiſtration*. For their very *Scheme* is founded on Violence, and *violent Men* will be driving Things too haſtily, and often to *Extremities*. The leaſt Shew of *Favour* makes 'em imagine that the *Government* is going into all their Meaſures, then they perſuade themſelves that thoſe they did not love are in their *Power*, and ſo they begin to uſe 'em as if they really were; which makes the Nation quickly grow weary of them, to whoſe Satisfaction they are immediately *ſacrific'd* by a wiſe *Prince*, and their *Places* fill'd with Men of contrary Characters.

The laſt Charge againſt the preſent *Miniſtry* relates to the Affairs of *Scotland*, as if they were likewiſe *Miniſters* of that Kingdom, or anſwerable for any Tranſactions of the *Parliament* there. The *Scots* make loud Complaints (how juſtly I will not determine) that all the *Affairs* of their Country have been long manag'd by *Engliſh Councils*, as if they had been rather a conquer'd *Province* or *Colony*, than an *Independent* Kingdom. And in *England* again we have certain Perſons giving ſo much Countenance to that Accuſation, as to arraign our *Miniſters* for leaving the *Scots* at this Juncture to act by themſelves or rather for *aſſiſting* and *adviſing* them. But of all others I wonder leaſt at this from the *Memorialiſt*, who ſays, that *every Thing paſs'd in* Scotland *at the Deſire of the Preſbytery, even to the endangering of the Church and Monarchy of* England, *and the Diſheriſon of its Crown, and the immediate Prejudice of its Soveraignty:* Whereas neither our *Court* nor *Parliament* make any ſuch Claim of *Soveraignty*, all the *Records* to that Purpoſe being *Monkiſh* Forgeries, or violently and fraudulently procur'd; no *Prince* having any Right to diſpoſe by Will or Deed of his Kingdom, as a Man may do of his proper Goods and Chattels. Nor can any valid Pretence be drawn from antient *Conqueſts*, ſince as good Authority may be alledg'd from their ſetting themſelves again at *Liberty* either by *Force* or *Treaty*. And fortuitous *Poſſeſſion* is but the *Right of Reunion*, that was trumpt up ſome Years ago by the preſent King of *France*, whereby he laid Claim to all the

Page 6.

Countries

Countries formerly contain'd in the Empire of *Charlemaign*, or which belong'd at any Time to the *Gallick* Crown, not conſidering to whom the *Gallick* Crown itſelf belong'd of old: For this *Right of Reunion* confounds all the *Titles* in the World, and that of *France* no leſs than the reſt, as much as *Filmer*'s Patriarchal Succeſſion from the eldeſt Son of *Noah*.

But (leaving ſuch fantaſtical Diſputes as I found 'em) ſince during the *Reigns* of ſeveral Kings and Queens, we have treated with *Scotland* as an *Independent* Kingdom without any *Saving* or Exception; and ſince in the mean while they have exercis'd all the Rights of *Sovereign Majeſty* within themſelves, without any *Proteſtation* from us to the contrary, 'tis manifeſt that they were therefore as much at Liberty, and had as plenary Right to make *Conditions of Government*, as we in ſettling our *Succeſſion* on the moſt Serene Houſe of *Hanover*. Neither is it any *Diſheriſon* of our Crown (to which the *Scots* owe no Subjection) that they have not yet declar'd for the ſame *Family* with us; tho' I doubt not, after their *Limitations* are compleated, but they will heartily join with us for the *mutual Security* of our religious and temporal Welfare. The *Arming of their People* is but the common Right of all others that are *free*; and fitter for us to imitate, than meanly to fear, or ridiculouſly to blame. They are highly to be commended for obtaining their *Act of Security*, as the *Queen* will be for ever extoll'd and admir'd for adding ſuch excellent and inexpugnable Fences to their *Liberty*. We may reaſonably ſuppoſe the *Adviſers* of her Majeſty's paſſing that *Act*, to have been *Scottiſh Miniſters*, who underſtood *Liberty*, and lov'd their *Country*; as who but ſuch would intermeddle in *Scottiſh* Affairs, otherwiſe than as they concern themſelves in thoſe of any other State or Kingdom, whoſe *Intereſt* has an immediate Relation to ours? Yet if any *Engliſhman* had a Hand in it, he ought to be proud of ſuch natural *Politicks* and ſo worthy a Deed, eternally beneficial to the *Scots*, and no way injurious to the *Engliſh*; tho' we want not thoſe among us, who either think no other Nation deſerving of *Liberty*, or that none beſides us have the Senſe to value and acquire it. It would be therefore no Service to his Deſign, if we had the *Clue*, which the *Memorialiſt* mentions, *to lead us to the Knowledge of who were the Adviſers of the Scottiſh Act of Security*; but we would gladly learn how *the Church here was diſarm'd at the ſame time the Preſbytery was arm'd in* Scotland; for the only Men diſarm'd in this Kingdom are ſuch as will not ſwear *Allegiance* to the Government (which no doubt are the *Church* he means) and the higheſt of all *Churchmen*, the *Papiſts*.

Page 76.

Page 75.

The laſt Dependance of the *Conſpirators* is upon *Scotland*, hoping from thence for Troubles and Confuſion. Yet the true *Patriots* there know very well, that many who join with them for *Limitations*, do it only to keep 'em the longer from nominating the *Proteſtant Succeſſor*, wherein they are not ſo weak as to refuſe their *Aſſiſtance*, foreſeeing that theſe very *Limitations* (if they be juſt and reaſonable) will prove the *Chains* hereafter to reſtrain their Madneſs, as it has already happen'd in *England*. They likewiſe perceive that the ſame Sort of Men, who are againſt declaring for the Houſe of *Hanover* in *Scotland*, pretend to be angry in *England*, that it is not yet done there; notwithſtanding they

fail not in both Countries on all Occaſions to diſperſe their malicious Inſinuations againſt that *Family*, as if, *like the late King*, who they ſay was a *Foreigner*, *educated out of the Pale of the Church* (the *Popiſh* Expreſſion diſcovers the Cloven Foot) they ſhould *come over without any extraordinary Tenderneſs or Regard for the Church*, tho' in their own Church they have much the ſame *Diſcipline* and *Ceremonies* as in ours.

Page 25.

Ibid.

But *'tis highly reaſonable to believe*, ſays the *Memorialiſt*, *that when a Prince educated in another Church ſhall come to the Helm, his Servants and Favourites, who will have the Privilege of his Ear in a peculiar Manner, may take upon 'em the Patronage of the Diſſenters, who will not fail to make ſtronger Court to 'em, than the Church will think to be their Due (as it happen'd in the late Reign) and ſo occaſion ſuch Promotions, as may be of fatal Conſequence to the Church.* Granting the next *Prince* to be Educated in another *Church*, though not in another *Religion*, and that he may lie under any Biaſs in relation to our *Religious Controverſies*, 'tis much more reaſonable to believe, that it will be rather in favour of the *Church of England*, of which he's to be a profeſs'd Member by the *Limitations* of the Crown, than in Favour of the *Diſſenters*, who have neither ſuch a *Liturgy* nor *Ceremonies* as he's accuſtom'd to. All *Churchmen* made due Court to the late King (as well as the *Diſſenters)* except them who diſlik'd his *Cauſe* or *Title*; and ſure he needed not the Inſtigation of *Favourites*, to make Promotions fatal to ſuch a *Church* or *Faction:* Which Treatment is to be likewiſe naturally expected from the next *Succeſſor*, towards all who *oppoſe* or *diſlike* him; for Oppoſition to the *Government*, tho' not *Opinions* in Religion, is a ſufficient Reaſon for an *Excluſion* from Offices.

Page 26.

Here I would not be miſunderſtood, as if I meant every *Scruple* about the Prince's *Title*, to be a good Cauſe of keeping a Man out of *all Employments* in the Kingdom; but only out of thoſe where his being *entruſted* might create any poſſible Danger to the *Prince* or the *Publick:* For well-meaning ſcrupulous Perſons giving good *Security* for their peaceable Behaviour, may with Safety to all others enjoy ſeveral *Offices*, from which they will not be debarr'd by *wiſe Miniſters*, who are for reconciling as many as they can to the *Government*, and for enlarging the Foundations of it, by endeavouring to make all Men whatſoever *eaſy*. And therefore, in ſome Inſtances, the late *Whig-Miniſters* did not act very conformably to the Maxims of *Liberty*, by excluding all *Non-jurant Lawyers* from the Exerciſe of their Profeſſion without any *Diſtinction*, which indeed was to take from them their daily Bread. And (had it not been for ſome exaſperating *Provocations)* perhaps a Method might have been found out to prevent the *ſilencing* of certain unſatisfy'd, but *pious Clergymen*, tho' they would not join with us in all the Prayers of the *Liturgy*; when both the *preaching* of Divines, and the *pleading* of Lawyers, are perform'd in ſo publick a Manner, that they can never prove dangerous to the *State*, without bringing themſelves into the utmoſt *Hazard*. To this might be added the impolitick Device of *double Taxes*, which create great *Heart-burnings* among Relations and Neighbours, are of no *Uſe* to the Crown, and *eaſe* very little the reſt of the Subjects. On this Occaſion I cannot but wiſh that the late

late *Acts of Indemnity* had been more clear and general, and without ſo many *Clogs*, which render'd them of little Uſe to many, for whom they were probably deſign'd a *Kindneſs*, wherein the *King*'s Gracious Intentions were fruſtrated by *Clauſes*, *Quirks*, and *Cavils* of *Law*. Nor can the preſent *Miniſters* perfect the Character they have juſtly obtain'd of Wiſe, Upright and Impartial, till (in order to reduce the *Moderate*, and to render the *Obſtinate* inexcuſable) they procure a more ample and intelligible *Amneſty*; without aſking People before-hand (as we heard of another *Miniſter*) whether they will pleaſe to *accept* of it, which is to put thoſe to the reluctting *Shame* of accuſing themſelves, who without Noiſe or Notice would gladly lay hold of the Benefit of ſuch an *Act*. Hence the *High Churchmen* may perceive the Difference between the Genius of the *Tories* and the *Whigs*, the latter believing they may ſecure their own *Liberty*, without robbing other People of theirs; nor can any be diſpleas'd at the *Moderation* we recommend to be uſed towards honeſt and peaceable *Non-jurants*, but ſuch as are *High-Flyers*, tho' they may be no *High-Churchmen*: And every *Miniſter* ought to remember the old Advice, *Multis Terribilis, caveto Multos.*

But to return to the Affairs of *Scotland*; the Glory of uniting the Two Kingdoms is reſerv'd for Her *Majeſty*, in this moſt favourable Conjuncture of imminent *Danger* from Abroad, and the Dread of civil *Broils* or Contentions at Home. All the good People of both Nations earneſtly long for ſuch a *Bleſſing*, and 'tis ſo much the *Publick Wiſh*, that they who think it their Intereſt to render it ineffectual, dare only go about it by treacherouſly propoſing an incorporate Union, or the impracticable Scheme of *One Parliament*, *One Church*, and *One Body of Laws*, which can never be accompliſh'd, but by a total Alteration of the *Conſtitution* of one or both Kingdoms; nor can this be brought about under Ages, unleſs by *Conqueſt*, and wou'd ſooner produce an *Anarchy* than an *Union*. Whereas a *Federal Union* is eaſy and expeditious, without all Jealouſy, Diſputes, or Partiality, and confirm'd by many ancient and modern *Examples*, as particularly by the Union of the *Seven United Provinces*, where the Laws of *Holland* and *Frieſland*, are much more different than thoſe of *England* and *Scotland*; and by the League of the *Achæan* Republicks, whoſe Conſtitutions were yet more different than ours.

I. The *Union of England and Scotland* does wholly conſiſt, according to my humble Opinion, in Three moſt intelligible, practicable, and advantageous Articles. Both Kingdoms, in the firſt Place, may ſtill continue *Sovereign* and *Independent* within themſelves, neither of them yielding or being obnoxious to the other in the *Forms* of their Courts, in the conferring of *Honours*, or in preſerving the Precedence of *Rank* at Home, while they retain the Stile of *Great Britain* Abroad, as they do at preſent in that and ſome other Points; having each their particular *Laws*, *Uſages*, and *Cuſtoms*, and ordering their own *Domeſtick Affairs* by their own *Legiſlatures*, without occaſioning any Trouble or Expence to the other, after the Method of the *Seven United Provinces*. And, according to the Example of the *Switzers*, they may have their ſeveral *National Religions*, as at this Time. But there muſt be in *Scotland* (as well as here) a *Law for Tolerating all Diſſenters*, how falſe or abſurd ſoever

in

in their Doctrine, whoſe *Principles* do not tend to the Subverſion of the *Government*. Nor is it to be fear'd, that the *Scots* will endeavour to impoſe their *Diſcipline* or *Directory* upon us, unleſs we endeavour (as formerly) to impoſe our *Liturgy* and our *Biſhops* upon them: For this was one of the worſt *Advices* ever given our Kings, even had the *Scots* been of a different Religion with us, and that *Epiſcopacy* were abſolutely neceſſary to Salvation. But they were made to believe that *Preſbytery* was inconſiſtent with *Monarchy*, whereof we find the contrary by Experience. And that *no Biſhop no King*, was neither a true nor a wiſe Saying, is moſt evident; not only from the Kings of the *Heathens*, but from thoſe Princes among *Proteſtants* who govern without *Biſhops*, and who, tho' in their Dominions they have no Eccleſiaſtical Degree above *Preſbyters*, yet are abſolute and uncontrollable.

II. In the Second Place, Let *both Nations* agree to live under the ſame Race of *Princes* for ever, having but one *Intereſt*, as they are to have the ſame *Friends* and *Enemies*; making *Peace* and *War* by common Conſent, and maintaining *Fleets* and *Armies* (to defend their Subjects, to offend their Foes, and to aſſiſt their Allies) ſupported at the *publick Charge* of both, according to ſuch *Proportions*, as ſhall be agreed by *Commiſſioners* appointed to ſtate that Matter, with reſpect to *Land Taxes*. For as to *Cuſtoms*, *Exciſes*, *Capitations*, and ſuch other *publick Duties*, they muſt be equally laid (for keeping an even Ballance) on all Goods and Perſons concern'd in both Kingdoms: And ſince they are to be levy'd or collected by the *Officers* of one and the ſame Prince, for the ſame Ends and Purpoſes, there will be no Fear of *Fraud* or *Partiality* in Favour of one, to the Prejudice of the other. The *Civil Liſt* of each Kingdom, and the particular *Aſſeſſments* relating to their ſeveral private *Neceſſities*, being (as was ſaid) left ſolely to their own Diſcretion, there may be a *Council* appointed, veſted with ſuch *Powers* as ſhall be thought expedient, and conſiſting of an equal Number of Perſons of *both Nations*, to digeſt, prepare, and adjuſt thoſe other Matters of *common Concern*, for the Information of the *Prince*, and of his reſpective *Parliaments*.

III. In the Third Place, Since this *Union* (in the Regards above-mention'd) is for the *mutual Security* of both Nations, as well againſt their *common Enemies*, as againſt the *Invaſions* or *Foreign Alliances* of any one of them againſt the other; ſo let there ariſe from it a *common Advantage* in an equal Diſtribution of *Privileges* and *Immunities* to the Natives of both Countries, and alſo in the *Communication* and *Protection* of Commerce. Let us not heſitate therefore to let the *Scots* come freely into our *Plantation Trade*, whereby thoſe particular *Merchants* may poſſibly be Loſers, who engroſs that Part of the World to themſelves; but the *Plantations* will flouriſh infinitely more, as the Profits are infinitely more that ariſe from the *Induſtry* and *Conſumption* of many than of few, which is unanſwerably prov'd by the ingenious Dr. *Paxton*. The Nation will likewiſe be *Gainers* in Proportion, the *Proprietors* being all *Engliſh*, and *London* (the Centre of Trade, and Seat of Empire) attracting all the Riches and Expence of the *Three Kingdoms* into its capacious Boſom, by a regular and neceſſary *Circulation*. The *Cheapneſs* of Food and Labour, will quickly be at an End in *Scotland* by the *Increaſe* of Trade and People; and the

Com-

Commodities and *Manufactures* of *Great Britain* (all which Things I would have alſo underſtood of *Ireland)* being thus united as well as their *Inhabitants*, *Councils*, and *Power*, we are not only an equal Match at leaſt for the greateſt Prince in *Europe*, but muſt *over-work* and *under-ſell* all other Nations of the Earth, which in Matters of *Trade*, is the utmoſt we have to wiſh. Our preſent View will not let us enlarge on the other innumerable Benefits that will naturally flow from ſuch a *Union* to the *Britannick Iſlands*, which are truly *a little World* by themſelves, and may thus not immodeſtly vie with the *greater World*; but theſe ſeem to be the *principal* Things, and all the reſt are eaſy *reduceable* to this Model. Nor ought any *Engliſhman*, who regards our preſent Safety, or future Tranquility, oppoſe ſo practicable and deſirable an *Union*.

We have done at laſt with all the Sophiſtry and Aſperſions of the *Memorialiſts* againſt the *Queen*, the *Church*, and the *Miniſtry* of *England:* And defended all Sorts of *Diſſenters* againſt his Miſrepreſentations, not only as oblig'd by the Rules of Truth and Juſtice in relating *Matters of Fact*; but alſo on ſuch Grounds and Maxims as were thought moſt agreeable to our own *State*, and to all other Kinds of *Free Governments*. But if any one is curious to know what the *High-Churchmen* propoſe to do, in caſe (as it's more than probable) that their *Memorial* is deteſted by the *People*, and neglected by the *Court*, 'twere eaſy for a Man of no greater Reach than his Neighbours, to tell what is fitteſt for 'em to do in ſuch a Condition. Yet in this Particular, which concerns them ſo nearly, they are as much in the *Wrong*, as in every Thing beſides. For contrary to all their reiterated Profeſſions of *Paſſive Obedience* to Princes, notwithſtanding their continual Reproaches of *Rebellion* againſt the *Diſſenters*, and (what they ought firſt to conſider) in Spite of the deſpicable Number of their *Church* and *Party*, yet they are deſperately reſolv'd to get all up in *Arms*, to ſeize upon the *Government*, to aſſaſſinate or impriſon the *Miniſters*, and in one Word to *rebel*. Some body not acquainted with their *Temper*, or that has not read their *Memorial*, will be apt to think that we make 'em madder than they really are, notwithſtanding the perpetual *Diſappointment* of all their Projects and Conſpiracies. But putting the Reader once more in Mind, that they mean themſelves by the *Church of England*, as they do all moderate Men by *Diſſenters*, We ſhall preſent him with a long Paſſage of the *Memorial*, with ſtudied and repeated *Expreſſions*, and not warm or haſty *Words* ſlipt out by chance, nor Phraſes of an *ambiguous* Signification. *If the Diſſenters will be diſoblig'd* (ſays the *Memorialiſt) if they are not put into Places of Authority, and the Church of* England *will be diſoblig'd if they are; whence may the greateſt Inconvenience ariſe? Perhaps our wiſe Men think themſelves ſecure in the paſſive Principles of the Church, againſt any Reſentments on that Side, and therefore bend all their Application to gain t'other, whoſe Temper and Principles are more mutinous. If this be their true Motive, they may be ſimple well-meaning Men, but muſt be wretched Politicians. The Principles of the Church of* England *will diſpoſe Men to bear a great deal, but he's a Madman that tries how much. For when Men are very much provok'd, Nature is very apt to rebel againſt Principle, and then the Odds are vaſt on Nature's Side.* Page 16.

Whether

Whether the Provocation given to the Church of England *may not, if continu'd, be ſtrong enough to rouze Nature, ſome of our Stateſmen would do well to conſider in Time. For tho' the Church is not to be wrought up to Rebellion, yet they may be ſo allarm'd, as to ſecure themſelves at the Peril of thoſe Miniſters, who give them the Alarm. Nor is it to be expected, that they ſhould long bear to be thus us'd, and ſee a Party, that they know ſeek their Ruin, courted at their Expence. But the Treaſurer is wiſe, let him therefore look to that, and maturely weigh who are to be provok'd at this Juncture.* The Matter is plain, and let the *Treaſurer* timely look to it, before he be *ſecur'd* by thoſe who are ſo *highly provok'd*, who can *bear ſo little*, and who are *ſo apt* to be rouz'd, having a King of *Brentford*, with an *Army in Diſguiſe* to back them.

But of all the Weakneſſes the *Memorialiſt* has ſhown, the very greateſt, is, his imagining that ever *any wiſe Man thought himſelf ſecure in the Paſſive Principles of the Church*, when all Manner of Men know the Riſe and Occaſion, as well as the whole Hiſtory of that *monſtrous Doctrine*, from *Sibthorp* and *Manwaring*, down to the *Abdication*; none being ignorant for what Ends of *Ambition*, *Adulation*, and *Avarice*, it was invented, in what *Popiſh* and *Arbitrary Cabinets* it was promoted, and by what *humble Saints* it was the moſt zealouſly preach'd. No, no, take our Word for it, we know but *one ſimple well-meaning Man*, whom it's eaſy to gueſs, that was ever deceiv'd by ſuch *wretched Politicians*. We grant that *the High-Churchmen's Nature, is very apt to rebel againſt their Principles*, but we deny that *the Principles of their Church diſpoſe 'em to bear a great deal*, ſince they own themſelves that *the Odds are vaſt on Nature's Side*; for we *Low-Churchmen* believe that *Chriſtian Principles* ought to correct and ſubdue Nature: Wherefore we think *Principles* that have ſo little Effect, to be little Worth; and indeed all Men of Senſe or Honeſty, have abhorr'd their ſhameful *Prevarication*, and laugh'd from the Beginning, at the Inobſervance, Abſurdity, and Hypocriſy of *Paſſive Obedience*. They render their Cauſe ſtill more ridiculous by their *Diſtinctions*, as if *ſecuring themſelves at the Peril of the Miniſtry* (which is ſecuring the Miniſtry at their own Peril) were not *Rebellion*, and pretending *they cannot be wrought up to Rebellion*, at the ſame Time that they confeſs, *their Nature may rebel againſt their Principles*, and talk of being *provok'd*, *rouz'd*, *unable to bear long*, and that *they are mad, who would try how much they can bear*. Madmen indeed; for if theſe be not hopeful Diſpoſitions to *Rebellion*, I know not what are. But are they not honeſter by far, who profeſs *Reſiſtance* on ſome Occaſions, than ſuch as profeſs *Paſſive Obedience* on all Occaſions, and who yet are *vaſtly more apt to rebel* than to obey, ſince *the Odds are vaſt on Nature's Side* againſt their Principles.

Another of their *Diſtinctions* is more to the Purpoſe, and I wiſh as heartily as any of 'em, that it were by all the People of *England* moſt diligently obſerv'd. *Perhaps the wiſeſt Step the Friends of the Church cou'd take towards her Security*, ſays the *Memorialiſt*, *would be to diſtinguiſh nicely, between thoſe that are of the Church only, and thoſe that are both of and for the Church.* Where we underſtand, *thoſe that are of the Church only*, to be ſuch as prefer our *Liturgy*, *Diſcipline* and *Doctrine* to all other Inſtitu-

Page 22.

tions,

tions, tho' they are againſt *perſecuting* any that diſagree with their Opinions; and therefore are Members of the *Church of England only*, as they think it the beſt *Reform'd Church*, but not for any politick End of Temporal Grandeur. Thoſe are *both of and for the Church*, who likewiſe profeſs themſelves Members of the *Church of England*, which in their Account is nothing beſides the *Hierarchy* and the *Ceremonies*, but eſpecially the *Revenues* and the *Monopolizing of Offices by the Sacramental Teſt*, which makes 'em zealous for it's Pomp and Power, and are for compelling others to be *of it*, tho' they ſeldom come *into it* themſelves. Wherefore we'll take the Liberty to mend the *Diſtinction* unto thoſe that are *only of the Church*, and thoſe that *are only for*, *but never of it*, *nor in it*.

A little while ſince we left the High-Churchmen *very much provok'd*, and reſolv'd *not to bear any longer*; but when they are *throughly rouz'd*, how is it (think you) or by what Force will they be able to carry on their intended *Rebellion*, ſo perilous to the preſent Miniſtry? We frankly acknowledge it was a conſiderable Time before we cou'd come to any *Reſolution* in this difficult and intricate Caſe, the Game of the pretended *James* the Third being deſperate, the *French* King ſo earneſtly ſuing for Peace by the *Mediation* of the meaneſt Cantons of *Switzerland*, their own Party being reduc'd to an inconſiderable *Remnant*, and the real great Friends, Patrons, Paſtors, and Protectors of the *Church of England*, being all againſt 'em. But that peerleſs Politician the *Memorialiſt* has kindly communicated the *Project* of raiſing a ſpiritual Army for carrying on his Holy War; and, to do him Juſtice, he's the firſt who concerted the Operations of a *Campaign* in a Manner which a World of People have rather wiſh'd than hop'd, namely, that *Princes* and *Divines* would be pleas'd to fight their own Battels. He propoſes then that *the lower Clergy (who want only to be headed and countenanc'd) may be encourag'd to exert themſelves in Defence of that Church from which they receive their Bread; and that they may be inſtructed to ſhew their reſpective Congregations the innumerable Evils that flow from that dangerous but too much receiv'd Poſition, that there ought to be no Diſtinction among Proteſtants.* Page 35. Now here's an Army modell'd, paid, and inſtructed. I have read of a *General* of the *Franciſcans*, who once offer'd the *Pope* Thirty Thouſand tall Warriours of that *Seraphick Fraternity* to fight againſt the *Turks*, and yet that their Attendance ſhould not be miſſing in the Miniſtration of *holy Things*, there would be ſo many left behind. I have likewiſe heard among ourſelves of *the Guide of the inferior Clergy*, but never yet of their *General*, and much leſs that *Proteſtant Prieſts* were to fight by any other Weapons except *Syllogiſms*; ſo that in fine, we know now who are the *Churches Janizaries*, as well as the *Churches Champions*.

But why ſhould we talk of *Proteſtant Prieſts*, when their principal Inſtruction is, *to ſhew their reſpective Congregations, the innumerable Evils that flow from that dangerous, but too much receiv'd Poſition, that there ought to be no Diſtinction among Proteſtants?* We appeal to all Mankind, whether this *Poſition* can be dangerous to any other but *Papiſts*, and we thank God it's become a *Poſition* ſo univerſally receiv'd. For this Sort of *Union among Pro-*

teſtants, and not the vain Deſign of a *Comprehenſion*, has been long the Object of all good Men's Wiſhes, tho' of few *wiſe* Men's Hopes; nor is there any Thing more frequently occurs in their *Books* or *Diſcourſes*, than that *there ought to be no Diſtinction among Proteſtants*, who are all united againſt the Idolatry, Superſtition, and Tyranny of the *Popiſh Church*, tho' differing amon themſelves about the Nature of *Church-Government*, the Modes or Circumſtances of *Worſhip*, the *Preſcience* and *Decrees* of God, with certain other *Speculative Opinions*, of no Concern to a *Chriſtian Life*, and in which Things it is impoſſible for Men to agree. Nor is it neceſſary for any Ends of the *Goſpel*, that they ſhould *all have the ſame Notions*, provided they have but mutual Charity, Forbearance, and Communion. Any Man therefore is deſir'd to produce a worſe *Maxim* out of the Writings of the *Papiſts*, whoſe Intereſt and Endeavour it has conſtantly been, to *divide Proteſtants* before they could *deſtroy* them. And if the moſt finiſh'd Politician among the *Jeſuits*, had been preſcribing Methods for extirpating the *Northern Hereſy*, let it be conſider'd whether he would not firſt of all adviſe the *Congregation de propaganda fide*, to exaſperate the *Proteſtant Sects* againſt each other, which they have often done by ſuch *Emiſſaries* as the *Memorialiſt*; and whether, as the Ground and Reaſon of this Advice, he would not ſay that *innumerable Evils have flow'd from that dangerous Poſition of many Proteſtants, that there ought to be no Diſtinction among them.* One of thoſe *innumerable Evils* is, that if they be for making no *Diſtinction*, they'll be of Courſe for *Toleration.* Another *Evil* is, that they'll be for a Brotherly Intercourſe and *Occaſional Communion.* A Third *Evil* is, that they'll be all for Law and Property againſt *Arbitrary Power.* A Fourth *Evil* is, that they laugh at *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non-reſiſtance.* A Fifth *Evil* is, that they'll be for the Advancement of Learning and Knowledge, and therefore againſt partial *Reſtraints on the Preſs.* And a Sixth *Evil* (that I may compleat half a dozen among innumerable) is, that they'll as one Man (the Pretenders to the Name of *Proteſtant* only excepted) join their Hearts and Hands againſt the *Pope*, or any *Popiſh Prince*, who can be the only Gainers by their *Diviſions*; and that they'll here in *England* with their Lives and Fortunes maintain the Right of the *Proteſtant Succeſſor*, who they are ſure will make no *Diſtinction* among 'em as *Proteſtants* and *Engliſhmen*, no more than is done by her preſent *Majeſty*: But will (after her Example) protect the *Church of England* in its lawful Dignities, Privileges and Emoluments, and continue an impartial *Liberty of Conſcience* to all *Proteſtant Diſſenters.* This glorious Proſpect, is the greateſt of thoſe *innumerable Evils*, which by the *Memorialiſt* are obſerv'd to flow from that dangerous, but too much receiv'd *Poſition*, that *there ought to be no Diſtinction among Proteſtants.*

It will be ſaid, It's probable, by the *High Churchmen*, that *heading*, *countenancing*, *encouraging*, and *inſtructing the Inferior Clergy*, were meant as to their informing their reſpective Congregations concerning our preſent *Differences.* And, allowing this to be true, from the other *Seditious Inſtructions* that are given 'em in the ſame Place, yet 'tis a very inſufficient *Apology*: For what have they to do with *Whig* and *Tory*, with *Court Intrigues*, or *Miniſters of State?* Is not reforming Men's *Lives*, and bringing *Souls* to Heaven, Em-

ployment

ployment enough for all their Time, but they muſt find *Leiſure* to be officiouſly *intermeddling* in Matters they don't underſtand? Does not all Hiſtory ſhew, that they are thoughtleſs, precipitant, troubleſome, bungling, and wretched *Politicians?* Are they not (to the Shame of their *Profeſſion*) made the readieſt *Inſtruments* of all ambitious and diſcontented Perſons to embroil *States*; to raiſe Jealouſies, Murmurs and Tumults againſt *Lawful Governments*; to ſtir up wicked or weak *Princes* to Rapine, Oppreſſion and Perſecution; and to engage whole *Churches* and *Nations* in bloody Civil Wars? The very *Deiſts* have frequently own'd, that the ſtrange Turns and Changes of the *Clergy* within the Compaſs of a few Years, their becoming the *Boutefeus* and *Incendiaries* of all Factions, more aſſiduouſly preaching and printing of *Politicks* than *Religion* or *Virtue*; their unnatural Jarrs and Quarrels among themſelves for *Trifles*, with their implacable and diſhonourable *Treatment* of thoſe they do not approve, did prevail with them above all other *Motives* to reject the Authority of *Divine Revelation*, being ſtrongly perſuaded, that the *Clergy* gave no Credit to the *Goſpel*, ſince they obſerv'd it ſo little. This is a poor Argument; but poor as it is, the Miniſters of *Chriſt* ſhou'd not give any Occaſion for it. And the *Clergy* ought likewiſe moſt ſeriouſly to conſider, that (whatever *Figure* they make in their own Opinion) they are in Reality but the contemptible *Tools* of the worſt of Men, when once they quit the *Duties* of their Function; and that when the *Turn* of deſigning Perſons is once ſerv'd, they commonly caſt off with Scorn their *Importunate Prieſts*. Thus *Oliver Cromwell* abandon'd the *Preſbyterian* Miniſters in *England*; and a much better Man, *William*, the old wiſe Prince of *Orange*, when the *Miniſters* reproach'd him with their *Services*, and thought they could never enough be rewarded with *Power*; he procur'd wholeſome Laws to curb their *Inſolence*; as they on the other Hand, endeavour'd to make him paſs for an *Atheiſt* in their Pulpits, notwithſtanding he had ſo gloriouſly eſtabliſhed *Civil Liberty*, and the *Proteſtant Religion*, in the *Seven United Provinces*. His Great Grandſon, who laid the ſame Obligations on *England*, met with the like Returns from many of the *Clergy*. But in the wiſe Republick of *Holland*, a Staff and a Pair of Shoes for his Journey, are ſent to any *Eccleſiaſtick* that preſumes to meddle with *State Affairs*. How *James* the Second deſerted the *Paſſive Obedience Preachers* is freſh in all Men's Memory; and 'tis to be hoped, that our *Inferior Clergy* will learn more Wiſdom from the *Contempt* which their Behaviour in *Charles* the Second's Reign drew upon their *Character* in the Minds of the *Laity*.

The beſt on't is, That let the *Inferior Clergy* receive never ſo many ſeditious *Inſtructions*, and from whatever Hands, yet we have nothing to fear from the *Man* who ſets himſelf at their Head, and acquires the *inferior Dignity* of being their *General*, though his Name were *Celſus*. Our *Prieſts* are not ſuch Saints, and our *People* are not ſuch Fools, without one of which the *Inferior Clergy* can never have a tolerable *Influence* in any Country. Indeed, where the *People* are diſſolute and ignorant, wholly depending on the *Clergy* for their Information, as well as for the Abſolution of their Sins, there their *Spiritual Guides* can raiſe dangerous Commotions, and lead their *Flocks* into any flagitious At-

tempt, that they'll pleaſe to ſanctify with the Names of *Religion*, or the *Church*, or the *Cauſe of God*. But where the *Clergy*, by their Learning, Lives and Doctrine, do juſtly acquire the Love and Veneration of the *People* (as ſuch *Divines* can never fail of it) their *Influence* is more to be deſir'd of all good Men than fear'd, as moſt certainly tending to promote Holineſs, Peace, and Univerſal Love. We have therefore great Reaſon to be very thankful to God in this Reſpect, as having never enjoy'd before, a Set of more Learned, Moderate, or Orthodox *Biſhops*, the magnanimous Champions of the *Proteſtant Cauſe*, and the moſt exemplary Preachers of *Chriſtian Charity*. Our *Inferior Clergy* likewiſe want not many excellent Perſons of *eminent Abilities*, who are *ſhining Lights amongſt a crooked and perverſe Generation*; the *Animoſities* artfully rais'd among 'em by the common Enemy, are much allay'd; all *Sowreneſs* and *Narrowneſs of Temper* infus'd from the ſame Quarter, viſibly decays; their *Moderation* encreaſes in Proportion with their great Learning, which Accompliſhments, Gifts, and Graces, will truly render them the *Glory of the Reformation.*

Civil Comprehenſion, &c. *In a Letter to a Friend, from one who wiſhes the general Good of* ENGLAND, *and particularly well to the Eſtabliſh'd Church.*

By CHARLWOOD LAWTON, Eſq; 1705.

SIR,

THO' I hope I ſhall always endeavour to preſerve that Character you give me of loving Liberty; yet you will find by what follows, how abſolute an Authority I allow they ſhall perſonally have over me, who do me the Honour to admit me into their Friendſhips.

I am not ignorant how difficult it is, when all Sides ſeem to be exaſperated, for any Man to offer any Thing acceptable; but my Intentions being to ſerve, and not to entertain, I ſhall be leſs concern'd at Cenſure.

And being as much ſatisfied that you wiſh well to *England*, and all its dependent Intereſts, as that I ſhall not differ from you in thoſe Inclinations, I ſhall, according to your Command, unboſom myſelf with all imaginable Freedom, and with as little Regard as you can expect, to any of the Partialities that now reign.

To begin; *Liberty of Conſcience* muſt be a natural Right; becauſe, * to worſhip GOD with Sincerity of Mind, and according to our own Convictions, is a natural Duty.

* GOD is not Worſhipped, but Affronted, unleſs our Hearts and Underſtandings accompany our Adorations.

The

The Chriſtian Religion is ſo far from invading the one or ſuperſeding the other, that the Laws of the Goſpel, the Principle of Love, and the Recommendations of Charity, enjoin'd by CHRIST, recorded by his Evangeliſts, and interſperſed throughout the Epiſtles of his Apoſtles, very evidently confirm that indefeaſible Prerogative, which our Maker hath reſerved to himſelf over the Souls of all Men. The Apoſtles did not know what Spirit they were of, and were far from being come into that of the Goſpel, when they would have had Fire called down from Heaven, even upon thoſe who oppoſed their Maſter.

That Love, which is the Characteriſtick of the Diſciples of the meek and merciful JESUS, does not allow us to deſtroy even the Enemies of GOD, for being ſo. Tho' Faith and Hope are admirable Graces, yet Charity is ſtill greater; and without it, tho' a Man ſhould give his Body to be burnt, rather than be a *Renegado* from Truth, yet that religious Steadineſs would not procure the Crown of Martyrdom, would avail nothing.

The Principle of Loving one another, and the Privilege of Serving GOD according to our own Diſcoveries, and the ultimate Reſults of our own Underſtandings, are ſo plainly tranſcribed in Holy Writ, that the contrary Opinion of the Reaſonableneſs and Lawfulneſs of Perſecution, could never have been introduced, had not the Chriſtian World been over-clouded by the dark Times of *Popery*.

When the Laity were not only deny'd, but could not read, much leſs underſtand the Scriptures, it is no Marvel that Perſecution was introduced. The Papiſts of thoſe Times lived under the entire Dominion of true and genuine Prieſt-Craft, they ſubjected themſelves to, and made it a Part of their Religion to take the Scriptures in the Senſe, and implicitly to believe the falſe Comments of their Guides.

They are ſtill too blindly govern'd by their Prieſts, and therefore the perſecuting Principle is not at this Day ſo monſtrous in Papiſts, as in thoſe who pretend to judge for themſelves, and enjoy greater Light.

Their Belief of Infallibility, and that it is impoſſible to be ſaved but within the Pale of their own Church, makes Puniſhment about Religious Matters, ſeem in the Papiſts, to come nearer to Compaſſion, to look leſs like Cruelty, than it can appear in Proteſtants, who all declare againſt Infallibility, and own that an honeſt well-meaning Man, who keeps himſelf in a teachable Diſpoſition, may be ſaved, (though he runs ſome Hazard) notwithſtanding that he ſhould not get rid of all his Errors.

And is it not wonderful, that nevertheleſs all the ſeveral Sorts of Reform'd Churches (none of which ever fail'd in their Turns, when they were undermoſt, to plead for Toleration) have been, when in Proſperity and Power, guilty of Perſecution.

I ſaid, all Proteſtant Churches have pleaded for Toleration. To prove it, I need on one Side mention only that excellent Book written by Biſhop *Taylor*, called, *Liberty of Prophecy*. That learned Prelate was as entirely devoted to the Proteſtant Epiſcopacy of the Church of *Eugland* eſtabliſh'd by Law, as

any

any Man of that Order ever was, or can be: And yet no Man can write a better Book than that which I have named on this Subject.

After that great and devotional Man, I need name no other Authors of his and our own Holy Church, upon the Point of Toleration.

As for the Diſſenters, there is not one Sort of them, that has not written againſt Perſecution. Indeed, their Treatiſes are innumerable; and though many of them are indigeſted ones, yet they have all ſaid and written enough to make their contrary Practices ſhameful.

Nay, the Papiſts themſelves have of late Years here in *England*, in Converſation, talk'd (for Writings they have none, as I know of, of that Kind, under any of their Names) for Liberty of Conſcience.

I would not be thought to prove, from what Papiſts ſay, that it is acknowledg'd univerſally to be a Right of Nature. Any thing upon this Head will come from them with an ill Grace, till they ſend Miſſionaries into *Spain*, into *France* and *Germany*, and all other Popiſh Countries, to convince thoſe who domineer there over the Minds of Men, that they act contrary to the Rules of Common Chriſtianity.

When the Papiſts can ſet aſide the Inquiſition in *Rome* and *Spain*, and other Places; when they have ſtop'd the violent Perſecution in *France*, and when they have brought the Emperour to give good Terms to the *Hungarian* Proteſtants, they will appear fitter Advocates in the Cauſe of Civil and Religious Liberty. But we ſhould not imitate the Inhumanity and Wickedneſs of the Papiſts, no not in our Treatment of that Sect itſelf.

And perhaps the Reaſon why the freer Thinkers and beſt natured Men amongſt the *Romaniſts*, have not been permitted by their Church, at any time, to publiſh any thing on this Controverſy (which it is a Scandal to human, reaſonable Nature, that it ſhould be one) is becauſe, though Particulars of it have ſuffer'd for their Perſuaſion, yet the main Body of the *Roman*, have remain'd a triumphant Church, and in perſecuting Circumſtances.

Liberty of Conſcience naturally introduceth Moderation; which Virtue hath of late by ſome been treated too jocularly, and by others made uſe of as a Cant. The Runners and Writers for the Whig and Diſſenting Party, have ſo furiouſly inculcated Moderation, that they have too juſtly render'd themſelves ſuſpected of covering, under that ſpecious Word, ſome ſiniſter Deſign.

Since Moderation is the Doctrine moſt Alamode, why ſhould it only be preſs'd upon Church-Men? Let our Preſbyterians go into *Scotland*, and preach it to their Brethren there. But the Preſbyterians are Advocates, very moderately qualified, to maintain the Cauſe of Religious Liberty. They are, next to the Papiſts, the unfitteſt Propagators of it, and of all the Sorts of Proteſtants, they are the moſt, and the only dangerous Enemies of our Church. They are, next to the Papiſts, moſt to be guarded againſt. If the Papiſts believe a Foreign Head, the Preſbyterians think a National Church neceſſary,

neceſſary, and ours Idolatrous; and, as ſuch, have formerly covenanted againſt, and † pull'd it down.

And yet I muſt ſay, that whoever declares, he would be a Papiſt as ſoon as a Preſbyterian, either knows not the Controverſies betwixt the ſeveral Churches, or ſpeaks without thinking, or is already a Papiſt in his Heart.

But whoever ſays, we are more in Danger of the *Preſbyterians*, than of the *Papiſts*, calculates according to Political Arithmetick, and numbers the People of this Iſland.

To ſay the Truth, the making us extravagantly apprehenſive of either Sect, is a Meaſure ſuited to the Uſe of Beautefeux. Our brave Proteſtant Troops, and our as gallant Proteſtant Sailors, will, under GOD, defend us from all the foreign Aſſiſtance the Papiſts can get; and if we make it not the Intereſt of other Diſſenters, the Preſbyterians may wiſh, but can never again compaſs, the Deſtruction of our Church.

If Men had Moderation enough to come into a Civil Comprehenſion, neither our Church, nor our Civil Rights, nor Toleration could ever be deſtroy'd.

I ſay, a Civil Comprehenſion, for a religious one is a ſpiritual Hodgpodge. It is an inſincere Project; for where ſome Men give up what they believe, and others ſubmit to what they don't believe, they, by ſuch a Sort of Agreement, make a Gallimaufry of Religions, that is ridiculous, hypocritical, and wicked on both Sides.

Certainly an Eccleſiaſtical Comprehenſion is a diſhoneſt Deſign, would loſe all the Spirit of our own Church, and deſtroy all thoſe of the honeſteſt Part of the Diſſenters, who would not, cannot be comprehended. It is better the one ſhould remain the eſtabliſh'd, (fenced about with all its own *meer* ſpiritual Powers, over its own Subjects in Spirituals) and the other continue tolerated Churches, and our Carriage towards both ſhould be like what the large Souls of the Pagan *Romans* have left us an Example of. Thoſe honeſt and celebrated Heathens admitted all the Gods of other Countries, enquired not into the Belief of thoſe that were their Subjects, and yet they paid a particular Reſpect to their own Gods, which was their National Religion. There the National Religion was never inſulted by thoſe who differ'd from it, nor were Inquiſitions ſet up over the Minds of their Subjects. There the Government was preſerv'd by Laws againſt Crimes that affect Society, and not by diſputable Oaths, and an entire Perſuaſion of the Neceſſity of the Ceremonies, and holy Myſteries of their eſtabliſh'd Church.

A Man might there be a *Stoick* or an *Epicurean*, and yet equally intereſted in, and capable to defend the Publick Liberty, be equally an Ornament in Times of Peace, and equally a Champion in Time of War.

† Men are too blame however to charge them over and above with the Murder of the King. All Hiſtories of thoſe Times tell you of their appearing againſt it. We ſhould not belie either *Preſbyterians*, or *Papiſts*, *Jews*, or *Turks*, nor when they do right, ſearch for Reaſons to deſtroy or leſſen their Merit.

When ſhall we come into theſe large and generous Notions? When ſhall we be ſenſible of our own Narrowneſs? The Diſſenters might be now ſenſible; for the Sacramental Teſt, of which they complain, and which now turns upon them, was obtain'd by the great Patrons of their own Party, and was oppoſed by thoſe Orthodox Biſhops who were at that Time moſt in the Intereſt of the Church; and the Reaſons the Biſhops then gave upon the Debate, were becauſe it was a Profanation, a Proſtitution, and Diminution of that moſt ſacred Myſtery of our Religion. Tricks ought never to be uſed, and ſeldom proſper. That Men may come into a more univerſal Spirit, I will lay before both Parties ſome of the Tricks that have been play'd within the Memory of moſt of the Men, who are now capable of making a Judgment of what is true Policy. But that I may ſpeak within Memory, I will not go farther back than the *Popiſh* Plot.

To ſay there was nothing in the *Popiſh* Plot, and to believe all that was ſworn, ſeems to me equally ridiculous. I know not how far the Generality of the Papiſts went into that Plot, nor what it was; but I think that almoſt ever ſince the Reformation, that Sect has been ſo very hardly uſed, that it is no Wonder if a great many of them have dipt into every Plot that has been ſet on Foot by their Faction. Ill Uſage will make Nature rebel both againſt and according to Principle. If Men are treated like Outlaws or Banditti, Self Preſervation will make 'em combine together. *

But what Advantages did the *Whigs* make of what Mr. *Coleman*'s Letters gave ſome Ground for? They voted whomſoever they pleas'd, Enemies to the King and Kingdom. They were as peremptory then (tho' the Court offer'd a good Bill of Limitations) that nothing but the Bill of Excluſion could ſecure our Rights and Religion, as they ſay the High-Flyers are now, that nothing can preſerve the Church, (tho' other Securities may be found out) but the Bill againſt Occaſional Conformity. The *Whigs* then were willing that a Vote of the Houſe of Commons ſhould ſuſpend Laws that were unrepeal'd; and their *Whig* Houſe of Commons impriſon'd the Subjects with a witneſs.

Now the *Tories* muſt come in for a Share: They handed about Abhorrences, and after the Diſſolution of the *Oxford* Parliament, they ſet on Foot ſuch Addreſſes, as honeſt Men might be aſham'd of.

After this, the *Whigs* enter'd into Plots. Of the *Rye-Houſe* Deſign, I ſuppoſe every worthy Man has an ill Opinion, but what the noble Lord

* In Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, the Generality of the Papiſts would not (tho' the Queen had ſome Time before taken upon her the Headſhip of the Church) join in *Morton*'s Rebellion, but ſent his Letters, and the Perſons who brought them, to the Queen. *Cambden*, *p.* 115.

The Bull ſent by *Pius Quintus* againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, was miſliked by the modeſter Papiſts, and contemned as a vain Crack of Words. p. 126. 127. *Cambden.*

A Roman Catholick, named *Biſhop*, (notwithſtanding all that the hot-headed Prieſts could ſay and do) wrote ſoundly againſt *Pius*'s Bull. *Cambden*, page 240.

Ruſſel,

Ruſſel, and ſome others of his Friends, engag'd in, no Man need diſclaim, who thinks Reſiſtance in Caſes not provided for, and where the Conſtitution is in imminent Danger, is lawful; for, upon the Diſputes that were betwixt the People and Prerogative, thoſe who were denominated *Tories* (before that Plot) fell in with an exceſſive Exerciſe of the indiſputed Power of bringing *Quo Warranto's* againſt Corporations; and they went to work with every Corporation whoſe Election of Members the Court did not like.

This Church-Flattery the Fanaticks turn'd upon that Party about a Year after King *James* came to the Throne; for as ſoon as the Indulgence was put out by that unfortunate Prince (who was betray'd by *Paſſive Pretenſions*, and *Fanatick* Flatteries, as well as by falſe Miniſters) a great many Diſſenters (for all ought not to be charged) regulated Cities and Boroughs, according to the Power the Tories had thought fit, when they received their new Charters, to inveſt the Crown with.

At the Revolution, the Church Party were reſolved to come in Play. Tho' they went backward and forward, they pretended Merit, oddly got into Places, and as awkwardly diſcharged 'em. They were, becauſe they would keep themſelves unſuſpected of *Jacobitiſm*, very violent in their Adminiſtration.

But in a ſhort Time the *Whigs* juſtled them out. And now, how did the *Whigs* behave themſelves? How many Times ſince the Revolution has the *Habeas Corpus* Writ (of equal Date with *Magna Charta)* been ſuſpended? How ingenious have the *Whigs* been to exclude Freeholders from Votes, to make a Party-Repreſentative? How induſtrious to monopolize the Government, by framing of Oaths, which they hoped thoſe who were for the Church of *England* would not take? tho', to ſhew how little Security Oaths are, thoſe Oaths have been ſwallow'd almoſt by every body, and as many more would be ſwallow'd; ſo that by framing of Oaths from Time to Time, the *Whigs* and thoſe who would be reckoned Saints, do but ſhew a wanton Diſpoſition to damn their *Tory* Fellow-Subjects.

How fond were the *Whigs* of Bills of Attainder, till at laſt one of their own Creatures, Mr. *W———r*, was catch'd in the Snare?

Beſides all this, many of the *Whigs* oppoſed the Triennial Bill, the Bill for Tryals in Caſes of High-Treaſon, and were for a ſtanding Army.

I will not ſay that the Church-Party have been much more moderate. I wiſh that ſome Impeachments, and a great many Votes, may not be remembred to their Diſreputation.

With Regret I repeat all this. I will not carry on the Detail, nor remark too ſeverely upon theſe Tranſactions of both Parties. I don't recite them to provoke, and make the Gap wider, but to ſhew that the People of all Sides have done enough, in their Turns, to ſtop each of their Mouths againſt one another, and ought to paſs now an Act of *real* Oblivion, and, (with Reverence to the Miniſtry be it ſpoken) it is the Intereſt of the Queen to give an In-

demnity, and the Intereſt both of Queen and People to come into a Civil Comprehenſion.

Here I muſt tell the *Whigs*, that if they intend Moderation, they muſt revoke their own ſevere Edicts, againſt thoſe who ſcruple Oaths: they muſt make the *Quakers* Affirmation eaſier, than they would let it be to that People, and (tho' they have a Fondneſs for the preſent Biſhops) help them in the Matter of Tythes, provided that the Church has any one *ſufficient* Remedy for the Collection of them.

Theſe, and ſome other Things, are what the *Whigs* ought to do on their Part, by way of Accommodation: For how unreaſonable ſoever the *Tories* think the aforemention'd Laws, they will not venture to move any Thing of that Nature, as a Step towards reconciling the publick Differences; becauſe if the *Tories* ſtir in ſuch Things, the *Billingſgate* Writers of the *Whig* Party, who are pleas'd to take great Liberty, will, according to their Gradation of *Nick-Names*, repreſent thoſe *Tories* as High-Flyers, popiſhly affected, Papiſts, and *French* Penſioners.

If there is Room to make the Diſſenters eaſy. If any reaſonable Thing is to be done in Behalf of them, it is as much the Intereſt and Duty of thoſe that are called *Tories*, to appear forward in ſettling all Things upon a true Foot.

Property ſeems to me the natural Qualification of Truſts and Powers, and much better than any religious Teſts; Men who have good Eſtates, are their own Security; but it will be no Prejudice to Men of Honour and Reputation, if their Friends are to be their Pledges.

This Sort of Qualification, and this Sort of Security (which is the only true Balance) would hinder many (eſpecially knaviſh broken Tradeſmen) who now get into Places, from being Competitors, and would lodge Authority in natural and ſure Hands. No neceſſitous, no diſſolute Man, would find it eaſy to get into Preferment. Men would be preferred, becauſe they had a Stake, and becauſe they were, in ſome Degree, elected by thoſe who are themſelves in good Circumſtances.

But I would not be miſtaken; I don't here ſuppoſe that Men who are eminent in their Profeſſions, ſhould not be advanc'd to the Honours, and Dignities, and Recompences of thoſe particular Profeſſions in which they are eminent, before they have amaſs'd great Eſtates.

I have ſtarted ſeveral Things, but will not take upon me to purſue them. I leave that to thoſe who have Opportunity, and are in Power. I deſire to do no more than humbly to intimate, that if the Government expects to quiet all Parties, by making Uſe only of one, it will be out in it's reckoning.

And yet, whilſt the Sacramental Teſt is thought a neceſſary Qualification, in my humble Opinion, it ſhould not be eluded; for, whatever it may be, it looks like Hypocriſy, and the Appearance of Hypocriſy is not to be encouraged, either by Church or State.

Till we come to ſettle upon the Foundation of Property, we ſhall be at the Mercy of Factions. The Whigs will ſay the Tories intend to deſtroy our

Civil

Civil Rights, and ſet up arbitrary Power, tho' God knows, many of our Modern Whigs have deviated as much from their pretended Publick Spirit, as the Tories have from their Paſſive Obedience.

On the other Hand the Tories will ſay, that the Whigs will introduce a Common-wealth, unleſs the Crown will tyrannize on their Side: This is, and will be what they will ſay of one another.

But it is full Time to make an End of all their Scolding on both Sides, and to conſider whereabouts we are. I don't determine whether it was a wiſe Meaſure to begin this War, nor will I criticize upon the Management of it; but, ſince we are enter'd into the War, it's wretched Policy to continue our Feuds: If the Continuance of the War, is neceſſary, we, by Feuds, encourage the *French* King (to whom good *Engliſhmen* of no Party, whilſt he hovers over every Kingdom, aſpires to Univerſal Monarchy, and minds only his own Perſonal Intereſt, as was plain by his giving up the unfortunate King *James* at the Treaty of *Reſwick*, *&c.* can wiſh well) and our Feuds amongſt ourſelves will diſpirit our Allies.

If we would have Peace, we muſt not look as if we were in Danger of inteſtine Broils. That is not the Way to keep our Confederates, and get good Terms for ourſelves; nor to continue us, what we uſed to be, the Arbiters of *Europe*.

But another Reaſon why I wiſh our Domeſtick Differences were compoſed, is, becauſe I would not have any Thing like a Reaſon,, like a Colour, or Pretence for a ſtanding Army.

In the Poſture we are in. Whilſt all Sides are ſo heated and inveterate. Whilſt Reaſon is no longer heard, but the Incendiaries of Parties can, on every Occaſion, ſet us together by the Ears, and put us into a Flame, it will almoſt ſeem reaſonable to continue (when the War is over) Veteran Troops, to guard us againſt one another; and I muſt confeſs I think a ſtanding Army and Civil Liberties, are as inconſiſtent, as any two Things in the World can be.

I believe, as well as moſt Men do, of this Miniſtry. I could enlarge upon their bright Qualities, for I muſt really own they have ſome; but I would not truſt the *Engliſh* Rights with the beſt Set of Men in the World, if thoſe Men can keep arm'd Janizaries in Times of Peace (with the Conſent of either of our ſtrugling Parties) in Pay, to make their Will go for our Law.

And in a Word, I had rather our Convulſive Humours were well diſciplin'd, than have any diſciplin'd Force (in Time of Peace) amongſt us.

Thus, at your Inſtance, I have ſcribled down ſome of thoſe Thoughts which occur to me in relation to the common Welfare of *Old England*; and I readily ſubmit to your Judgment to whom, and how far they ſhall be communicated. If they contribute towards taking Men off from following their Leaders too implicitely. If they make Men attend to the Expediencies and Reaſons of whatever is propoſed, rather than go in with it for the Sake of him or them who bring it upon the Stage, I ſhall believe my Time well ſpent in laying theſe Things before you. Methinks, when we have ſeen ſo

many talk for and againſt Things and Men, merely to get into Poſts, we ſhould begin to be weary of ſervilely running in with the Notions of any of the *Demagogues* of our Age, who dictate to us but for themſelves, and make often a mighty Noiſe with what they themſelves know is of no Uſe, and are at bottom not at all concerned for.

Till we are able to withſtand the Influence of Self-intereſted Harangues, which are chriſtned with the Title of *Publick Good.* Till we are emancipated from this blind Obedience, forgive me if I ſay that we love, and allow of, and are govern'd too by a Sort of *Popery* in Civils, *the Domination of our State Teachers.*

If this Freedom is not offenſive, perhaps you may hear farther from

SIR,

Your obedient humble Servant,

N. N.

Octob. 15. 1705.

An Abſtract of a Treatiſe, Intituled, Free Parliaments: *Written by Sir* HUMPHREY MACKWORTH, *in Defence of the Proceedings of the* HOUSE of COMMONS, *in the Caſe of* ASHBY *and* WHITE. *With ſome Additions in Defence of their Commitments, and other Proceedings on the late Writs of* Habeas Corpus, *and Writ of* Error. 1705.

THE Grand Queſtion in the Caſe of *Aſhby* and *White*, on which all the other Queſtions concerning the Five *Aleſbury* Men do depend; is, *Whether the* Houſe of Commons *have not a Privilege to be ſole Judges of the Behaviour of the Sheriffs and other Officers, who are to take the Poll on the Election of Members to ſerve in Parliament, in all Caſes not particularly provided for by Act of Parliament*; that is, *Whether the Commons are not ſole Judges of the Rights of their own Electors, ſo far as relates to their Right of Voting in Election of Members to ſerve in Parliament, and of determining, who are, and who are not qualified to give their Votes in every ſuch Election. And whether the Officers that take the Poll have done their Duty in that Particular or not:* For if the *Commons* are ſole Judges in theſe Caſes, then the Determination thereof cannot be brought into *Weſtminſter-Hall* by any *Action at Common Law*, nor before the *Houſe of Lords* by *Writ of Error*, or otherwiſe; neither can the Commitments of the *Commons* for ſuch a Contempt to the Juriſdiction, and Breach of the Privilege of the *Houſe of Commons*, be diſcharged by any other Authority beſides their own, they being ſole Judges in the Caſe, excluſive of all others.

The

The *Commons* do not intermeddle with the Rights of their Electors, in any other Reſpect what oever. If an Elector be injur'd by another, either in his Perſon or Freehold, if he be Wounded, Beaten, or Aſſaulted, or any wiſe wilfully Obſtructed or Hinder'd to come to the Place of Voting, and to offer or pronounce his Vote for any of the Candidates. The *Commons* do admit, that the Elector may have an Action at Common Law, they do not deſire to be Judges of any ſuch Caſes: But when a Vote is offer'd by an Elector, and not taken down upon the Poll, by the proper Officer, *Whether this Officer* (who is in this particular Caſe their Servant) *has done his Duty or not?* And, *Whether that Vote was a Legal Vote or not?* The *Commons* claim the ſole Determination thereof, *by the Law and Cuſtom of Parliament*, as being incident to the *Trial of every Election, abſolutely neceſſary to preſerve the very Being of a Free Parliament, and without which, the People of* England (by whom they are entruſted) *can no longer remain a Free People.*

This is the Caſe of *Aſhby*, who was not wounded, beaten, aſſaulted, or hinder'd from coming to the Place of Election; for he did come there, was permitted quietly to offer and pronounce his Vote for Sir *Thomas Lee*, and *Simon Mayne*, Eſq; but the chief Officers of *Aleſbury* underſtanding that *Aſhby* was a poor *Cobler* turn'd *Oſtler*, not legally ſettled there, but at that Time under Proſecution, for removing him out of the Pariſh; and the Officers being upon their *Oaths*, and under a great Penalty, to do *equal Juſtice* to all the Candidates: And being ſatisfied that *Aſhby* was not a Legal Inhabitant of *Aleſbury*, qualified to Vote in the Election of Members for that Borough, *did refuſe to enter his Name on the Poll*; and for this *Omiſſion* or *Refuſal*, the Action was brought. To which the Defendants being advis'd to make no Defence at the Trial at Law (becauſe the Determination of that Point did belong to the *Houſe of Commons*) a Verdict of Courſe was found for *Aſhby*; and on a Return thereof to the *Queen's Bench*, the Court adjudg'd, that *no ſuch Action* could be brought *at Common Law*, becauſe the *Houſe of Commons* had the ſole Judicature of the Behaviour of the Officers, and of all Matters relating to the Election of their own Members: But the ſame, by *a Writ of Error*, was brought into the *Houſe of Peers*, and there it was adjudged to the contrary, that the Action did lie, and Judgment was accordingly given for the Plaintiff. Whereupon the *Houſe of Commons* came to Reſolutions as the Judgment of that Houſe; That, *According to the known Laws and Uſage of Parliament, the Qualification of an Elector was not cognizable or determinable elſewhere, than before the Commons of* England *in Parliament aſſembled, and that whoever ſhall preſume to commence or proſecute any Action, Indictment or Information to the contrary, are guilty of a Breach of the Privilege of that Houſe.* The Five Men of *Aleſbury* were ſerved with theſe Reſolutions; and afterwards it was reſolved as follows.

That it appears to this Houſe, that John Paty *of* Aleſbury *has been guilty of Commencing and Proſecuting an Action at Common Law againſt* William White, *and others, late Conſtables of* Aleſbury, *for not allowing his Vote in the Election of Members to ſerve in Parliament, contrary to the Declaration, in high Contempt of the Juriſdiction, and in Breach of the known Privileges of this Houſe.*

Reſolved,

Reſolved, *That* John Paty *be, for his ſaid Offence, committed Priſoner to her Majeſty's Gaol of* Newgate. The like Reſolutions were made againſt the other Four *Aleſbury* Men, guilty of the ſame Offence.

They that argue for the Priſoners, inſiſt,

I. *That the Elector is, in this Caſe, deprived of his Vote by the Default of the Officer, in not entring the ſame upon the Poll.*

II. *That this Omiſſion in the Officer, is to the Damage of the Elector.*

III. *That for ſuch Default in the Officer, there is no Remedy to be had in the Houſe of Commons.* And therefore,

IV. *That the Elector is intituled to an Action at Common Law, for Recovery of Damages.*

To this the *Commons* anſwer,

I. *That the Elector is not deprived of his Vote, by ſuch Refuſal of the Officer.*

II. *That this Omiſſion in the Officer, is not to the Damage of the Elector.*

III. *That for ſuch Default in the Officer, there is a proper Remedy in the* Houſe of Commons. And

IV. *That the Elector is not intituled, in this Caſe, to an Action at Law for Recovery of Damages.*

And having anſwered all the Arguments for the Action, we go on to prove the ſole Juriſdiction of the *Commons*, in the Caſe abovemention'd, and then juſtify their Commitments, and all other their Proceedings upon the Writs of *Habeas Corpus*, and *Writ of Error.*

I. *The Elector is not deprived of his Vote by ſuch Omiſſion of the Officer.*

This is proved by the *Law and Cuſtom of Parliament*, by which it is declared and eſtabliſhed, and ſo adjudged on the Determination of all Elections in the *Houſe of Commons*; that a *Vote* that is *Offered and Refuſed*, is as good, as a *Vote* that is *Offered and Received:* For if the Elector offers his Vote, the Law takes it, tho' the Officer be wanting in his Duty.

This Law is founded on great Reaſon, for the Safety of the Electors and of the whole Conſtitution. *For the Safety of the Electors*, that it may not be in the Power of the Officer to take from them what is incident to their Freehold, and eſſentially neceſſary to the Preſervation of it; *for the Safety of the Conſtitution*, that the *Commons* may have Power to do Juſtice to the Candidates, and to fill their Houſe with Legal Repreſentatives, on whom depend the Rights and Liberties of all the *Commons* of *England.*

If Votes that were *Offered and Refuſed*, were not of Validity at the Time of the Election, the *Commons* could not determine that the Candidates, who petition for Relief, on ſuch Refuſal, were duly elected by Majority of Legal Votes, and thereby fill their Houſe with proper Repreſentatives for the Common Safety: But the Perſons returned by Corruption or Bribery (who had the Majority without the rejected Votes) would continue to ſit in Parliament, to the great Hazard and Prejudice of the Electors, and the whole Conſtitution.

The

The Receiving and Entring of Votes on a Paper, upon the Poll, is not a *Qualification for every Vote*, but a Formality appointed by the Parliament, for the better Diſcovery of any Default in the Officer; and if he ſhould make a Return without taking down any of the Electors Names on the Poll, that would not avoid the Election or the Votes. It is indeed an Offence, yet not to the Parties, but to the Parliament; and upon Proof made of the Electors Votes, they would all be allowed as Legal, tho' not one of them were entred on the Poll: And therefore

II. *This Omiſſion in the Officer is not to the Elector's Damage.*

This is a plain Caſe; for if the Elector is not deprived of his Vote, as hath been demonſtrated, this Omiſſion in the Officer is not to the Electors Damage.

It hath been nicely obſerved, that the not taking an Elector's Vote on the Poll, is a Diſcredit; but to whom? to the Elector who hath done his Duty, or to the Officer who hath not? It is certainly a great Diſcredit to the Officer, who is upon his Oath to do equal Juſtice, *to refuſe to take down the Vote of a Perſon, who is well known to all his Neighbours to be a Legal Elector*; but it is none to the Elector, who is not anſwerable for the Default of the Officer: But if it were, it is not to his Damage, which is the Point in queſtion. And

III. *For ſuch a Default in the Officer, there is a proper Remedy to be had in the Houſe of Commons.*

An Officer that refuſes to take down the Vote of a Legal Elector on the Poll, is guilty of a great Offence to the Parliament, in breach of his Oath, and in diſobeying their Orders: And this Offence being of a publick Nature, and committed by him in the Service of the Parliament, hath ever been puniſhable by the Houſe of Commons by Impriſonment, or otherwiſe; of which there are innumerable Inſtances in the Journals of that Houſe: And this may be done on the Petition of any one or more Electors. But in regard Electors are generally contented, if they have their Legal Repreſentatives; and if they have not, they will have Juſtice done them at the Expence of the Candidates: Complaints of this Nature are very rare from ſingle Electors. But I remember there has been (from this very Town of *Aleſbury*) a Complaint made to the Houſe by three Electors againſt the Officers for ſuch a Default.

The Remedy in the *Houſe of Commons* is very proper in every Reſpect: For if the Electors that complain, have the Repreſentatives returned for whom they offered their Votes, then the Puniſhment of the Officer is the proper Remedy. If ſuch Repreſentatives are not returned, then the proper Remedy is, that not only the Officer be puniſhed, but that the Electors have their Votes allowed to them, and that the Return be amended accordingly; all which is done on the Trial of every Election in the Houſe of Commons. But nothing of this Kind can be done at Common Law, and therefore the Action at Law is not a proper Remedy in any reſpect. It is not juſt and equal that the Officer ſhould pay Damage to one that has not ſuffered any; neither is it proper that a publick Offence ſhould be puniſhed with a private Satisfaction;

which

which can no wiſe *prevent the Evil, allow the Vote, reſtore the Legal Repreſentative, or preſerve the Conſtitution*; all which is the proper End of V ting, by reaſon of their Freehold, and Freedom, and for the Preſervation of Free Parliaments, the great Bulwark both of Liberty and Property. But all theſe Ends are anſwered by the Remedy in the *Houſe of Commons*, which is very *juſt and equal, adapted to the Nature of the Offence, moſt likely to prevent the Evil thereof, and moſt advantageous for the publick Safety.*

IV. *The Elector is not entituled in this Caſe to an Action at Law for Recovery of Damages.*

This is evident by what hath been ſaid: For if the Elector be not deprived of his Vote, as hath been demonſtrated, he cannot be entituled to *an Action at Law for Recovery of Damages.* By all which it appears, that the Judges at Common Law were in the Right, that *no ſuch Action did lie*, and that the Lords founded their Judgment on a Miſtake, that *the Elector was deprived of his Vote*, when he was not; and that for ſuch a Default in the Officer, *there was no Remedy in the Houſe of Commons*; whereas in Truth they have a Remedy there, and no where elſe. This is farther demonſtrated by the Reaſons and Authorities following, *viz.*

V. *The Houſe of Commons are ſole Judges of the Behaviour of Sheriffs and other Officers in taking down the Elector's Votes on the Poll, and whether thoſe Votes were legal or not.*

Every Court in the Kingdom are Judges of their own Privileges, and of the Behaviour of their own Officers, and the publick Officers are in Law the proper Officers of every Court, according to the Writs and Commands they receive. If a Writ or Proceſs iſſue forth of the *Exchequer*, the Officers that execute thoſe Writs, and make their Returns thereupon, are their Servants, and accountable to them: If out of the *Common Pleas*, they are their Servants; if out of the *Queen's Bench*, they are theirs; and if the Writs concern the Members to ſit in Parliament, they are the Officers of the Parliament. Thus the Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailiffs, and other Officers, as to all Matters relating to Parliament, do act as Officers of the Parliament, and are accountable to none but them. The *Houſe of Commons* exerciſe in theſe Caſes an immediate Juriſdiction over them: If the Return be too ſlow, they ſend an Order to the Sheriff, or if faulty, take him into Cuſtody, as for a *Breach of the Privilege or Service of that Houſe.* The Court of Chancery is only the Repoſitory for ſuch Writs, by an Act of Parliament; but that Court does not meddle with the Returns, or the Sheriff, nor iſſue out a new Writ, but by Warrant from the Speaker of the *Houſe of Commons.*

This Law is founded upon great Reaſon, and even upon the Neceſſity of preſerving thereby the Conſtitution of Parliaments; for if the Commons wanted Power to puniſh thoſe Officers, or in Caſe any other had Power ſo to do beſides themſelves, in Caſes relating to Elections, they could never be ſure of Fair Returns, or a Free Parliament.

It will be diſhonourable to Parliaments, as a learned Judge obſerves, that *there ſhould be no Protection in their Service; no body can ſerve them chearfully and willingly at that Rate, and to have others judge when their Servants do well or ill, will be to have others give Rules to their Servants and Service, which will not be convenient.* But on the contrary, *it would be deſtructive to the Freedom of Elections, and tending to ſubject the* Houſe of Commons *to the Power of other Courts.*

If the *Houſe of Commons* were not the ſole Judges in this Caſe, both the Electors and Officers would be in a miſerable Condition; for the *Electors* might be deprived of *Free Parliaments*, to protect their Freedoms; and the Officers might be twice puniſhed for the ſame Offence, firſt by the *Commons*, and afterwards by the *Judges at Common Law*; which is contrary to a Fundamental Maxim of the Law of *England*, that ſays, *Nemo bis punitur pro eodem delicto.* Nay, they will be in ſuch a Condition, *That whether they do diſcharge their Duty, or not*, they may be utterly ruin'd and undone: For if *a hundred Men* offer their Votes, who have no Right ſo to do, the Officer muſt either accept or refuſe; *if he accept*, he forfeits 500 *l.* on the Statute for a falſe Return, *if he refuſe*, he is proſecuted by a Multitude of vexatious Actions, which muſt all be defended at the ſingle Expence of the *Officer*, and whether he has Judgment for him or againſt him, may be the Ruin of himſelf and Family; eſpecially if ſuch Actions ſhall be removed into the *Houſe of Peers*, and Judgment there be given againſt him, as it was in the Caſe of *Aſhby* and *White*; And yet theſe Actions are ſupported, by ſome Perſons, as if that very Thing were abſolutely neceſſary to preſerve the Property of the Subject, which tends to the Deſtruction of it.

Free Parliaments depend entirely on *Free Elections*; but no Elections can be free, if there be any *Terror* on the *Electors* or on the *Officers*; for as the Electors muſt not be hindred by Force or Threatnings, but muſt be *free* to come to the Election, and to offer or pronounce their Votes to the proper Officer, for which of the Candidates they pleaſe; ſo the *Officer* muſt not be terrified with a Fear of *a Multiplicity of vexatious Suits*, but muſt be free to act indifferently, as a Judge, in the Management of ſuch Elections, according to his *Oath*, and Duty of his Office, and as well to reject the *bad* Votes, as to receive the *good*; and ought not to be accountable to any, but to thoſe whoſe Officer he is for that Purpoſe, and with whom are intruſted the Preſervation of the *Freedom of Elections*, and of *all the Rights and Liberties of the Commons of* England.

They that have Power to puniſh the *Officers*, have Power to influence them in the Return of Members to ſerve in Parliament; and if an *Action* will lie, an Information will alſo lie, for *the Miſdemeanor of his Office*; if it may be puniſhed at the *Suit of the Party*, it may be puniſhed at the *Suit of the Prince*: If ſo, where is the Officer's Security? He may be found guilty by a Jury of the adverſe Party; he may be puniſhed 20 Years hence, and who can tell what Damages or what Fine may be ſet upon him? Will not this Terror make him deſire to pleaſe them that are to be his final Judges, rather

than do right? And will not this be dangerous to the Conſtitution of Parliaments, and put the *Commons* in the Power of the *Lords*.

The *Lords* and *Commons* have ever agreed that it is an antient Fundamental Maxim of *the Law and Cuſtom of Parliament* (which is the higheſt and nobleſt Branch of the Law of *England*, and particularly adapted to the Preſervation of the Liberties of this Kingdom,) That *the two Houſes are independent of one another, and ſole Judges of their own Privileges*, and the *Commons* inſiſt that it is the firſt Fundamental Privilege of the *Commons* of *England* to chuſe Members to repreſent them in Parliament, this is the Foundation of all their Privileges; and as the *Houſe of Commons* ſtand in the Place of their Electors in all other Reſpects, ſo in this alſo, to be ſole Judges, *who have a Right to chuſe ſuch Repreſentatives*; or elſe they can never be ſecure of a right Judgment, and that illegal Repreſentatives ſhall not be impoſed upon them to the Ruin of the Conſtitution, and the Deſtruction of their Liberties.

There is a great Difference between the *Rights of the Commons of* England in their *Private* and their *Publick Capacities*; for tho' the private Differences of the Commons, concerning their *Freeholds* and *Freedoms* are ſubmitted to the Determination of the Judges of *Weſtminſter-Hall*, as Perſons indifferently choſen and appointed by the Prince, to do equal Juſtice to all his Subjects; yet they never ſubmitted the *Fundamental Rights of the Commons of* England *in general, and in their Publick and Politick Capacities, as they are a free Branch of the High Court of Parliament, to the Determination of any other but their own Repreſentatives.*

This appears not only by the Law, Cuſtom, and conſtant Uſage of Parliament, but by the very Frame and Nature of our Conſtitution, which requires that *no Law be made to bind the Perſons or Properties of the Subject without their own Conſent in Parliament*, and as there is no Law extant, nor any ſuch Attempt ever made before, ſo it cannot be imagined, that Five Hundred Men in their right Senſes, could ever give up that Privilege, without which they could not maintain any other Privilege whatſoever, nor in any Reſpect remain a free People; for whoever has a Judicature in this Caſe over the Rights of Electors, has a Power over the Commons; and conſequently may diſpoſe of them and their Privileges as they pleaſe.

This is a *Matter of Parliament*, and therefore not cognizable elſewhere, it is a Matter of *the Houſe of Commons*, and not of the Houſe of Lords, and therefore ſolely cognizable in the *Houſe of Commons*; and if this be the Caſe, as really it is; and I hope made plain to the meaneſt Capacities; then it will be alſo evident to them, that the Commons have in all Reſpects diſcharged their Duty to their Country with great Fidelity and unbyaſs'd Judgments.

If the *Commons* have a Privilege to judge of the Behaviour of *Officers* in this Caſe; and they are and ever have been ſole Judges of their own Privileges; then the Determination of ſuch Caſes cannot by any *New Device*, or Artifice whatſoever, be brought to any other Judicature; but all the Proceedings in order thereunto muſt be *null* and *void*, and *coram non Judice*; and not only

ſo,

ſo, but the Attempt to ſet up another Juriſdiction, in Oppoſition, and even to the Overthrow of the Legal Authority of the *Houſe of Commons*, muſt be the higheſt Breach of the Privilege of that auguſt Aſſembly, eſpecially after the *Commons* had given fair Notice of their undoubted Right by the Law and Cuſtom of Parliament.

The Offence of *Aſhby* might be committed thro' Ignorance, becauſe the Law of Parliament is not univerſally underſtood, and therefore notwithſtanding every Subject is bound in Strictneſs to take Notice of the Privileges of Parliament: Yet the Commons took Pity of an ignorant Man, and remitted the Puniſhment; but the Offence of *the Five Men of* Aleſbury, was committed after they were ſerved with the Reſolutions of the *Commons*, and therefore was *a wilful and notorious Offence, in Contempt to the Juriſdiction, and Breach of the Privilege of all the Commons of* England, *on which their very Being depends, as a Free People.*

How then can the *Commons* be blamed for committing ſuch Offenders? Was it not their Duty ſo to do? Are not ſuch Commitments uſual in ſuch Caſes; and the proper Way to preſerve the Privileges of the *Commons?* And can ſuch Commitments be diſcharged by any other Authority? Ought not Offenders in ſuch Caſes to pay as much Reſpect to a *Houſe of Commons*, as to an inferior Court in *Weſtminſter Hall?* Muſt they not in all Caſes of Contempts, petition, ſubmit, and beg Pardon of the Court to whom they gave the Offence? Is not a Diſcharge of the Commitments of the *Commons*, in ſuch Caſes, a Diſcharge of their Privileges too? Will any *Habeas Corpus* lie to diſcharge an Execution upon a Judgment? Was not this the Judgment of the *Commons* of *England* in Parliament aſſembled, that thoſe Men ſhould be puniſhed for their Offence by Impriſonment, during the Seſſion of Parliament, or until they made their Submiſſion to the *Commons?* And can this Judgment be diſcharged by an inferior Court? And are not Caſes of this Nature excepted in the Act of *Habeas Corpus?* What Colour then was there for ſuch a Proceeding? And when the Lord Keeper, and all the Judges had unanimouſly declared that Offenders could not be diſcharged, that were committed for a Breach of Privilege of the *Houſe of Commons*, and they by a ſolemn Judgment aſſerted and declared that they had a Privilege in this Caſe, and had good Reaſon ſo to do, as is plainly proved, What could the Gentlemen of the long Robe mean, by proceeding farther in that Matter? And by arraigning the Proceedings of the *Commons* in an open Court, with the greateſt Licentiouſneſs of Speech; they themſelves then ſitting in Diſpatch of the Publick Supplies, and other weighty Affairs of the Nation: Never was a greater Indignity offered to the High Court of Parliament; for as famous Judge *Dyer*, p. 66. expreſly tells us, in the Caſe of *Trewinward*, *the Judgment of the Houſe of Commons* in all Caſes cognizable before them, *is the Judgment of the moſt High Court of Parliament:* For tho' the Power is diſtributed; yet as King *H.* 8. ſaid in the Caſe of *Ferrers*, *the King as Head, and the two Houſes as Members, are knit together in one Body Politick, ſo as whatſoever Offence or Injury is offered to the meaneſt Member of either Houſe during the Time of Parliament, is to be judged as done to the King's Perſon, and the whole Court*

of Parliament; and Sir *Edward Montague*, the Lord Chief Juſtice then preſent, confirmed all that the King had ſaid; and it was aſſented to, by all the reſt of the Judges of *England*; Now, ſays *Sir Robert Atkins*, in his learned Argument, *If you bruiſe or pierce the Hands* (and the *Houſe of Commons* may well be compared to the Hands; for they have been the liberal Hands; and the Hands feed the Head) *the Head and all the reſt of the Body muſt be quickly ſenſible.*

It appears by ſeveral Authorities, particularly by two Records, *M.* 12. *E.* 4, and *H.* 13. *E.* 4. in the Office of the Pleas of the Exchequer, that the Privilege of the Lords in one Caſe, and the Privilege of the Commons in the other, were both laid and claim'd as one *Entire Privilege*, and ſo own'd by all the Judges of *England*, and thus it is the joint Privilege of both Houſes, that *each Houſe ſhall be ſole Judges of their reſpective Privileges*; and whoever deſtroys that Privilege in one Houſe, deſtroys it in both; ſince both do ſtand on the ſame Foundation; it is pulling our Conſtitution to Pieces; it is deſtroying the greateſt Security of the Subjects of this Kingdom; for thus the Lords declared in the great Conference on the Bill for Impoſitions on Merchandiſe, *That it was the greateſt Security of all the Subjects of this Kingdom, that the two Houſes do by their Conſtitution, not only give Aſſiſtance, but are mutual Checks to each other*; but if the Privileges of the *Commons* can be brought to the Determination of the inferior Courts, and from thence by *Writ of Error into the Houſe of Peers*, the *Commons* will neither be able to *give Aſſiſtance, nor be a mutual Check to the Lords for the common Safety*; It is giving up the whole Conſtitution at once; and certainly, if ſending a Letter to a Peer, or a *Subpœna* to a Commoner to appear in Chancery, be a Breach of Privilege of Parliament: The endeavouring to ſet up a new Action contrary to the Law of Parliament, and to the Fundamental Rights of the *Commons* of *England*, is an Offence of a much higher Nature, as the Conſequence is much more dangerous to the Publick Safety.

It is yet an Aggravation to purſue ſuch Methods in an undecent and reproachful Manner: I will not uſe my own Words, but the Words of a learned Judge on the like Occaſion: *It carries with it a very high Reflection upon that great aud ſolemn Aſſembly, to entertain a Thought ſo mean and ſo diſhonourable of the ſupreme Court of the Nation, which is to correct the Errors of all other Courts, that they ſhould be guilty of Injuſtice and Partiality.* Chief Juſtice *Brook* and Juſtice *Saunders* ſays in *Plowden*'s Comment. 175. *Injuſtice may not be preſumed of a Parliament.* And in the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Caſe, *fol.* 398. *The Parliament is a Court of very high Honour and Juſtice, of which no Man ought to imagine a Thing diſhonourable.* And Sir *Rob. Atkins* ſays, *We eaſily agree a Parliament may err, for they are not infallible; but the Law hath provided a Remedy againſt thoſe Errors, and a Way to reform them. A ſubſequent Parliament may reform the Errors of a preceding Parliament: But to ſay they will be partial or unjuſt, or do any Thing out of Malice, is to raiſe a Scandal upon the whole Nation, whoſe Repreſentatives they are.* And is it a Crime in the *Commons* to commit ſuch Offenders, as have raiſed a Scandal on the whole Nation? Have not much greater Puniſhments been inflicted for Indignities offered

offered to inferior Courts, or diſhonourable Words ſpoken of them, or their Proceedings? And if they commit, no inferior Court can diſcharge, by *Habeas Corpus*, or otherwiſe.

If the Privileges or Proceedings of the *Commons* cannot be tried or brought to Judgment in any inferior Court; if all Proceedings and Judgments in ſuch Caſe are *null* and *void*, and *coram non Judice*, as has been demonſtrated, how can any Writ of Error lie on ſuch Proceedings? 1ſt, Becauſe there is nothing to be removed, for the Judgment below is null and void. 2dly, Becauſe the *Commons* are ſole Judges, and the laſt Reſort in Caſes properly cognizable before them, as the Lords claim to be, in Caſes proper for them. The *Commons* cannot but proteſt againſt any ſuch Action, whilſt they remain a free Parliament. It cannot be conceived that ever a Houſe of Commons will yield up this Point, becauſe whenever they do, they yield up all.

It is not therefore material in this Caſe, whether a Writ of Error be a Writ of *Right*, or a Writ of *Grace*, if it be demonſtrated that no Writ of *Error* lies to bring their Privileges and Proceedings to the Judicature of the *Lords*. But if a *Writ of Error be a Writ of Right* in all Caſes whatſoever, eſpecially on all Acts and Interlocutory Orders of Judges, it will be welcome News to the Criminals, that may delay their Executions; but not to the *Crown* or the *Commons*, ſince the Prerogatives of the one, and the Privileges of the other, may by ſuch Means be *brought to the ſole Determination of the Lords.*

I will conclude this Diſcourſe with a famous Record out of the Parliament Rolls, 27 *Edw.* III. *Numb* 9.

Among the Petitions of the Commons, one is, They pray the King, *that he will require the Archbiſhop, and all other the Clergy, to pray for the Peace and good Government of the Land, and for the King's Good-will towards the Commons.* The King's Anſwer is, *The ſame prayeth the King.* And, as a Learned Judge adds on another Occaſion, *And I wiſh with all my Heart it were the Common Prayer*, not only *to pray for the Good-will of the Prince, but of the Lords towards the Commons; that they may not endeavour to take* that *from them by a Judgment, which has been obtained with ſo great Expence and Difficulty.*

I have but one Prayer more to make, and that is, *That the People of* England *will take care to preſerve their Liberties by chuſing good Repreſentatives.*

Scot-

SCOTLAND's *great Advantages by a Union with* ENGLAND: *Shewn in a Letter from the Country to a Member of Parliament.* 1706.

SIR,

I AM glad you got ſafe to *Edinburgh*, and that you tell me the Parliament is now met: And though you know my Buſineſs is not, nor do I much meddle in the Affairs of State, yet ſince you honour me ſo far, as to value and aſk my Opinion concerning the intended Union of the Two Kingdoms, I ſhall not altogether decline Obedience to your Commands, nor interrupt your better Thoughts, by any prolix Argumentation, but plainly and impartially tell you, that I wiſh nothing more than the Proſperity and Welfare of my Country, and know no better Means to procure the ſame, than by Uniting on ſuch honourable and advantageous Terms, as are ſaid to have been Agreed to in the late Treaty; which you ſay was Read in Parliament, and Ordered to be Publiſhed for the Satisfaction of the whole Nation, who ought in Gratitude to honour the Perſons and Memory of thoſe, who ſo induſtriouſly and indefatigably beſtirr'd themſelves to procure them. And this I ſay, without any Biaſs or Obligation to any Party: For you know, I have not the Honour to ſhare in the Publick Management, nor ever enjoyed any other Benefit from the Government, but what is common to all my Fellow Subjects.

I need not tell you the Unhappineſs of both Nations for many Ages, of Feuds, Rapines, Open-Wars and Devaſtations, and the many unſucceſsful Attempts made towards a happy Union, till ſo great and good a Deſign ſhould be perfected, and accompliſhed in the Days of a Queen, who is as formidable to her Enemies, by her victorious Arms, as She's lov'd of her Subjects, for the benign Influences of her Government. Now, inſtead of theſe Calamities, let us conſider what our Hopes and Expectations may be from the Union of the Two Nations in one Body, under one Head, and join'd in the ſame common Intereſt.

And firſt, as to Religion. One great Happineſs of our *Iſland* is, that we very early received the Principles of Chriſtianity, which are now taught and eſtabliſh'd among us, reform'd from the Novelties and Superſtitions of the Church of *Rome*. And though our fatal Diviſions about the leſs eſſential Parts of Religion, have done no ſmall Prejudice to the Peace and Quiet of the Church and State of both Nations; yet, by GOD's Bleſſing, it hath been preſerved againſt all the ſecret Machinations and open Deſigns of its Enemies; and, by a firm Union of the Two Nations, may continue to be the Bulwark of the Proteſtant Religion and Intereſt.

I intend not to examine the different Views and Encouragement, Parties and Factions may have from it, but in the general it is evident, that we are hereby

hereby ſecured againſt the Common Enemy; and if we cannot hope to be united in Form of Worſhip, yet we may ſee more of the Spirit of Moderation, and not grudge the Indulging our Diſſenting Brethren, in the Way and Manner of Serving GOD, that is not contrary to His Word, and moſt agreeable to the Dictates of their own Conſciences; whereas without this, and by a conſtant Struggling and Contention of Parties, the common Enemy may catch his Opportunity of Ruining both. You know me too well to think me inſlav'd into the Opinion of Men, which is not founded on infallible Truth and right Reaſon; and that my Principles are not ſo narrow and confin'd, as to exclude ſuch who are not of the ſame Opinion with myſelf about Church Government and Form of Worſhip, from the Title and Hopes of a good Chriſtian; yet I ſhall never wiſh to ſee Idolatry and Superſtition prevail, which muſt be the neceſſary Attendants of a Popiſh Succeſſor: And whoever oppoſes the good Intentions of a Union, either maliciouſly or ignorantly, promotes theſe two Miſchiefs to his Country, with many others that I ſhall not name.

And as an Union ſecures our Religion, ſo it procures the Safety, Proſperity, and Peace of *Britain*. It could be eaſily prov'd from Hiſtory, that all the Advantages gain'd over this *Iſland* by Foreign Enemies and Invaſions, were owing to the Diviſions ſeparate Intereſts found therein, which by an Union are remov'd, and the *Iſland* able to defend itſelf againſt any Attack from Abroad, and in a Condition to give Laws to their Neighbours: Which ſome of them well-foreſeeing, are not a little jealous of it, which ſhould encourage us the more cordially to join in it, eſpecially ſince it's proffer'd with ſo many Advantages, as could have ſcarce been expected, and never before procur'd.

That the Advantages of it will equally redound to both Nations, is evident from this, that hereby are communicated and made common the proper Benefits and Product of both Kingdoms; and by ſuch an Intercourſe every body will be active in ſome Buſineſs, whereby he may better his own Fortune, and provide for his Family. Our *Iſle* produces all Things for the Conveniency of Human Life, and our Seas are ſtored with Variety of excellent Fiſhes, which offer themſelves at certain Seaſons to our Hands, and yet are neglected, though the Catching them might imploy and inrich many Thouſands who live very idle and miſerable. Our Earth covers Treaſures of rich Minerals, which either our little Art, or leſs Activity, cannot dig up and diſcover to the publick Advantage. Nay, the very Things about which our People are moſt common imployed, cannot be exported to any tolerable Profit. Whereas by a Union I foreſee a Spirit of Trade and Induſtry, to prompt every body to undertake ſomething of this Kind, when they can expect to reap the Benefit of their Labours.

But then by a Union, we are ſecured of Peace; one of the greateſt of Bleſſings. None that know any thing of our Hiſtory, can be ignorant, how fatal the antient Wars betwixt the Two Nations were to both, and what Devaſtations and Depredations were daily committed. And can any thing more effectually prevent thoſe Miſchiefs for the future, than an Union? When

of

of one we ſhall be two People, have the ſame common Cauſe and Intereſt to purſue: No longer influenc'd by foreign States, to the Deſtruction of one another, but be able to ſtand our Ground againſt their Inſults; and our Iſland be one of thoſe fortunate ones, which no Enemy dares penetrate. Every body will allow, that *Britain* produces as good Men, for Arts and Arms, as *Europe* can afford; and have diſtinguiſh'd themſelves ſo honourably in all the late Actions abroad, that 'tis to be hop'd the very Name of our United Iſland may ſtrike an Awe and Dread on the proudeſt of our Neighbours.

I do not ſay, that by an Union all Degrees of Diſcord and Diſſention will be prevented: For as in the humane, ſo in the politick Body, ſome unnatural Ferments and Convulſions may ariſe, which by the Direction of a ſkilful Phyſician may be corrected: But the Danger is greater, when a cruel Enemy attacks with Sword in hand, and threatens without Mercy to ſtab it to the Heart. In a Family there may happen Quarrels and Diviſions among the Domeſticks, which yet hazard not the Houſe ſo much, as when it is aſſaulted by Ruffians and Robbers, ready to cut the Throats of both Maſter and Servants. And therefore when our Iſland becomes one Body or one common Family, every Part and Member of it will contribute to the Good and Safety of the whole.

In a Word, *Sir*, a Union has been ever thought ſo much for the Peace and Safety of *Britain*, and ſo often attempted, that it's to contradict common Senſe, and the Voice of Mankind to deny it. And therefore I apprehend the Miſtakes that are about it, proceed from ſome other Cauſe, and ſhall charitably ſuppoſe the Oppoſers of it to have no other worſe Deſign and View, than that they conceive it not entirely for the Advantage of *Scotland*.

But if they will allow themſelves to reaſon calmly, and without Prejudice, they will find that if the whole Iſland gain by it, then *Scotland* muſt have its Share of the Advantage, and be in a quite other Condition of Thriving than it is at preſent. No doubt *England* expects Benefit by it, and we have no Reaſon to grudge it, if *Scotland* get more than the Equivalent. *England* ſecures an old and dangerous Enemy to be their Friend, and thereby Peace at Home, and in more Safety to carry on Deſigns Abroad. *Scotland* will not be alarm'd by the Threatnings of a powerful and rich Neighbour, nor ſo eaſily put under the Yoke of a foreign Enemy. *England* gains a conſiderable Addition of brave and courageous Men, to their Fleet, Armies and Plantations: and we ſecured by their Protection, and enriched by their Labours. We ſend our Commodities and uſeful Manufactures to them, and have Money or other Neceſſaries remitted to us. They have free Acceſs to all our Seas and Ports, are capable of all Privileges of Burghers or Citizens: and we the ſame among them, can plant Colonies at a cheaper Rate; and with more Aſſurance than formerly, will ſee our Artificers improve, and our Land better cultivated and manur'd.

But though we could not reckon their Advantages by it, and many others which I omit, this one Conſideration may be of ſome Moment, that by it we may,

may, and by all Probability will, be in a better, but can be in no worſe Condition than we have been for many Years paſt, and without it may be ſtill worſe. It's a general Complaint, that ſince our Kings lived in *England*, our Stateſmen have been obliged to go there for the Affairs of the Nation, and many drawn after them by Hopes of Preferment, and others by Idleneſs and a vain Curioſity, whereby this Kingdom has been ſenſibly drain'd of Money, and our Affairs brought under the Influence of others, who had no Right to determine in them. All this muſt be acknowledged to have been, and will continue to be, as long as we are two Bodies under one Head, or two Kingdoms with different Intereſts, and ſo vaſtly diſproportionable in Strength and Riches. For, can it be reaſonably ſuppos'd or expected, but that, after all the *Limitations* and Precautions the wiſeſt Parliament can make, the weakeſt of two Kingdoms, under one Governor, will be neglected, when their Intereſts run croſs?

This has been our Caſe for many Years; and now we have a fair Opportunity of remedying all thoſe Grievances, and preventing the Hazard and Miſchiefs of a Civil War, which may end in our utter Ruin and eternal Slavery, by an honourable and advantageous Union, which perhaps can never be procur'd hereafter, tho' never ſo much wiſh'd for, when the Occaſion is loſt. And to tell you my Thoughts ingenuouſly, as our Circumſtances now are with *England*, and as we ſtand with our Neighbours Abroad, I think the Matter may be reduced to this Alternative, either Union with Peace and Plenty, or Diſ-union with Slavery and Poverty.

When I conſider theſe Things more at length (which I only hint at here) I wonder there ſhould be any found, to oppoſe or marr ſo good a Deſign. And yet in the little Converſation I have, I can diſcover three Sorts of Men guilty of this, for very different Reaſons and Accounts.

Some through Miſtake and ill Intelligence, fear their beloved Model and Form of Church Government, may be thereby undermin'd and pull'd down: And this very induſtriouſly inſinuated to them by no hearty Well-wiſhers to their Cauſe and Intereſt. For they will at laſt be ſatisfied that Care enough has been taken to ſecure that precious Jewel. But ſuppoſe it were not, to thoſe who are not fully perſuaded of its divine Inſtitution, nor regard it as a conſtituent Part of the Chriſtian and Reform'd Religion; it would be no ſufficient Reaſon to oppoſe the common Good and Advantage of the Iſland therefore. But ſince both Epiſcopalians and Preſbyterians may be encouraged with the Hopes of ſo much Good from it, I think there ſhould be no Diſpute on this Head.

Others, beſides Roman Catholicks, who have no other Deſign but to raiſe their Fortunes on the Ruins of the Government, and of all that's Sacred and Civil amongſt us; cry out no Union, nor will hear of the ſame Succeſſor with *England*, having their Eyes on another, whom though they name not, yet 'tis eaſy to gueſs whom they mean; but not ſo eaſy to fathom their Reaſons and Inducements. If they be true-hearted *Scotſmen*, they will not ſtrive to advance the Intereſt of any Prince, to the Diſadvantage of their Country. And to promote any to the Throne of *Britain*, is plainly to leave *Scotland* in

the ſame Lurch and Circumſtances, wherein we have complain'd it to have been thoſe many Years by paſt. *Melius exilium eſt tibi, quam reditus iſte: crimine alieno exulas tuo redibis.* Seneca *in* Theb.

A third Sort of Men, tho' no declar'd Enemies to an Union, but ſeem to wiſh it, yet muſt be ſtill quarrelling at ſomething; and alledge, all Things were not carried on, in the late Treaty, to the Honour and Advantage of *Scotland:* For no other Reaſon, I ſuppoſe, but becauſe they were not call'd to it, or rather that they envy the Honour of thoſe who were ſo inſtrumental in procuring ſo good Terms. To whom I may apply that of the Poet,

Dum malus obtrectat facta immortalia livor,
Nec ſinit adjutas ductoris creſcere laudes.

And indeed I'm the more perſuaded of this, when I conſider the Weakneſs of their Objections and Prejudices againſt it. Why, ſay they, to give up and yield our Sovereignty: No more a Parliament in *Scotland:* To be repreſented by a few Delegates in a *Britiſh* Parliament: No more the Name of the ancient Kingdom: our Noblemen and Peers to loſe their Birth-Right; and a great deal more to this Purpoſe; which are only ſpecious Pretences and plauſible Arguments, to ſtartle ſuch, who, not underſtanding the Reaſons and Cauſes of Things, are eaſily impoſed on to entertain groundleſs Jealouſies, and be frighted with Words.

You know, *Sir*, that on all Occaſions the private Life and Capacity I am in, give me, I have appear'd, and ſtill am, as much as any *Scotſman*, for aſſerting the Honour, Independency and Rights of my Country; and am not inſenſible of the Attempts made upon them, nor of the Hazard wherein they may be hereafter, if we take not right Meaſures to prevent it. Our Eyes are now open'd, to ſee the Error of ſcruing up the Prerogative ſo high; to which both the contending Parties amongſt us gave their Hands by turns. For, as the Government either favour'd or protected them, they were ready to go into the Meaſures of it. And though much has been ſaid and done in the late Parliaments, to recover our Rights and Liberties; yet nothing in my Opinion can more effectually ſecure them to the Benefit of the Nation in general, than an honourable Union, as it's now intended; wherein we are to meet our Neighbours but half Way, who come with equal Conceſſions, and ſcruple not the Alteration of Names and Words, when the Thing is ſtill the ſame.

I ſhall not trouble you with a particular Anſwer to the Objections here hinted at, knowing you to be too wiſe to perceive any Weight or Solidity in them. For when they are managed with all the Art and Force their Formers can give them, they are not to be laid in the Ballance, nor will have any Proportion to the univerſal Good and Benefit of the Nation. Has it not been the general Wiſh of all *Scotſmen*, to be in other Terms and Circumſtances with *England* than we have been for many Years? And now when we are in a fair Way of being ſo, to oppoſe it is no ſmall Degree of Fickleneſs and Inconſtancy.

I reckon

I reckon our Sovereignty and Independency to be more aſſerted in this Union, and by the Treaty about it intended, than we have had the Occaſion to do of a long Time: And if we were to yield it upon the Account of any falſe or pretended *Superiority* over *Scotland* by *England*, or any other Nation whatſoever; I think no honeſt *Scotſman*, but would proteſt againſt it: Or if any ſuch Conveyance or Submiſſion were intended as was made by *Baliol* to the *Engliſh*, and offered by Queen *Mary* to the *French* in a ſecret Article of her Marriage with the then *Dauphin* of *France*, dated the 4th of *April*, 1557, as it's to be found at large in *Recueil de Traitez*, &c. 1. 2. *p.* 510.

But here two Nations equally free and independent one of another, are willing to become one, under one Sovereign, not regarding old Names by which they were diſtinguiſh'd; but as they are Inhabitants of one Iſland, ſo to go under the common Name of it: And though there were never another Parliament to meet at *Edinburgh*, what's the Loſs, if our Laws and Liberties be preſerv'd in one elſe where? And who knows but the Reaſons of State and Government, may occaſion ſome Parliaments to ſit in this Northern Part of our Iſle? For, I ſuppoſe, it will be made no neceſſary Qualification of a *Britiſh* Parliament, that it ſhould always meet at *London*. And tho' this Part of *Britain* had fewer Repreſentatives, than are ſaid to be agreed to in the Treaty, yet we are not to fear the worſe Treatment for that, no more than the City of *London* does, which ſends no more Members, than a Town not ſo large by the hundred Part. For, by an Union, we are no more two but one Body, and who will hurt his own Fleſh.

I confeſs, of all Ranks and Degrees of Men amongſt us, our Noblemen have the moſt to object, who ſeem to be debarr'd from the Privilege of their Peerage; and yet every Baron may have the ſame Pretence in a *Scots* Parliament. But it is to be hop'd, their Lordſhips will not lay their perſonal Rights and Pretenſions in the Ballance with the Good of the whole Nation. And I ſee no Loſs their Families will ſuffer by their keeping at Home, when the Expences of a Parliament Journey, may be more than many of them can well bear.

You know with what Severity and Rigidneſs many of our Tenants are treated by their Lords and Lairds; and would it not be a mighty Relief to them to be freed from ſuch Tyranny, and equally beneficial to the Nation, to have the Art of improving Land, and many other Things introduc'd amongſt us, which I hope will be the Conſequence of a happy Union. What is it that has made ſo much Odds betwixt *Scotland* and *England*, in the Riches of the People, and Product of the Ground, but their Trade and Induſtry? And what has more hindred our thriving therein, than the Exaction of many Maſters upon their Tenants and Servants? Our Land is generally rack'd and over-valued in the Rent, and the Leaſes given for ſo ſhort a Time, that the Tenants are no ways encourag'd to improve it, either to their own or Maſters Advantage, nor can hardly gain a tolerable Living by their Toil and Labour: Whereas every body that knows any Thing of *England*, ſees the

contrary there, and may expect to see it among ourselves, by such a Communication as will attend an Union.

I need say nothing of the Encouragement our Merchants and Trading Men have to joyn cordially in it, they of all others having the faireſt Hopes of being Gainers, not only by an open and free Trade, but in Company and Societies with others, who will be infallibly invited to come and live amongſt us, by the convenient Situation of our Ports to foreign Places, and the great Benefit to be made by the Fiſhing in our Seas; and what Advantage this will be to us, I leave you to judge.

Thus, *Sir*, I have very briefly and ingenuouſly given you my Thoughts of an Union, without any particular Expectation of Advantage to myſelf; which if they ſeem juſt and reaſonable, you can improve in your publick Occaſions; and if I err or miſtake, I hope you'll ſhew me wherein: For I know I write to one who is not acted and led by the ſole Influence of Parties or Factions, but by ſolid Reaſon, and the true Intereſt of our Country, to which I vow myſelf a hearty Well-wiſher, and am,

S I R,

Your moſt humble Servant, &c.

The SCOTCH *Echo to the* ENGLISH *Legion: Or, the* Union *in Danger, from the Principles of ſome Old and Modern Whigs in both Nations, about the* Power of Parliaments.

Being every Word collected from their own Writings; and here publiſh'd for the Conſideration of thoſe who are capable of forming a Teſt to ſecure the UNION, from the dangerous Conſequences of ſuch Principles. 1707.

Legion's Humble Addreſs to the LORDS.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal Aſſembled in Parliament.

'THE *Diſtreſſed People of* England *betrayed and abuſed by their Repreſentatives*, humbly fly to your Lordſhips, as the only Refuge now left them, next under GOD and Her Majeſty, where they can apply themſelves for the Safety of their Liberties, and Redreſs of the Grievances of this Nation.

'And that your Lordſhips and all the World may know, That it is not without great Reaſon, that we come to your Lordſhips *from that Houſe*,

'*where*

'*where our Safety ought to depend:* Accordingly we crave Leave humbly to 'repreſent to your Lordſhips.

'There is a Duty incumbent *on the Peoples Repreſentatives*, viz. *The Care* '*of the Liberties, Properties, and Peace of the Perſons they repreſent*, **which** '**they have no Right to part with, or to expoſe; and therefore all** '**the Powers and Rights of us the Repreſented, are not com-**'**mitted to them the Repreſenters.**

'Whenever a Houſe of Commons *ſhall part with, expoſe, neglect, or ſuffer* '*to be infringed, the Liberties, Rights, and Peace of the People they repreſent,* '*they betray their Truſt, violate the general Reaſon and Nature of their being* '*choſen:* **Their repreſenting Power and Being ceaſes of Courſe,** '**and they become,** *from that Time forward, a mighty Conventicle,* **an un-**'**lawful Aſſembly, and may and ought to be depoſed and diſ-**'**miſſed, by the ſame Laws of Nature and Right that oppreſs'd** '**Subjects may, and in all Ages have depoſed bloody and tyran-**'**nical Princes.**

'It is the undoubted Right and Privilege of the People of *England*, that 'they are not bound to ſubmit to any Power but what is legal; *and the* '*known Laws of the Land, are the ſtated Bounds of Parliamentary as well as* '*Regal Power*; and therefore the People ought not to be oppreſs'd. On the 'Breach of theſe Laws, and oppreſſing the People, **your Lordſhips noble** '**Anceſtors have frequently taken Arms,** and pulled down bloody Ty-'rants, depoſing their Power, and reſcuing your Country from Slavery and 'Oppreſſion: And having convey'd to your Lordſhips and us the People of '*England*, the Right of being govern'd by known Laws: We have till now 'defended that Right, to the Deſtruction of all thoſe that ever attempted to 'invade it; and, under your Lordſhips Protection, ſtill reſolve to do ſo to 'the laſt Drop of our Blood.

'It cannot be juſt, that what our Kings have no Right to take away, *our* '*Repreſentatives may without Law: And that the People may endure the* '**Tyranniſe of five hundred Uſurpers more than one,** *ſince no Num-*'*ber or Quality of Perſons can make that Lawful, which in its own Nature* '*is not ſo.*

'Theſe Things being undeniably true, we cannot, without great Regret, 'apply ourſelves to your Lordſhips, and humbly repreſent in our own Names, 'and in the Names of all the good People of *England*, That to addreſs Her 'Majeſty to extend Her Prerogative, and thereby embroil Her Majeſty with 'the Peers, is the moſt aggravated Piece of Treachery that ever Houſe of 'Commons was, or ever can be guilty of.

'As it's an Affront to Her Majeſty, and reproaching Her with not know-'ing how to manage Her Government.

'As it's a malicious Deſign on Her Perſon, by perſwading Her *to enter on* '*that very Thing*; *the exorbitant Practice whereof was the Ruine and Deſtruc-*'*tion of Her Father and Grandfather.*

'As it's a notorious Diſcovery of a treacherous Plot againſt the People of '*England*, to bring the Prerogative of the Prince in Play, and prompt it

'forward,

'forward, which has coſt the Nation ſo much Blood and Treaſure to re-
'ſtrain.

'*It's the moſt unparallel'd, unpreſidented Attempt upon the Liberties of the*
'*People, who ſent them there to protect, ſettle, and defend them, whoſe Servants*
'*they are, and whoſe Rights and Liberties they cannot expoſe without the moſt*
'*deteſtable Perfidy, and degenerating from all the Members that ever ſate within*
'*thoſe Walls before them.*

'*It's a terrible Precedent for future Ages, when ſome Princes of leſs Honeſty*
'*may ſit on the Throne, who may with more Eaſe be perſuaded by a biaſſed and*
'*corrupt Houſe of Commons, to become Tyrants and Advancers of the Prero-*
'*gative.*

'And your Lordſhips, like the true Poſterity of thoſe noble Anceſtors, at
'the Price of whoſe Blood we receiv'd our Privileges and Liberties, having
'vigorouſly and gloriouſly withſtood the treacherous and unfaithful Proceed-
'ings of thoſe our degenerated Repreſentatives.

'We cannot, but with a deep Senſe of Gratitude and Affection, preſent
'unto your Lordſhips this our humble Addreſs, heartily acknowledging your
'Lordſhips Zeal, Courage, and Fidelity, both in vindicating your undoubt-
'ed Rights, invaded by the ſame Houſe of Commons, in your diligent Care
'for the Safety of Her Majeſty's Perſon, and in your Lordſhips aſſerting the
'Liberty and Rights of the People of *England*, againſt the Invaſion and U-
'ſurpation of the Houſe of Commons.

'We cannot in Gratitude but aſſure your Lordſhips, that in the farther
'Purſuit of theſe juſt and glorious Ends, we the injured Freeholders and
'Commons in *England*, will firmly adhere to, and faithfully defend your Lord-
'ſhips both in your Perſons and Authority: We will maintain your Lord-
'ſhips in all your juſt and legal Privileges, and in all the due Meaſures you
'have already taken, or ſhall further take, in the Defence and Vindication
'of your juſt Rights, Her Majeſty's Perſon, and our own Liberties: In all
'which we humbly aſſure your Lordſhips, as one Man, to live and die
'with you.

'Our Name is Legion, and we are more.

The next of your Authors I ſhall refer to your Conſideration is, that fam'd Piece, called *Jura Populi Anglicani*, printed in Defence of the *Kentiſh* Petitioners in 1701, at the Direction of your chief Whigs, by one of your ableſt Lawyers, as the Senſe of all your Party.

From the Preface of Jura Populi Anglicani.

'THO' the Taſk be very grateful, and what I could not undertake,
'when I conſider'd how neceſſary it was *to run down that Power, which*
'*has been aſſumed to deſtroy the Freedom we are entitled to by the Law of Na-*
'*ture, and municipal Laws of the Land*; yet two Conſiderations there are,
'which did not a little diſcourage me in the Undertaking.

Firſt,

'*First*, It was no ſmall Check to me to conſider how invidious a Thing 'it is to cenſure the Proceedings of that great and honourable Aſſembly of 'the Houſe of Commons. The People of *England* generally call them their 'Repreſentatives, and ſo far do they think themſelves intereſted in what they 'do; as to eſpouſe their Acts for their own, and reckon any Cenſure of 'them to be an Arraignment of the whole People. He therefore that will 'be ſo hardy as to attack ſuch an Authority as this, may well be under 'ſome Concern at the Undertaking, and had need in the very Entrance, to 'remove a Prejudice which is enough to defeat his ſincere Endeavours to 'ſerve the Publick. The Apology which I ſhall here make for myſelf is, 'to deſire thoſe who are ſo tender of the Honour of their Repreſentatives, 'to conſider,

'Firſt, *That he who uſes a Freedom in ſpeaking againſt the Proceedings of the 'Houſe of Commons, is not neceſſarily ſuppoſed to ſpeak againſt the whole Houſe, 'much leſs the whole People of* England. 'Tis true indeed, when a Queſtion 'is carried, tho' it be only by one Voice, it's as much the Act of the whole 'Body, as to any Force and Operation in our Conſtitution, as if it had the 'Suffrages of every individual Perſon. Will any one ſay, that ſuch a Reſolu- 'tion, in the Debates of Men without Doors, concerning its being reaſonable, or 'unreaſonable, is as much to be reckon'd the Act of the whole Body, as if it 'had the chearful Suffrages of them all? To ſpeak a little more plainly, Let us 'conſider a Queſtion at the very Time of Diviſion, with the Voices equal 'on both Sides. *In this Caſe, Men reaſoning and ſpeaking their Minds freely 'concerning either Side of the Queſtion, cannot be ſaid to be guilty of any Of- 'fence, or utter any Reflection againſt the People of* England *or their Repre- 'ſentatives, becauſe they whoſe Suffrages he condemns, are no more than the other 'Side, whoſe Proceedings he juſtifies.* Afterwards, when ſuch an equal Diviſion 'as this is decided by the Speaker, it muſt be own'd that his Voice makes it 'the Act of the Houſe: But *what in reality does ſuch a Perſon do? Does he 'any more than cenſure that one Member of the Houſe? Or can his Reflections 'reach any more of the People than thoſe who choſe him for their Repreſentative?* 'If in ſuch a Caſe the Speaker ſhould happen to be a Man of crooked Deſigns, 'notorious for Falſeneſs and Inſincerity, as well as other Immoralities, *and 'engaged in all the Intereſts of a Party, ſuſpected and feared by far the greater 'Part of the People; would it be poſſible for humane Nature to have that 'Reverence which ſome contend for, for ſuch an Ordinance as this; Or ought he 'in Juſtice or good Senſe to be cenſured as an evil Man, and one who boldly re- 'viles the People of* England, *who uſes ſome Freedom in ſpeaking againſt a Reſo- 'lution, which ow'd its Sanction to ſuch a corrupt Voice? This ſhews us, what 'Opinion we are to have of thoſe who are free in cenſuring ſuch Reſolutions 'when they are carried by greater Majorities.* **If a Matter ſhould happen 'to be puſh'd on by the Violence of a Faction, wherein the Ring- 'leaders are Men, whom the People have a long Time thought 'Enemies to the Government under which they live? If the 'very Fact itſelf carry in it very broad Signs of evil Intentions, 'if it be contrary to the natural Rights of the People and Laws**

'of

‘ of the Land, ’tis not the Majority of the Houſe will be able ‘ to reconcile Men to it: And if upon the Account of its Oppreſ‑ ‘ ſiveneſs and Illegality, the Voice of the People be every where ‘ againſt it, ’twill be a Soleciſm to ſay, That he who in defence ‘ of the Peoples Rights, uſes a Freedom in ſpeaking againſt it, ‘ arraigns the Juſtice of the whole People of England, and wounds ‘ their Honour through the Sides of their Repreſentatives.

‘ But tho’ the Impriſoning of the *Kentiſh* Petitioners *was the Act of the greater ‘ Part, ’twas not of the whole Houſe of Commons.* If then a great and ‘ honeſt Party in the Houſe, and in a Manner the whole People ‘ without Doors, inveigh againſt the Impriſonment of thoſe Gentlemen, as ‘ a notorious Infringement of the Liberties of the People of *England:* This, I ‘ hope, will be a ſufficient Apology for me, and ſecure me from the Cenſures ‘ of all thoſe who are apt to call ſuch an Undertaking as this *an impudent Ar‑ ‘ raignment of the Juſtice of the Houſe of Commons, and of the whole People of* ‘ England.

Jura Populi Anglicani, Pag. 30.

’TIS certain that nothing can be more agreeable to Nature, and a plainer ‘ Dictate of Reaſon, than that thoſe who apprehend themſelves ag‑ ‘ grieved, to be allowed a Liberty to approach thoſe *by Petition, who know ‘ their Grievances, or* perhaps are the Authors of them, and conſe‑ ‘ quently able to redreſs them. When Men entered firſt into Society, and ‘ gave up that Right which they had to ſecure themſelves in the State of Na‑ ‘ ture, it’s manifeſt that they did it *for the* Preſervation of Property, ‘ which is the End of Government.

Page 31.

‘ Can any Abſurdity be ſo groſs, as to imagine, that Men gave up their ‘ Right to pray for Redreſs, if they thought themſelves injured in their Pro‑ ‘ perties? *or that the ſupreme Power may hinder them to pray for that which ‘ they have not a Right to deprive them of?* Wherever therefore any Govern‑ ‘ ment is eſtabliſhed, there the natural Right which People had to ſecure what ‘ was their own, muſt be ſo far at leaſt continued, as to allow them a Liberty to ‘ petition for what they think their Right, *becauſe this is a Privilege which they ‘ could not give up, when they entred into Society.*

Page 32.

‘ King *James* the Firſt, by a Proclamation publiſh’d in the Eleventh Year ‘ of his Reign begins thus: The Complaints lately exhibited to us by certain ‘ Noblemen and other of our Kingdom of *Ireland*, ſuggeſting Diſorders and ‘ Abuſes, as well in the Proceedings of the late begun Parliament, as in the ‘ Martial and Civil Government of the Kingdom, we did receive with all ex‑ ‘ traordinary Grace and Favour.

Page

Page 51.

'But we are told, That by the Conſtitution of our Parliament, *the Mem-*
'*bers are left to the Freedom of their own Debates, and are to act without Con-*
'*troul; they therefore who take upon them to intermeddle in their Buſineſs, in-*
'*vade that Freedom, and conſequently our Conſtitution.* They who tell us, that
'the Repreſentatives of the Freemen of *England* have ſuch a Freedom as this,
'and are to act without Controul, cannot ſure mean, that they have dele-
'gated their whole Power to them; ſo that it's free for them to do whatever
'they pleaſe, without any Regard to the Inclinations or Intereſts of thoſe
'who employ them. 'Tis not to be ſuppos'd, that he who takes what Ser-
'vant he pleaſes, is oblig'd to ſuffer him to do what he pleaſes. *The Knights,*
'*Citizens and Burgeſſes ſent by the People of* England *to ſerve in Parliament,*
'*have a Truſt repoſed in them, which if they ſhould manifeſtly betray, the Peo-*
'*ple in whom the Power is more perfectly and fully than in their Delegates, muſt*
'*have a Right to help and preſerve themſelves.* Were not this ſo, the Condi-
'tion of thoſe who act by *Delegates* would be worſe, and their Freedom leſs
'than that of other States; which I think is not ſo in the Reckoning of
'Mankind. The *Achaians*, *Ætolians*, *Latins*, *Samnites*, and *Tuſcans* formerly
'did, as now the United Provinces of the *Netherlands*, the *Switzers* and
'*Griſons* do, tranſact all Things relating to their Aſſociations by Delegates.
'The *Athenians*, *Carthaginians*, and *Romans* kept, as the *Venetians*, *Genoeſe*,
'and *Luccheſes* do now, the Power in their own Hands. Theſe all, as an
'Honourable * Author obſerves, were and are equally free. But it would, I
'think, be very improper to reckon them ſo, unleſs we ſuppoſe the Power
'committed to their Truſtees remained ſtill in them. That the Power ariſes
'and is fix'd here, and that the Delegates reckon themſelves obliged to fol-
'low the Directions of thoſe who chuſe them, is evident from the Practice of
'other Countries, whoſe Government had the ſame Origin with that of *Eng-*
'*land. The Deputies or Procuradores of the ſeveral Parts of* Caſtile, *did in*
'*the* Cortez *held at* Madrid, *in the Beginning of* Charles *the Fifth's Reign,*
'*excuſe themſelves from giving the Supplies he deſired, becauſe they had received*
'*no Orders in that Particular, from the Towns that ſent them*; **and after-**
'**wards receiving expreſs Orders not to do it, they gave his**
'**Majeſty a flat Denial. The like was frequently done during**
'**the Reigns of that great Prince, and of his Son** Philip the Se-
'cond. The ſame Way was taken in *France*, as long as there were any ge-
'neral Aſſemblies of Eſtates; and if it do not ſtill continue, 'tis becauſe
'there are none. For no Man who underſtood the Affairs of that Kingdom,
'did ever deny, that the Deputies were obliged to follow the Orders of thoſe
'who ſent them. In the General Aſſembly of Eſtates held at *Blois*, in the
'Time of *Henry the Third*, *Bodin*, then Deputy for the Third Eſtate of
'*Vermandois*, by their particular Order, propos'd ſo many Things as took up
'a good Part of their Time. **Other Deputies alledged no other Rea-**

* *Sidney* of Government, *pag.* 451.

'ſon for many Things ſaid and done by them, than that they 'were commanded ſo to do by their Superiors. These General Aſ-'ſemblies being laid aſide, the ſame Cuſtom is ſtill uſed in the leſſer Aſſem-'blies of Eſtates in *Languedoc* and *Brittany*. **The Deputies cannot, 'without the Infamy of betraying their Truſt, and Fear of Pu-'niſhment, recede from the Orders given by their Principals.** The 'ſame Method is every Day practis'd in the Dyets of *Germany*: The Princes 'and great Lords, who have their Places in their own Rights, may do what 'they pleaſe; but the Deputies of the Cities muſt follow ſuch Orders as 'they receive. The Hiſtories of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Poland* and *Bohemia*, 'teſtify the ſame Things.

'This appears to have been the Conſtitution of *England*. Formerly, ſays 'my Lord † *Coke*, in the Writs to the Sheriffs for the Election of Commons, 'the King ſignified, that by the Advice of his Council he call'd them to-'gether about ſome weighty Affairs, that concern'd himſelf, the State and 'Defence of his Kingdom of *England*, and the Holy Church, and requir'd 'them to chuſe ſuch Men as would promote thoſe Affairs, that for want of 'ſuch a Power, and by an improvident Election, the 'foreſaid Buſineſs might 'not be left undone. The Buſineſs that requir'd their Meeting was publiſh'd 'in the Writs, **That the Commons and Freemen might conſider 'what they thought convenient to have done, and that they might 'chuſe proper Delegates and direct them as they think fit.** This 'I take to be the Reaſon why it was always the Cuſtom, at the Meeting, to 'declare the Cauſe of Parliament, which, in ancient Time, ſays ‖ he, was 'ſhewed in the *Chamber de Peint*, or St. *Edward*'s Chamber: That the Per-'ſons elected being more fully informed of the Buſineſs to be tranſacted by 'them, **might be able to give their reſpective Countries timely 'Information of it, in order to receive their Directions therein.** 'In this Opinion we may be confirm'd by what that great Sage of the Law 'tells us in another Place, *When any new Device is propoſed on the King's 'Behalf*, ſays * he, *the Commons may anſwer, That they tender'd the King's 'Eſtate, and they are ready to aid the ſame, only* **in this new Device they 'dare not agree without Conference with their Countries.**

'Since then in our Conſtitution the Delegates of the People have rec-'kon'd, that they had a Truſt repoſed in them by thoſe whom they repre-'ſented, **and that they were obliged to make their Will the Rule 'of their Actions:** it will be very hard to conceive how it can tend to de-'ſtroy this *Conſtitution, to pray them to have a Regard to the Voice of the 'People* ——

—— '**but if their Management bring them under the Suſpicion 'of the Nation, the People who have a Right to preſerve them-'ſelves, muſt be allowed a Liberty to let them know in civil and 'reſpectful Terms, what is the Voice of the People, and what**

† 2d *Inſtitut. fol.* 9, 10. ‖ *Ibid. fol.* 8. * *Ibid. fol.* 14.

'they

‘ **they think the Neceſſities of the publick.** In ſuch a Caſe it's im-
‘ poſſible for all to repreſent the publick Grievances together; ſome therefore
‘ muſt begin, and they who addreſs firſt, when there's good Reaſon for it,
‘ deſerve the Thanks of the whole.

In a Book entituled, Seaſonable Reflections on diſſolving Corporations in the two late Reigns, by ſurrendring of, and giving Judgment againſt Charters, *writ by the late Sir* Robert Atkins, *a learned Lawyer, and great Aſſertor of Liberty.*

General Preface, pag. 3. *ſpeaking of the Conſtitution of* England, *which he reckons the happieſt in the World, he ſays,*

‘ As the Subjects of the King are born to Lands and other Things, ſo are
‘ they born to inherit and enjoy the Laws of this Realm, that ſo every Man
‘ may have an equal Benefit by the Law. It is therefore called Common
‘ Right, and is a greater Inheritance to every Man, than that which deſcends
‘ to him as Heir from his Parents, becauſe thereby his Goods, Lands, Wife,
‘ Children, his Body, Life, Honour, and Eſtimation are protected from In-
‘ jury and Wrong.

Page 16. *ſpeaking of the Surrender of Corporations.*

‘ But now if Corporations can be ſurrendred or forfeited, it's a very eaſy
‘ Matter, in a ſhort Time, to put the whole Frame of the Government into
‘ the Hands of the Crown, and thereby to make the King of *England* as
‘ abſolute in his Power as the moſt abſolute Monarch in the World.

Page 24. *ſpeaking of the Surrenders of the Charters and Corporations, he ſays,*

‘ That ſuch a Surrender is firſt a Sin againſt the Law of Nature, for any
‘ Man that is free by the Conſtitution to make himſelf a voluntary Slave.
‘ 2*dly*, It's a Sin againſt the Law of God for any Man that is under an Oath,
‘ to break that Oath, and to perjure himſelf upon any Pretence whatſoever.
‘ 3*dly*, It is againſt the Law of the Land, in that it deſtroys the natural Right
‘ of every free-born Subject of *England*, to make free Election of Members to
‘ ſerve in Parliament. 4*thly*, It is an abdicating of our ancient Conſtitution,
‘ a giving up ourſelves to be govern'd according to arbitrary and deſpotical
‘ Will and Pleaſure, a renouncing of the ancient Laws of this Realm, origi-
‘ nally eſtabliſh'd as Laws of the ſame, by our Sufferance and free Conſent,
‘ and which we have bound ourſelves, by long Uſe and Cuſtom, to ob-
‘ ſerve.

‘ In a Word, the People that have been guilty thereof, however they
‘ may have flatter'd themſelves, or been flatter'd by others, *or worſe*
‘ *abuſed by thoſe that ſhould preach nothing but ſound Doctrine*; they have
‘ been treacherous to their God, to their Country, to their own Souls, and
‘ to their Poſterity; and have, as much as in them lay, diſſolv'd the Foun-

'dation, Freedom, and Form of their Commonwealth, which their An-
'ceſtors fore-priſed, when they firſt conſented to have a King.

Ibid.

'Even in the hotteſt and maddeſt of Times, thoſe of *Edward* the Firſt, '*Edward* the Second, and *Richard* the Second, when all thoſe Seizures and 'Forfeitures were, they were never ſo extravagant as to ſuppoſe they had 'ſuch a Power to deſtroy the Being of Corporations, much leſs actually 'themſelves to deſtroy their Being.

'It was repreſented to them, that ſuch a Judgment would remove us from 'our Center, unhinge the whole Frame of this admirable Government, make 'it an *Imperium plane Deſpoticum:* And ſo we ſhould either have no Parlia-'ment at all, that is to ſay, ſo choſen by the People as they ought, and of 'old Times have been accuſtomed; or, if any, according to the new mo-'dell'd Conſtitution, I mean of the Courts Nomination.

Page 25.

'*Glanvil*, who was Lord Chief Juſtice in King *Henry* the Second's Days, 'above Five Hundred Years ago, wrote a Book of the Common Laws of '*England*, which is the ancienteſt of any extant, touching that Subject, in-'forms us, That there was then, in his Time, ſuch a Thing as High-Treaſon 'againſt the Kingdom.

Page 26.

'In the Articles of High-Treaſon, and other Miſdemeanors drawn up by 'Mr. Sollicitor *Herbert*, in King *Charles* the Firſt's Time, againſt the Lord '*Kimbolton*, and five Members of the Houſe of Commons, theſe were two, '*viz.* 1. That they had traiterouſly endeavoured to ſubvert the funda-'mental Laws and Government of this Kingdom. 2. That they had traite-'rouſly endeavour'd to ſubvert the very Rights and Beings of Parlia-'ment.

In a Book entituled, Rights of the Kingdom, *or,* Cuſtoms of our Anceſtors, *&c. Printed at* London, 1649, *we have the following Paſſages.*

Page 182.

'IN *Richard* the Second's Time there was a Committee of Lords and Com-'mons appointed to hear and determine all Petitions in that preſent Par-'liament; but afterwards it was adjudged and declared, That ſuch a Com-'miſſion ought not to be given, committing or betraying the high Power 'of Parliament into a few private Hands; as we may learn out of the Rolls 'of *Henry* the Fourth, beſides other Times.

And

And a little lower.

'This ſeemeth to be the Law of Nature and right Reaſon, that Delegates 'ſhould not delegate others; which was one Reaſon why the Commons never 'made Proxies as the Lords did.

Page 93. *That ſame Author ſays,*

'If the Caſe were put thus: That for three diſtinct Eſtates or Cities, there 'were three Men choſen and ſent out to meet and treat of that which did 'concern their common Safety; and that two of theſe conſpired together to 'deſtroy or enſlave the third. I think it would not be denied, but by Rea-'ſon and the Law of Nature he might ſeek to ſave his Life, and to defend 'himſelf againſt the other two.

From Jus Populi Vindicatum; *a Book printed in Defence of the People of* Scotland*'s Right to defend themſelves in* 1669, *wherein one of the greateſt Lawyers of this Nation, and perhaps of any other, was concern'd.*

Page 333, &c.

'WE deſire theſe Things may be conſider'd, 1. That as Neceſſity did 'put People at firſt upon the Conſtitution and Election of a Parlia-'ment to manage their Affairs, which they could not ſo conveniently do 'themſelves, without Confuſion, Diſcords, and other Inconveniencies, which 'would neceſſarily attend a Community's meeting together, for carrying on 'of theſe Matters: So it was the certain Expectation of their Profit and 'Advantage that did prompt them unto the ſettling of this Frame and Con-'ſtitution.

'2. Whatever Power theſe commiſſionated according to that Frame and 'Model condeſcended upon, had or have, is not in and from themſelves, but 'from the People, no leſs than the Prince hath his Power from the People, 'as was ſhewed above; for no Man can imagine any Difference, as to the 'ſubordinate and inſtrumental Riſe of the Power of the Prince and of the '*Ephori:* So that as his Power is from the People under GOD, ſo is the 'Power which they have. Theſe publick Miniſters of the Kingdom (ſaith '*Althuſ. Pol. c.* 18. *n.* 31.) are choſen by the united and conſociated Body of 'the People or Members of the Kingdom, to govern, take care for, and 'preſerve the whole aſſociated Body, and her Rights, and are inſtructed 'with neceſſary Power and Authority, which to perform they are obliged 'by Oath.

'3. Hence really *the Power of the People is greater than the Power of any 'delegated or conſtituted by them*; for the Cauſe is more than the Effect: And 'the Parliament doth repreſent the People, but the People do not repreſent 'the Parliament: *Therefore the Power of the People muſt be greater.* His 'Power who doth conſtitute another, or depute him as a Guardian to ſome 'Buſineſs, or to overſee ſome of his Matters, is greater than any Power,

'which

'which that other deputed or conſtituted Curator hath. Parliaments then be-
'ing but as Tutors and Curators unto the People, muſt have leſs Power than
'the People have. *Mandans vero* (ſaith *Althuſius, Pol. cap.* 18. *n.* 92.) *vel*
'*injungens alii rerum ſuarum procurationem eſt inſtar imperantis roganti ſvis, ſuſ-*
'*cipiens vero talem adminiſtrationem, inſtar obtemperantis, inſervientis, & offi-*
'*cium ſuum alteri præſtantis:* So that the Parliament is but a Servant to the
'People: And the Power of a Maſter is always ſuperior to the Power of a
'Servant as ſuch.

'4. It is irrational to think, that the People in chuſing the *Ephori*, or Par-
'liament Members, and committing the Adminiſtration of their weighty
'Affairs unto them, did denude themſelves of all that innate and radical
'Power which they had to manage their own Matters; ſeeing no urgent
'Neceſſity could compel them to it, nor any foreſeen Advantage or Profit
'which thereby could redound unto them, move them, and perſuade them
'thereunto; but, on the contrary, much Hazard and Diſadvantage might,
'at the very firſt, appear upon ſuch a Surrender as this. Much leſs could
'they denude themſelves of that Power of Self-defence, which by no Law of
'God or Man they might lawfully give away.

'5. Whatever Power Parliaments have, it is to be exerciſed and put in
'Practice for the Good and Advantage of the People. Their Power is for
'the *Profit*, and not for the *Hurt* of the People; and to this Scope and End
'ſhould they level all their Labours, Travels, Pains, Endeavours, Cares,
'Thoughts, Conſultations, Conferences, Votes, Deliberations, and Conclu-
'ſions, *L. Imperial. C. de nuptiis L. bene a Zenone C. de quadr. L.* 8. *C. de*
'*legibus. L. præcipimus* 34. *C. de appell.* See *Althuſ. Pol. c.* 18. *n.* 7. 37.

'6. Hence their Power is not abſolute, infinite, or unlimited, but hath
'its own Bounds and Limits over which it cannot lawfully paſs. They are
'to rule and do all for God and the Good of the Realm, whoſe Servants
'they are. They are the *Miniſters of God for the People's Good*, Rom. xiii. 4.

'7. When they tranſgreſs their true Limits (which no Man will ſay is im-
'poſſible) by commanding what God hath forbidden, or forbidding what
'God hath commanded in his Holy Law; **or when they ſeek not the**
'**publick Good of the Land, but their own private Advantage,**
'**they are not, but ceaſe to be the Miniſters of God and of the**
'**People, and become private Perſons, who ought not, in theſe**
'**Particulars, wherein they go beyond their Bounds, to be obeyed:**
'As ſaith *Althuſius, ubi ſupra, n.* 41. and proveth by many Authors: And
'the Reaſon is clear, for no Inferior can diſannul God's Law, or free us from
'Subjection thereunto. They have no Power to command Sin, God never
'gave them ſuch a Power: And the People could not give it, for they had
'it not themſelves; **nor had they a Power to wrong and deſtroy**
'**themſelves, and ſo they could not give this unto them.**

'8. **If theſe Ephori or Truſtees betray their Truſt, and ſell, or**
'**baſely give away the Liberties and Privileges of the People,**
'**which they were intruſted with, the People cannot thereby be**
'**brought into a remedileſs Condition, or loſe their Privileges**

'**without**

‘ **without all Hopes of Recovery.** If a Tutor waſte and deſtroy the ‘ Pupil's Eſtate, the Law provideth a Remedy for the Pupil. If a Com- ‘ miſſioner or Deputy betray his Truſt, the Maſter's Loſs thereby is not irre- ‘ mediable. If an Advocate betray a Client's Cauſe, the Client will find ſome ‘ Relief. “ The People's Right, ſaith *Althuſius*, *ubi ſupra*, n. 124. ſuffereth no “ Prejudice, nor doth the Prince——— obtain any more tyrannical Power, “ by the Negligence, Perfidy, Deceit, Colluſion, Treachery, Prevarication, “ and Conſpiracy of the *Ephori* or *Primores Regni*, with the Prince.——— “ for it is unjuſt and abſurd to affirm, that the **Ephori or Parliament- “ men can transfer unto the Prince what they never had them- “ ſelves, or can deſtroy or alienate the Rights of the Community, “ in prejudice of the whole Realm; and that, contrary to the “ Fundamental Laws of the Land, or ſuch as the Prince ſwore “ to maintain, and which contain the Spirits and Life of the “ Commonwealth.**

‘ From theſe irrefragable Truths, ſo conſonant to right Reaſon, and atteſted ‘ by learned Politicians, it will clearly follow, 1. That the *Peoples* Caſe is not ‘ worſe by *Parliaments*, than it would have been without them. 2. That ‘ *Parliaments* cannot tyrannize by any Law or Right over the *People*. ‘ 3. *That no Treachery or Perfidy of Parliaments, neglecting their Duty or be-* ‘ *traying their Truſt, can prejudge the People of their due Rights and Privileges.* ‘ 4. *Parliaments* not concurring with the *People* in their neceſſary Defence, ‘ cannot looſe them from the Obligation of Nature, to defend themſelves ‘ from Tyranny, and intolerable Oppreſſion. 5. *If Parliaments, inſtead of* ‘ *acting the Part of Truſtees, Tutors, Curators, Delegates and Servants, ſhall* ‘ *turn Tyrants, Wolves, Tygers, and Enemies to the Common-wealth themſelves,* ‘ *or conſpire, join, or enter into a Confederacy with a Tyrant, and ſo ſeek the* ‘ *Deſtruction of the Community, the Community is allowed to ſee to the Pre-* ‘ *ſervation of their own Rights and Privileges the beſt Way they can.* 6. ‘ And ſo in ſome Caſes, when the Hazard is great, the Loſs irreparable, ‘ private Perſons may defend themſelves againſt manifeſt Tyranny and Op- ‘ preſſion without *Parliaments*.

Page 340, &c.

‘ From all which, we think, theſe Things will clearly follow,

1. ‘ That it may be much doubted if this laſt Convocation can be accounted ‘ by any Law, either of God or Man, **a lawful Parliament, having ſo ‘ palpably betrayed their Truſt,** in ruling not for God and his Intereſt, ‘ but againſt him, and enacting Things to his Diſhonour, in ſelling and ‘ giving away **the old and undoubted Privileges of Parliament; ‘ and in betraying, dilapidating, diſponing, and giving away ‘ the native and unqueſtionable Rights and Privileges of the ‘ People, and in overturning the Fundamental Laws of the ‘ Land, and annulling the Fundamental Articles of the Com-**

‘ **pact**

'**paſt betwixt King and People. Seeing Politicians will grant, 'that ſuch are to be accounted but private Perſons;** Tho' we 'ſhould make no Mention of other Informalities, which uſually weaken 'or annull the Conſtitution of a Judicature of that Nature, in Point of 'Formality, as Liberty denied to ſome Shires to chooſe ſuch Members as 'they thought fit; Prelimitations uſed to all; the Admiſſion of ſome, as 'Members not capable of an Election, according to our ancient and received 'Cuſtom; the *denying of the free Liberty of debating, reaſoning*, diſſenting and 'proteſting, which is allowed in all free Judicatories, and *the carrying on of 'Matters in a headſtrong, violent, and tyrannical Manner, without ſuch pre-'vious Deliberation, or ſerious Conſideration, and pondering the Weight and 'Moment of Matters, as would have become a Judicature by its Conſtitution and 'Nature ſo ſage and honourable.*

2. 'The native, ancient, and undoubted Privileges of the People are '*de jure*, entire, and inviolated, notwithſtanding any Thing done by 'this late Meeting, which had no Power to do what they did: And 'therefore could not wrong the Rights and Brivileges of the People.

3. '*That there is no Hope nor humane Probability now left, that ever the 'People of* Scotland *ſhall have a Parliament by the Courſe laid down, or inferior 'Judges to reſent the Injuries, Oppreſſion, and Tyranny wreathed cloſer about 'their Necks.* So that there was not, neither is there any hope (ſo long as 'the Courſe of Defection ſtandeth and is not overturned) that Parliaments 'now, or the *Primores Regni*, or inferior Judges ſhall concur for the ſup-'preſſing of Tyranny, bearing down of Oppreſſion, Defection and Apoſtacy 'according as they ought.

4. 'That while Matters are ſo, the People of *Scotland* are as if they had 'no Parliament, nor inferior Judges, for that End; and cannot be ſuppoſed 'or imagined to be in a worſe Condition, than if they never had any ſuch 'to protect them from the tyrannical and arbitrary Luſt and Domination of 'Princes; *and therefore muſt be allowed to uſe the Privilege and Liberty which 'Nature hath granted unto them to defend themſelves from unjuſt Tyranny and 'Oppreſſion of Parliaments, and inferior Judicatures, when their Repreſentatives 'palpably betray them into the Hands of their Adverſaries; yea, and conſpire with 'their Adverſaries againſt them and their Privileges: and inſtead of Patrons and 'Defenders of their Rights and Privileges, turn Enemies thereunto, and take 'Courſes utterly to deſtroy all.*

An

An Account of the late SCOTCH *Invaſion; as it was open'd by my Lord* HAVERSHAM *in the* HOUSE of LORDS, *on* Friday *the* 25th *of* February 170$\frac{8}{9}$. *With ſome Obſervations that were made in the* H——SE of C——NS; *and true Copies of Authentick Papers.*

In a LETTER from a Gentleman in SOUTH-BRITAIN to his Friend in NORTH-BRITAIN. 1709.

Iſaiah, *Chap.* xix. *Verſe* 13. *The Princes of Zoan are become Fools, the Princes of Noph are deceived; they have alſo reduced Egypt, even they that were the Stay of the Tribes thereof.*

I Was not, *Sir*, till now, able to give you the Account you deſired, Whether the intended Invaſion would have any further Notice taken of it than what I ſent you an Account of, with the Addreſs of the *Houſe of Lords*, for the Papers to be laid before them? But can now tell you, with good Aſſurance, That one of the chief Reaſons why thoſe Lords who firſt moved that Matter, let it ſleep ſo long, was out of the juſt Apprehenſion they had, that ſhould they awaken that Enquiry ſooner, it might prove a Diſturbance to the neceſſary Preparations of the next Campaign, by hindering Subſcriptions, or weakning the Credit of the Bank: And 'twas for this Reaſon, as I have been told, that the Lord who open'd this Matter, would not take Notice of a very remarkable Particular, which he had good Vouchers in his Hand to prove; but to let the World ſee, though thoſe Lords had been ſo long ſilent, they had not forgot that Matter, they took the firſt Opportunity that offer'd, after the Subſcriptions were finiſh'd, and the Bank Books made up, to put the Houſe in Mind of it, and, if poſſible, to get this Invaſion look'd into. They thought themſelves oblig'd to do ſo, in Duty to Her Majeſty, that ſhe might ſee in how much greater Danger ſhe then was, than they had Reaſon to believe ſhe thought herſelf, and in Duty to the Nation too, that the Publick might be convinc'd how little Care the M———y took of them in ſuch a dangerous Conjuncture of Affairs; and laſtly, in Juſtice to themſelves, to demonſtrate it beyond Exception, that they were not only willing, but deſirous too, to have this Matter ſearch'd to the Bottom, and thoſe concern'd in it have the juſt Reward of their Crimes; and accordingly my Lord *Haverſham* did again put the Houſe in mind of what ſeem'd to have been ſo long forgot, and ſpoke, as I am told, to this Effect:

My Lords,

'The Temper of this Houſe, with relation to your Enquiry into the late

'Intended Invaſion, ſince your Addreſs to Her Majeſty to have the Papers
'laid before you; and ſince they have been upon your Table, is ſo very viſi-
'ble, I need not take Notice of it, but ought rather to aſk Forgiveneſs for
'myſelf, that I ſhould dare ſo much as to mention that Matter once more to
'your Lordſhips; nor ſhould I do it, were it not from an abſolute Neceſſity
'and Juſtice which I think is due to myſelf and thoſe Lords who did me
'the Honour to ſecond the Motion I made, for Addreſſing Her Majeſty for
'thoſe Papers; for to me it ſeems too much like Fear or Guilt, to ſit down
'tamely under a Reflection a Man has in his Power to wipe off, and there
'are ſome which we perhaps may hereafter be reproach'd with; one is, That
'theſe Lords, who made you this Motion, never ſo much as look'd into the
'Papers they call'd for, or have thought on, or mentioned that Matter ſince;
'perhaps they will ſay too, That they never intended it ſhould come to any
'thing, that it was only a Cover to hide ſome Deſign they had under it;
'nay, I do not know but they may go ſo far as to ſay, that under Hand
'they were trying how an Act of Grace wou'd reliſh: Should ſuch a Thing
'be offer'd, I know myſelf ſo innocent, as in our preſent Circumſtances, I
'ſhould not give my Conſent to it; for I ſhall always think, that when
'Horſes are ſkittiſh, vicious and head-ſtrong, let whoſo will be upon their
'Backs, it is fit they ſhould never be without a good ſtrong Curb in their
'Mouths: And as to theſe Papers, *My Lords*, I have look'd into them,
'and thoſe who have done ſo, cannot, in my Opinion, but think of them;
'but that your Lordſhips may not have my Word only for this, I will, with
'your Lordſhip's Leave, take Notice of ſome Particulars that are in them;
'and that you may be certain of the Truth of what I obſerve, I beg your
'Clerk may read for Vouchers the Papers themſelves, as they ſhall be
'call'd for.

'It will not, I preſume, be denied me, that upon the 23d of *February*,
'Mr. *Boyle* receiv'd certain Intelligence, that the Intended Armament at *Dun-
'kirk* was deſign'd for *Scotland*; there had been ſeveral Advices before of
'great Preparations making, and by great Quantity of Fire-Arms it was
'judg'd to be for ſome Land Deſign. The States were apprehenſive, and
'acquainted Her Majeſty by their Miniſter with it; and *Scotland* had been in
'ſeveral Intelligences named, but I do not find there was a certain Account
'till that of the 23d of *February* to Mr. *Boyle*.

The Queen, in Her Letter of the 25th of *February* to the Council of *Scot-
land*, thinks it neceſſary to acquaint them with it, and that ſhe does expect
they ſhould do their utmoſt for the Protection of her Subjects and Preſervation
of the publick Peace; That nothing on her Part ſhould be wanting; That
ſhe has given Orders that ſome of her Troops in *Flanders* ſhould be ready to
embark, in caſe the Embarkation at *Dunkirk* ſhould go on; and, That her
Troops in *England* and *Ireland* are ſo diſpoſed, as to give what Aſſiſtance may
be neceſſary; and, in the mean Time, authorizes and impowers them, the
Privy-Council, to give ſuch Orders as were proper, to put her Forces, Forts
and Garriſons there, in the beſt Order.

This

This then being allow'd, the firſt Queſtion is, What Number of Forces, effective Regular Troops I mean, were in *Scotland* at this Time, that is, the 23d or 25th of *February* 1708? I can't but obſerve to your Lordſhips, that there has been a great deal of Care taken to conceal this from us, altho' this very Account was particularly aſked for by your Addreſs; yet in all that great Bundle there is not one Paper from whence we can learn the Number: I was therefore forced to get the beſt Light and Intelligence I could elſewhere, and have very good Authority for what I am going to ſay, and do affirm to your Lordſhips, That the Regular Forces in *Scotland*, upon the 25th of *February* 1708, were not above 1500 Men. If I am miſtaken, I hope ſome Lord here will ſet me right; and take upon him to ſay what the real Number was at that Time.

And ſince there was but 1500 Men, it is certain that was not a Number or Strength that could be thought by any Man ſufficient to ſecure and protect the Kingdom againſt the Invaſion that threaten'd it; and the Ferment that was then in the Nation was ſuch, that I do not find they durſt ſo much as truſt their Militia with their own Defence. We are therefore, in the next Place, to conſider what additional Strength or Augmentation theſe Handful of Men had, or what Aſſiſtance, either from the Forces from *Oſtend*, or thoſe from *Ireland*, or *Engliſh* Troops from hence.

As to Augmentations or Additions, I find there was little or nothing done as to that Part: The Parliament indeed had, on the 20th of *December* 1707, raiſed the Eſtabliſhment of the Forces in *Scotland* from 2834 to 5932; but it appears by a Letter from the Earl of *Leven* to the Earl of *Marr*, of the 7th of *March*, that little Notice had as yet been taken of what the Parliament had done; for in that Letter to the Earl of *Marr*, he intreats him again to mind the Eſtabliſhment, and let him know if he ſhall give Encouragement to any who ſhould be willing to take Arms to join them; and ſays further, he hopes at leaſt, that ſo much of the Levy Money as is due ſince the 24th of *December* will be given now; for that would buy ſome Horſes, and levy ſome Men: So that by this Letter it appears there was no Money given to levy Men, or increaſe the Forces in *Scotland*, though there was 3600 Men wanting at that Time, and had been ſo ever ſince the Parliament had voted the Eſtabliſhment in *December*, and though our Danger at that Time from the Want of them was ſo very great and evident, which ſeems very aſtoniſhing. Nor does it appear that any Directions, or Money for this or any other Service, till the Invaſion was over, was order'd here till the 12th of *March*; and then indeed on the 13th, the Earl of *Marr* writes from hence to the Earl of *Leven*, That my Lord Treaſurer had order'd the People of the Cuſtoms and Exciſe to anſwer the Earl of *Leven* with Money for Proviſions, and other neceſſary Charges; and further ſays, That my Lord *Marlborough* told him that very Morning, which was the 13th, that the *Scotch* Eſtabliſhment would be ended that Day; he knows not how they have made it, or if they have alter'd any Thing that we had concerted with *St. Johns*, or if any Thing be omitted; but he hoped they have not.

'Tis very true, her Majesty in her second Letter of the 8th of *March* to the Council of *Scotland*, recommends to them to give present Directions to put her Forts, Garrisons, and Magazines there, in a good Posture of Defence, and says, That what shall be expended towards these Ends by their Warrants shall be repaid, for which she has already given Orders: What those Orders were, or to whom given, are not to be found among the Papers; but it is very evident, that there was no Order for one Farthing of Money, to answer either the Orders of the Council, or the Earl of *Leven*'s necessary Charges, out of any Branch of the Revenue, or otherwise; for in a Letter of the Earl of *Leven* to the Earl of *Marr*, of the 13th of *March*, he has these Words, which will likewise shew the Condition of the Nation at that Time. 'My 'Lord, says he, I leave it to your Lordship to consider my Circumstances, 'here I am, not one Farthing of Money to provide Provision, or for Contin-'gencies, or Intelligence, none of the Commissions yet sent down, few 'Troops, and those almost naked; it vexes me sadly to think I must retire 'towards *Berwick*, if the *French* land on this Side the *Firth*; and that you 'may not have his Lordship's single Word for it, the Lord Advocate con-'firms very much the Truth of this, in his Letter of the 11th of *March* to 'the Earl of *Marr*; for after he had said that, he was order'd to lay before 'her Majesty the inclos'd Information for the Castles of *Edinburgh*, and a 'particular Account of what it wants to put it in a Case of Defence; and 'also the Castles of *Sterling*, *Dumbarton*, and *Blackhness*, to shew their 'present Condition, and what great Disorder and Want they are in, and that 'he had formerly sent a Memorial of Mr. *Slezer*'s for a Train of Artillery; 'all which he hopes will be consider'd." He adds, I believe, says he, there was never a Country more destitute and defenceless than we are, nor have we so much as a Treasury, or any Money for incident Charges; so that I must again, by the Council's Order, lay these Things before your Lordship, and that at least some Order may be given whereby necessary Expences may be defray'd; and the Earl of *Marr*'s Letter of the 13th from hence is the first Account we have of any Money that was ordered for *Scotland:* By all which it plainly appears, that notwithstanding the Orders the Queen mentions in her Letter of the 8th of *March*, the Council had not a Shilling for necessary Expences on the 11th, nay, not so much as one Penny ordered till the 13th; and as to the Establishment, notwithstanding all the pressing Instances, that was not settled till after the Invasion, as appears by the Earl of *Marr*'s Letters of the 12th and 13th of *March*.

This, *My Lords*, is the true State, as appears from the Papers themselves given in, relating to the Force of that I had almost said deserted, but I may say defenceless Nation; few Men, and those almost naked, 3600 Men wanting of the Establishment, voted by Parliament for the Year 1707-8, near three Months before; no Levy Money, no Establishment settled, no Commissions sent down, not a Shilling ordered by the M———y out of any Branch of the Revenue, or otherwise to the Privy Council or Earl of *Leven* for necessary Expences, or to buy Provision, or for Contingencies, or Intelligence, and all this in a Time of the utmost Danger.

In

In the next Place I ſhall ſhew your Lordſhips when *Scotland* was in this defenceleſs Condition, what Aſſiſtance they had from *Oſtend*, *England*, and *Ireland*. As to the Tranſports that were to come from *Oſtend*, though all the Diſpatch was made that could be made, they did not arrive at *Tinmouth* Bar, till ten Days after the Enemy were ſeen upon the *Scotch* Coaſt, ſo that the Diſpute, if there had been any, would have been over, and the Enemy in all humane Probability, would have been Maſters both of *Edinburgh*, the Caſtle, and all that was in it, before they could come up to their Aſſiſtance. And the very Orders to *Baker* is ſo extraordinary, a Man cannot but take Notice of it, for after that he is required and directed to make the beſt of his Way to *Tinmouth* Bar with her Majeſty's Ships under his Command, and the Tranſport Ships with Troops which he brought with him from *Oſtend*, *&c.* There is a further Order in theſe Words, But in regard there are ſeveral diſmounted Troopers on board the Tranſports, you are to ſend a Veſſel with them to *Harwich*, if you can conveniently, their Horſes being now in *Eſſex*, ſo that inſtead of taking the Horſes to *Tinmouth*, the diſmounted Troopers are firſt to be ſent to *Harwich* to their Horſes, and from thence to proceed to *Scotland*, which, one would think, were a very round about Way.

And as to our Troops from hence which were to aſſiſt them, the ſeveral Regiments of Horſe Dragoons and Foot, had not their Orders to hold themſelves in a Readineſs to march till the 11th of *March*. The next Day Orders were given for them to augment, and on the 14th they were ordered to march Northward, which was certainly too long a Delay, conſidering what a March it is from hence to *Edinburgh*; yet this was all the Readineſs they were in to aſſiſt them.

But there is one Thing which is moſt amazing, and I muſt again deſire, if I am wrong in Fact, that ſome Lord here, who I am ſure can, will ſet me right.

The Queen, as I ſhew'd to your Lordſhips in her Letter of the 8th of *March*, which your Clerk juſt now read, told the Council of *Scotland*, our Troops from *Ireland*, which we mentioned in our laſt, are ready to imbark in Tranſport Ships, provided in thoſe Places with all Neceſſaries for that Service; and yet it does appear plainly that there was no Tranſports provided at that Time here; nor was any Tranſport Ships ordered in *Ireland*; nay the very Orders to provide Tranſports were not given by my Lord *Sunderland* till the 12th of *March* here; nor by my Lord Lieutenant for *Ireland*, for the Troops to be in a Readineſs to be tranſported till the 13th, and then my Lord *Sunderland* ſends an Order to the Commiſſioners of Tranſports, telling them, That it is her Majeſty's Pleaſure that they forthwith take up Shipping, for the Tranſportation of 600 Horſe, that are to imbark at the *White Houſe* between *Carrigfergus* and *Belfaſt*, and 'tis left, ſays he, to your Diſcretion to hire theſe Ships either at *Whitehaven*, *Liverpool* or *Cheſter*, as you can do it, with moſt Expedition and Conveniency; and upon the 13th his Lordſhip ſends another Letter, acquainting them, That they are to provide aboard thoſe Ships, Hay and Oats, ſufficient to ſerve ſix hundred Horſe for a Fortnight, and as many Water Caſks as may be neceſſary to carry Water; Particulars

ticulars that were it ſeems forgot in the firſt Orders; and in an Extract of the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Letter to the Lords Juſtices of *Ireland* of the 13th, he tells them, 'I did not in the leaſt doubt but that your Lordſhips will iſſue 'proper Orders for one Regiment of Horſe, and two of Dragoons, to be 'provided with Neceſſaries ready to imbark whenever there ſhall be occaſion 'for them; and it is her Majeſty's Opinion, that the Regiments under the 'Command of Lieutenant General *Langſton*, Major-General *Ecelyn*, and Lord '*Tunbridge*, ſhould be on this Service; and I am of Opinion that it will be 'for the Service of the Queen to have theſe three Regiments move with all 'convenient Speed, and take their Quarters in and about *Belfaſt* and *Carrig-*'*fergus*, that they may be in a Readineſs to imbark; I deſire your Lordſhips 'to give Directions to the proper Officers to provide and get ready, Hay, 'Oats and Water, for at leaſt a Fortnight.

And here if we conſider that theſe Letters were dated the 12th and 13th of *March* from hence, that they were to go to the Commiſſioners of Tranſports here, and to the Lords Juſtices in *Ireland*, that after theſe Tranſports were to be agreed for, and Hay, Oats and Water to be provided, and the three Regiments to be order'd to march, what Time all this would take up: It ſeems very evident, that her Majeſty was not truly acquainted of the Danger ſhe was in, that ſhe thought theſe Things were in a Readineſs that were not, and that the Orders ſhe had given had not been obſerved, as ſhe concluded they were; and in the laſt Place, that theſe three Regiments muſt arrive in *Scotland* very late.

But there's one Thing more ſo very new, and without Preſident, that it cannot but be very aſtoniſhing, which is, that in the Earl of *Leven*'s Inſtructions of the 4th of *March*, in that Part where he is order'd to *Ireland* for Aſſiſtance, there is a Blank left as to the Perſon to whom he is to write; the Words are theſe, 'You are, upon the firſt Appearance of any Squadron of '*French* Ships upon the Coaſt, to ſend to *Ireland* to to 'adviſe him thereof, who has Orders to ſend Troops to your Aſſiſtance;" and yet, as was juſt now prov'd both from Lord *Sunderland*'s Letter to the Commiſſioners of Tranſports, and from my Lord Lieutenants to the Lords Juſtices, there was not ſo much as Orders given for any Tranſports here till the 12th, nor any ever in *Ireland*, nor were the three Regiments directed to move, in order to embarking, till the 13th.

I confeſs when I read this, I thought it was a Miſtake of the Tranſcriber, till I ſaw theſe Words in the Earl of *Leven*'s own Letter of the 7th of *March* to the Earl of *Marr*, 'I deſire you, ſays the Earl of *Leven*, to ſend down the 'Name of the Perſon I am to write to in *Ireland*, if there be occaſion; and 'muſt ſtill intreat your Lordſhip that Orders be ſent for ſome Horſe and 'Dragoons to imbark." And again, in his Letter of the 13th, where he has theſe Words to the Earl of *Marr*, he repeats the ſame Thing, 'Pray en-'deavour to get Orders ſent ſtraight to *Ireland* for the Officers there to im-'bark, for you know I have no Perſons Name to whom I ſhould write." This convinces me beyond what any Man can ſay that his Lordſhip did not know to whom to write, for ſure his Lordſhip would not repeatedly affirm what

what was not Fact, and whoever conſiders that there were no Orders lodged any where for any Perſon from *Ireland*, upon Advice from the Earl of *Leven*, of the Appearance of the Enemy to follow his Direction, and haſten to his Aſſiſtance; nor any Orders at all for Tranſports there; nor any Direction here for Tranſports till the 12th, muſt, I think, be convinced that this Blank in the Inſtructions did not happen by chance, but was a premeditated and deſigned Omiſſion.

I would not forget any Care that was taken, and therefore muſt take Notice, that on the 27th of *February* there were a hundred Barrels of Powder ordered to be ſent from *Berwick* to *Edinburgh*; but the Earl of *Leven* was not writ to about it till the 2d of *March*, which was four Days Delay; and the Order itſelf was ſo very prepoſterous, I had almoſt ſaid ridiculous (much like that of *Baker*'s) that it had full as well been omitted; for inſtead of ordering the Store-keeper of *Berwick* immediately to carry a hundred Barrels of Powder to *Edinburgh*, they ſend an Order to one Mr. *James Robb*, Deputy Store-keeper of *Edinburgh*, to get Carts and go with them to *Berwick*, and take three hundred Barrels of Powder and bring it to *Edinburgh*: and Mr. *Grieve*, Store-keeper of *Berwick* to the Board of the Ordinance, writes a Letter, dated *March* 10, 1707-8, hither, That *Robb* was come to *Berwick*, and the Carts would be there that Night. And I appeal to a Lord who cannot but know whether the Powder came to *Edinburgh* before the Danger was paſt, and the *French* off our Coaſt. And whoever will reflect, that the Earl of *Leven*'s Letter, dated here the 2d of *March*, was to go to *Edinburgh*; that then at *Edinburgh* Carriages are to be taken up for the Powder, then they are to go to *Berwick*, and from *Berwick* they are to return again to *Edinburgh*, will find it could hardly be there ſooner.

The next Thing I ſhall take Notice of to your Lordſhips, is the State of the Garriſons. The Parliament had given the 20th of *December* the Sum of 13098*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.* for the Garriſons of *North Britain* for the Year 1708. But I cannot but think your Lordſhips will be greatly ſurprized when you find in what a wretched Condition they were. I'll give your Lordſhips but an Inſtance or two, the reſt are much in the ſame State.

Sterling Castle.

THIS is a very conſiderable Poſt, a Place of great Importance; and yet what an Account is there of the Arms and Ammunition in that Place?

1 Barrel of Powder.

550 Fire-Locks, of which, about a hundred for Service, and ſome of that hundred want Ram-Rods, and ſome Nails, all the reſt unſerviceable.

780 Muſkets, which may be for Service when furniſhed with Ram-Rods; ſome Nails, and ſome ſhattered in the Stocks.

380 Muſkets, with broken Stocks and Locks, and many wanting Locks, and all unſerviceable.

150 Bundles

150 Bundles of Match, all damnified with lying in Rain.
300 Bayonets, moſt of them broken and ſpoiled, altogether unſerviceable.
300 Cartridge Boxes, all broken and unſerviceable.
200 Pikes, damnified by long lying.
40 Cannon Ball, eighteen Pounders.
70 Cannon Ball, twelve Pounders.
1200 Balls, nine Pounders.
3400 Four Pounders.
20 Small Bomb-Shells without Mortars.
1200 Hand Grenado-Shells.
50 Stands, Back and Breaſt.

Ordnance Stores in BLACKNESS CASTLE.

TWO Barrels of Corn Powder, one hundred each.
A hundred Yards of Match.
Four Hand Spikes.
59 Muſket Barrels repairable.
7 Scimiter Blades uſeleſs.
100 Pound Muſket Bullets.
3 Ladles, one ſerviceable, the other uſeleſs.
2 Cannon three-pounders.
1 Train Carriage unſerviceable.
2 Minions.
3 Faulcons on Ship Carriages, unſerviceable.
77 Balls for Minion.
25 Balls for three-pounders.
149 Hand Grenado Shells.

DUMBARTON CASTLE, *as* per *Memorial.*

THERE is ſeveral Breaches in the Wall, there is 12 Braſs Guns, none of them mounted, all of them want Carriages; there is no Powder in the Garriſon, and few Flints, all the Lodgings in a ruinous Condition; no Coals in the Garriſon, nor any other Proviſion: The Fire-Locks being long ſince they were gotten, are very ill fix'd.

Edinburgh, March 9. 170$\frac{7}{8}$.

The above-mentioned, is the true Condition of the Caſtle of *Dumbarton* at preſent.

I need not my Lords, I think, make any Obſervations upon the Caſtles, after your Lordſhips have ſeen the wretched State of them; and therefore, in the laſt Place, ſhall only take Notice to your Lordſhips, That after the *Invaſion* was over, there were Eſtimates made what it would coſt to put the Fortifications of *Scotland* in good Repair. The Total, as appears by your Schedule,

Schedule, amounts to 23,156*l.* of which there could be but 3000*l.* laid out this Year; and yet there has been but poor 1500*l.* expended upon that Service this Year, as appears by your Paper.

I will not trouble you further, I think this Matter is now very plain before your Lordſhips; I could wiſh I had not ſaid one Word of Truth in what I have ſaid to you; but the Vouchers ſhew it to be ſo; and if all this be true, 'tis a very ſtrange, a very ſurprizing, and a very aſtoniſhing Truth.

I ſhall not move any thing to your Lordſhips further in this Matter, I believe there has been enough now ſaid, to juſtify thoſe Lords for moving this Enquiry, and ſhall add but this Word, That if there be no greater Care taken for the future, than there was at this Time of ſuch imminent Danger, it will be the greateſt Miracle in the World, if without a Miracle the *Pretender* be not placed upon that Throne.

This is the Subſtance of what was obſerved by that Noble Lord, as exactly as I can get it put into a Thread, tho' there happened ſome Interlocutories between him and another Lord, and the Obſervations were made upon the Papers as they were read.

I cannot ſay, as you do in your Letter, that the M———y (if you are not very ill inform'd) have alter'd ſome of the Papers and Letters laid before the Parliament, leſt their Negligence, or ſomewhat that is worſe, ſhould appear; but I have it immediately from thoſe who have very exactly look'd over the Papers laid before the Houſe of Lords, that tho' there are a great many more in that mighty Heap which was laid on the Table, than ever were aſk'd for by the Addreſs, perhaps to diſcourage the looking into them; yet ſeveral material Papers that were deſired, have carefully been left out, and ſeveral that are in that Bundle are very imperfect; being ſuch Extracts as they thought fit to give; and in ſome, where it was material to know the Point of Time, the Dates are omitted; but as imperfect as they are, and notwithſtanding the Want of many which ſhould have been there, you will find enough to convince you, whether the Obſervations out of them were well grounded, and whether the Conduct of our M———y in ſuch a critical Juncture of Affairs, is to be parallel'd; that you yourſelf may the better judge of the whole, I ſend you the true Copies of ſo many authentick Papers.

To this Account of what paſs'd in the Houſe of Lords, relating to the Invaſion, I ſhall only add, that I hear the ſame Papers being laid before the Houſe of Commons, purſuant to their Addreſs, produc'd the like Obſervations there, and that the *Scotch* Gentlemen concurr'd with the *Engliſh*, in blaming the Conduct of the M———y; affirming it was ſuch as gave great Encouragement to the Enemies of the Government: while its Friends look on their Country to be perfectly given up. This they ſaid was their general Senſe. In the Houſe of Commons ſome Obſervations were alſo made upon the Impriſoning many Perſons in *Scotland* at that Time; ſeveral Lords and Gentlemen of the beſt Quality and Eſtates, were apprehended and ſeized, by virtue of Warrants ſent from hence for Suſpicion of Treaſon and treaſonable Practices: tho' it does not appear from the Papers, there was any Cauſe to ſuſpect them, nor that any of their Countrymen (who were the propereſt Perſons to be ad-

viſed with on this Occaſion) were conſulted in it. For the Earl of *Marr* in his Letter to the Earl of *Leven*, *March* 9, writes, that he, with the Dukes of *Queenſberry*, and *Montroſs*, the Earls of *Loudoun* and *Seafield*, were ſummon'd to the *Cabinet*, and were told there, that ſince both Houſes had for ſecuring ſuſpected Perſons, ſuſpended the *Habeas Corpus* Act, it was fit, Perſons in *Scotland* ſhould be apprehended; and a Liſt was read to them, which they took down in Writing, and Warrants were ready drawn. This was certainly a very extraordinary Way of Proceeding, and the more extraordinary, becauſe the greateſt Part of the Lords and Gentlemen taken up by theſe Warrants, had given undoubted Teſtimonies ever ſince the Revolution, (in which, ſome of them had been very active and inſtrumental) of their Fidelity and good Affection to the Government; they had taken all Oaths that have been enjoined for its Security, they had ſate in Parliament, and ſome of them had been in Offices and Employments of great Truſt, in the Reign of King *William* and of her Majeſty. Others under the like Circumſtances, were taken up by Warrants, bearing Date the 29th of *March*, when the Danger was over, which made the *Scotch* Gentlemen very free in declaring, that the taking them up, could be for no other Reaſon than to influence the approaching Elections to Parliament; and for their Diſaffection to the Intereſts ſome Courtiers then promoted, rather than for their Diſaffection to her Majeſty's Perſon and Government; in which they were the more confirmed, becauſe they ſaw there was no Evidence in the Papers againſt any of them. There was indeed ſome Evidence of High Treaſon pretended againſt five Gentlemen, taken up by Warrants from the Privy Council of *Scotland*; but that was ſuch as the Lord Advocate writes, neither he nor the other Advocates employed for her Majeſty, did think would convict them, and therefore he humbly offered it as their Opinion, that it would be more for the Honour and Service of her Majeſty and of her Government, that they ſhould not be proſecuted. The Earl of *Sunderland* in his Anſwer acquainted him, he had laid his Memorial before her Majeſty, who was well ſatisfied with what he had done, in procuring Evidence againſt the Priſoners, and tho' poſſibly upon their Trial, the Evidence might not be ſufficient to convict them by the Law of *Scotland*, yet conſidering all the Circumſtances of that Affair, and the Noiſe it has made in the World, her Majeſty thought it abſolutely neceſſary for her Service, that it be carried as far as 'twill bear, accordingly they were brought upon their Trials, and acquitted.

After all the Obſervations made upon the Papers, the Conſiderations of them ended in the *Houſe of Commons*, in the Reſolution which you have ſeen in their Votes, *viz.*

'That it appears to this Houſe, that timely and effectual Care was taken 'by thoſe employed under her Majeſty, at the Time of the intended Invaſion 'of *Scotland*, to diſappoint the Deſigns of her Majeſty's Enemies both at 'Home and Abroad; by fitting out a ſufficient Number of Men of War, 'ordering a competent Number of Troops from *Flanders*, giving Directions 'for the Forces in *Ireland*, to be ready for the Aſſiſtance of the Nation; 'and

'and by making the neceſſary and proper Diſpoſitions of the Forces in '*England.*

The Gentlemen that were againſt this Reſolution, deſired that all the Papers laid before the Houſe, relating to the intended Invaſion of *Scotland*, might be printed; that the World might ſee and judge, how well grounded it was: But thoſe who had juſtified the M———y in their Debates, and voted for the Reſolution, would not ſuffer the Papers to be printed: So that the Queſtion was carried in the Negative.

The true Account of the Condition of the CASTLE *of* DUMBARTON.

Imprimis. THERE is ſeveral Breaches in the Wall.
There is 12 Braſs Guns.
There is none of the Guns mounted; all of them want Carriages.
There is no Powder in the Garriſon, and few Flints.
All the Lodgings in a ruinous Condition.
There is no Coals in the Garriſon; nor any other Proviſions.
The Fire-locks, being long ſince they were gotten, are very ill fix'd.

Edinburgh, March 9, 1707-8. The above is the true Condition of the *Caſtle* of *Dumbarton* at preſent.

An Account of Remains of Ordnance Stores, in her Majeſty's Caſtle of BLACKNESS, *in the* North *of* BRITAIN.

Braſs Guns.

TWO Cannon, 3 Pounders on Train Carriages, unſerviceable.

Iron Guns.

1 Minion long,	5 Foot	$2\frac{1}{4}$ Inches.	} On Ship Carriages, unſerviceable.
1 Minion ——	3 ——	$9\frac{1}{4}$ ——	
2 Falcons ——	4 ——	$2\frac{3}{5}$ ——	
1 Ditto ——	3 ——	$8\frac{3}{4}$ ——	

Round Shot.

77 Balls for Minion.
25 Balls for 3 Pounders.
2 Barrels of Corn-Powder, 100 *l.* Weight each.
149 Hand Granado Shells.
100 Yards of Match.
4 Hand Spikes.
100 *l.* of Muſket Bullets.
59 Muſket Barrels, repairable.

3 Ladles, one ſerviceable, and the other 2 uſeleſs.
7 Scimitar Blades, uſeleſs.

The Contents above, is the preſent State of the Stores of Ordnance in her Majeſty's Caſtle of *Blackneſs*, the 16th of *November*, 1708.

T. DRURY.

An Account of Arms *and* Ammunition, *in the* Caſtle *of* STERLING, March 6, $170\frac{7}{8}$.

ONE Barrel of Powder.

550 Firelocks, of which about a 100 for Service, and ſome of that 100 do want Ram rods, and ſome Nails; all the reſt are unſerviceable.

70 Cheſts of Muſket Balls.

780 Muſkets, which may be for Service when furniſhed with Ram-Rods; ſome Nails, and ſome ſhattered in the Stocks.

380 Muſkets, with broken Stocks and Locks, many wanting Locks, all unſerviceable.

150 Bundles of Match, all damnified with long lying and Rain.

200 Pikes, dozened by long lying.

40 Cannon Ball, 18 Pounders.

70 Cannon Ball, 12 Pounders.

1200 Ball, 9 Pounders.

3400 Four Pounders.

20 Small Bomb-Shells, without Mortar.

1200 Hand Grenado-Shells.

50 Stands, Back and Breaſt.

300 Bayonets, moſt of them broken and ſpoiled, all wanting Scabbards, altogether unſerviceable.

300 Cartridge Boxes, all broken and unſerviceable.

Copy of a Letter from the Earl of SUNDERLAND, *to the Commiſſioners for Tranſports*, March 13, $170\frac{7}{8}$.

I Have lately Writ to you, to take up Shipping, for 600 Horſe, to be brought over from *Ireland*. I am now to acquaint you, that you are to provide and put on Board the Ships employed in that Service, Hay and Oats ſufficient to ſerve them a Fortnight, and as many Water-Caſks as may be neceſſary to carry Water for them for that Time.

Mr. BURCHET.

SIR, *Whitehall, March* 13, $170\frac{7}{8}$.

I Return you, by the Earl of *Sunderland*'s Command, the Draught of Inſtructions for Rear Admiral *Baker*, or the Commander in Chief of Her Majeſty's

Majeſty's Ships; coming from *Oſtend* with the Tranſports, with ſome Alterations, as you will find in the incloſed.

I am, *&c.*

THO. HOPKINS.

His Royal Highneſs Prince GEORGE *of* DENMARK, &c. *Lord High Admiral of* GREAT BRITAIN *and* IRELAND, &c. *and of all Her Majeſty's Plantations*, &c. *and Generaliſſimo of all Her Majeſty's Forces*, &c.

Inſtructions for Rear Admiral BAKER.

YOU *are hereby required and directed forthwith, upon your Receipt hereof, to make the beſt of your Way to* Tinmouth Bar, *with Her Majeſty's Ships under your Command, and the Tranſport Ships with Troops, which you brought with you from* Oſtend, and when you come off of the ſaid *Bar*, you are (if you do not find Orders there) to continue there, with the aforeſaid Tranſport Ships, till further Orders. But if you ſhould be there credibly informed, that the *French* have landed their Forces in the North of *Scotland*, you are then to make the beſt of your Way to the *Frith*; in order to land the Forces at *Leith*, or as near *Edinburgh* as may be. *But in regard, there are ſeveral diſmounted* Troopers *on board the Tranſports, you are to ſend a Veſſel with them to* Harwich, *if you can conveniently, their* Horſes *being now in* Eſſex. And in caſe Rear Admiral *Baker* ſhall himſelf proceed with the Tranſport Ships, and that the Enemy's Ships, ſaid to be in *Flemiſh* Road, were there when he ſailed from *Oſtend*, he is forthwith to return with her Majeſty's Ships off of *Dunkirk*; but if the Enemy's Ships ſhall be gone from *Dunkirk*, when he ſails from *Oſtend*, he is then to make the beſt of his Way to the *Downs*.

But if he has detached any of her Majeſty's Ships to be Convoy to the Tranſports, and continues himſelf off of *Dunkirk*, then the Commander in Chief of the ſaid Ships is hereby required (after having landed the Troops) to make the beſt of his Way to a proper Station off of *Dunkirk*, and join the ſaid Rear Admiral *Baker*; and in caſe the *Lenox*, *Ipſwich* and *Nottingham* ſhall be in your Company, you are to bring them back with you.

Given under my Hand the 13*th of* March, $170\frac{7}{8}$.

To JOHN BAKER, *Eſq; Rear Admiral of the White, or the Commander in Chief of Her Majeſty's Ships coming from* Oſtend *with the Tranſports.*

By Command of His Royal Highneſs.

J. BURCHETT.

Extract of the Earl of PEMBROKE, *Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland's *Letter of the* 13th *of* March 1707, *to the Lords* JUSTICES *of that Kingdom, concerning ſome Horſe and Dragoons deſigned to be tranſported from thence to* Scotland.

My Lords,

I Herewith tranſmit your Lordſhips, *Her Majeſty's Letter of the* 11th *Inſtant*, and muſt deſire your Lordſhips to direct *An Account of the Horſe and Dragoons to be ſent over*, in order to my laying the ſame before Her Majeſty.

I ſhall now acquaint your Lordſhips, *That the Officers are all under Orders, and moving* to their Poſts in *Ireland*, purſuant to Her Majeſty's Commands; and do not in the leaſt doubt, but your Lordſhips will iſſue proper *Orders for one Regiment of Horſe, and two of Dragoons, to be provided with Neceſſaries ready to embark, whenever there ſhall be Occaſion for them:* And it is Her Majeſty's Opinion, the Regiments under the Commands of Lieutenant General *Langſtone*, Major General *Echlin*, and the Lord *Tunbridge*, ſhould be *ſent on this Service:* And ſince they are to go as they now ſtand on the *Iriſh* Eſtabliſhment, I hope Care will be taken that they be complete.

And Her Majeſty having ordered the *Commiſſioners of Tranſports*, to take up at *Cheſter*, *Liverpoole*, and *Whitehaven*, Tonnage for 600 Horſe, I am of Opinion it will be for the Service, to have *thoſe three Regiments move with all convenient Speed, and take Quarters in and about* Belfaſt *and* Carrickfergus, *that they may be in a Readineſs to embark at the* White Houſe, (which lies between thoſe two Places) as ſoon as the Tranſport Ships ſhall arrive.

And tho' the Paſſage from the *White Houſe*, to the Place to which they may be ordered, may not be above twelve Hours, yet I deſire your Lordſhips to give *Directions to the proper* Officers, *to provide and get ready Hay, Oats and Water, for at leaſt a Fortnight, &c.*

PEMBROKE.

A True Extract, *per*
GEO. DODINGTON.

The Earl of MAR's *Letter to the Lord* LEVEN.

My Lord, *Whitehall, March* 13, 170$\frac{7}{8}$.

I Writ to your Lordſhip two Letters Yeſterday by a Flying Packet, which I hope you'll get ſafe: In one of them I told you, that if Major General *Cadogan* got Intelligence that the *French* landed at *Aberdeen*, it was probable he would land his Troops at *Leith*; ſince that Time, the Queen thinks it ſo reaſonable that he ſhould do ſo, that I believe there were Orders diſpatch'd to him laſt Night to that Purpoſe; and Her Majeſty thought it worth while to give you Notice of it by this Flying Packet, that, in the mean Time, you may

may be looking for Proviſions and Forage about *Edinburgh* for theſe Forces, againſt they arrive, which will ſurely be e're long: They are about 7000; ſo ſo that your Lordſhip will know what to be providing for them. *If the* French, *either by Deſign, or be obliged by this Wind, to put into the* Frith, and land near *Edinburgh*; then Major General *Cadogan* will land his Forces at *Tinmouth*, and there will be no Occaſion for your providing theſe Proviſions. *My Lord Treaſurer has ordered the People of the Cuſtoms and Exciſe, to anſwer your Lordſhip with Money for Proviſions, and other neceſſary Charges.*

I am glad the *Preſbyterian* Miniſters have ſhewn themſelves ſo hearty for the *Queen* on this Occaſion, and ſo zealous againſt the Invaſion; every Body is pleaſed with their Declaring themſelves as they have done for the *Queen*, and againſt the Invaſion; and I hope they will continue themſelves more and more ſo.

My Lord Marlborough *told me this Morning, That the* Scots *Eſtabliſhment would be ended to Day.* I aſk'd to meet with Mr. *Walpole* about it, but his Grace deſir'd me to tell his Grace of any thing I had to ſay about it. Now this I can hardly do, until I ſee the Eſtabliſhment; *for I know not how they have made it*; or *if they have altered any thing that we had concerted with* St. Johns; or if any thing be omitted, I hope they have not, but I ſhall ſee it ſoon, and then I ſhall loſe no Time to repreſent any thing in it, which chances not to be as your Lordſhip expects; tho' I hope there will be no Occaſion for this. There is no Intelligence to Day either of the Fleet or otherways, but we expect it every Minute.

I am, *&c.*

The Duke of *Marlborough* deſired me to write to your Lordſhip, to ſend him an exact and particular Account of your *Train of Artillery.*

The Earl of LEVEN's *Letter to the Earl of* MARR, *ſhewing the ſad Circumſtances he is in, and deſiring to know to whom he muſt write to in* Ireland.

My Lord, *Edinburgh, March* 13, 170$\frac{7}{8}$.

YOU have here a Copy of Letters I received this Morning, which I thought of ſo great Importance as to acquaint your Lordſhip, and his Grace the Duke of *Marlborough* of 'em by a Flying Packet: I think the Fleets mention'd in theſe Letters are two different ones; the Wind is South-weſt, ſo it is not poſſible for them to enter the *Firth*: Some five or ſix Ships were ſeen this Morning near the *May* from the Caſtle, but it has been foggy ever ſince, ſo we can have no further Account of them; I believe it is the *Dunkirk* Squadron, and therefore am ſtill expecting ſome good News of our Fleets appearing; *My Lord, I leave it to your Lordſhip to conſider my Circumſtances; here I am, not one Farthing of Money to provide Proviſions, or for Contingencies, or Intelligence, none of the Commiſſion yet ſent down, few Troops, and thoſe almoſt Naked.* I beg to hear from you very frequently, and allow me to write

write freely: I hope you will only read ſuch Parts of them to others as you judge proper: Pray cauſe always to advertiſe my Son when any Flying Packet is ſent to me, and let *Weems* know too. *It vexes me ſadly to think I muſt retire towards* Berwick, *if the* French *land on this Side the* Firth. Adieu my Lord.

Pray endeavour to get Orders ſent ſtrait to Ireland, *to the Forces there to embark, for you know I have no Perſon's Name to whom I ſhould write.*

A Copy of a Letter from the Earl of SUNDERLAND *to the Commiſſioners for Tranſports,* March *the* 12*th*, 170$\frac{7}{8}$.

IT is her Majeſty's Pleaſure, that you forthwith take up Shipping ſufficient for the Tranſportation of *Six Hundred Horſe*, that are to embark at the *White-Houſe* between *Carrick Fergus* and *Belfaſt* in *Ireland*, but it being not yet determined where they are to land, you are to make your Contract by the Week or ſuch other Time as you ſhall think proper. It is alſo left to your Diſcretion to hire the Ships for this Service *either at Whitehaven, Liverpool*, or *Cheſter*, as you ſhall find you can do it with moſt Expedition and Conveniency.

The Queen's Letter of *March* the 8th, to the Council of *Scotland*, takes Notice that ſhe had ſent one of the 25th of *February* before, and adds, we do again recommend to you to get Intelligence, *&c.* And to give preſent Directions for putting our Forts, Garriſons, and Magazines in a good Poſture of Defence, and what ſhall be expended herein by your Warrants ſhall be repaid, for which we have already given Orders. Our Troops from *Ireland* and *Flanders*, which were mentioned in our laſt, are ready to embark in Tranſport Ships, provided in thoſe Places with all Neceſſaries for that Service. So that the Orders of the Lord *Sunderland* were not given till four or five Days after, and the Lord Lieutenant's Letter to *Ireland* was dated five Days after.

Which ſhews to me evidently either that the Queen was not rightly inform'd of Facts, or let her Majeſty ſay what ſhe will, the M—— will do what they pleaſe.

The Earl of MARR's *Letter to the Earl of* LEVEN, March *the* 12*th*, 170$\frac{7}{8}$.

My Lord,

I Writ to your Lordſhip yeſterday Morning by a Meſſenger, and ſent you the Copy of General *Cadogan*'s Letters, giving an Account of the *French* ſailing on *Tueſday* Morning by Three o'Clock; we have ſince got Intelligence that Sir *George Byng* ſailed after them that ſame Day at Six o'Clock at Night; the Queen came to the Houſe yeſterday, and after paſſing ſeveral Accounts, gave an Account in a ſhort Speech of the News of the *French* ſailing: There was a Cabinet Council at Night in the Cockpit, where I and the other four

I formerly

I formerly writ off were; the firſt Thing that was talk'd off was the Troops to be ſent from *Ireland*; my Lord Lieutenant ſaid that one Regiment of Horſe and two of Dragoons, was all that could poſſibly be ſpared from thence; theſe three Regiments will make about Six Hundred Men: Next, Tranſport Ships for theſe Forces were ſpoke off, and reſolved on as the beſt Way to get them from *Whitehaven*, *Liverpool*, and *Cheſter*; and the Troops to be ſhipp'd off at the *White-Houſe*, between *Carrick Fergus* and *Belfaſt*. If the *French* land in the North about *Aberdeen*, it is thought your Lordſhip will write to theſe Troops to land at *Portpatrick*, but if the *French* land in the *Firth*, or any where elſe, whereby you think the Troops from *Ireland* can be of no Uſe to you, or whereby theſe Troops would run a Riſque, than 'tis expected that your Lordſhip will advertiſe them to land at *Whitehaven*, this was left to me to tell your Lordſhip; and the Duke of *Marlborough* ſaid he would write to you himſelf, and order Copies of the Orders given to the Troops here to be ſent you, we talk'd alſo how your Lordſhip would diſpoſe of the few Troops you have, but I have nothing of this in Charge to write to you, only for your own Uſe I tell it you, that I thought that the Men you had were ſuch an Handful that you would not think of taking the Field, but that you would divide your Foot and put good Garriſons in *Edinburgh* and *Stirling* Caſtles, and ſome in *Dumbarton*; to defend theſe, the beſt you could, till Succour come from hence *Flanders* and *Ireland*, *Edinburgh* and *Sterling*, particularly the Firſt (beſides other Reaſons) for the Money there, and the other for a Paſs, and the Fitneſs of it for a Garriſon; and that with the Horſes and Dragoons, you would endeavour to keep the Country quiet, and from joining with the Enemy.

I believe there are ordered from this Seventh or Eighth Regiment of Foot, amounting to about 5000 Men, *Northumberland*'s Regiment of Horſe, two Troops of the Horſe Guards, the Horſe Grenadiers, and the half of two Regiments of Dragoons, but you'll know the Particulars of this from the Duke of *Marlborough*; this with thoſe from *Ireland* and *Flanders* will make ſuch a Force, that the *French* and all who will join them, will not be able for; ſo there is no Fear of the main Chance, but I am afraid our Country, and particular Perſons will ſuffer extreamly.

All the Officers here were ordered away yeſterday, and they will be gone to Day; Colonel *Erſkin* ſets out this Afternoon, I wiſh he were at *Stirling*, to which Place he'll make all the Diſpatch he can; I believe the Troops from *Flanders* were deſigned to land at *Tinmouth* if the *French* go to the *Firth*, but if they go to the North, I believe they will land at *Leith*, which I think moſt probable. My Lord Treaſurer has promiſed that Money ſhall be ordered for every Thing that's neceſſary, the Commons have voted, that whatever the Queen expends on this Affair ſhall be made good; they are alſo come to a Reſolution, and are bringing in a Bill upon it, that if any Highland Chieftain join the Pretender, then his Eſtate ſhall belong to his Vaſſal, and they to hold of the Crown; if they do not join, and if any Vaſſal join, that his Eſtate ſhall belong to the Landlord if he do not: The Bill for every

Body in publick Truſt taking the Abjuration paſt yeſterday, and alſo the Bill ſuſpending the *Habeas Corpus* Acts, till the 13th of *October* next.

I hope the Powder from *Berwick*, is in the Caſtles in *Scotland* before this. I ordered *Holbourn* to ſend your Lordſhip the Cannon Ball, which I hope he did: We long very much to hear from your Lordſhip, and what is doing in *Scotland*.

I had almoſt forgot to tell your Lordſhip, that yeſterday the Queen gave the Negative for the new Militia of *Scotland*; the Eſtabliſhment for the *Scots* Troops will be adjuſted to Day, I believe, or to Morrow. This is all I have to ſay now, but if any Thing elſe occur before the Expreſs goes off, I ſhall add it, I am, *&c.*

Whitehall, Friday, Twelve o'Clock.
March 12, 170$\frac{7}{8}$.

I conclude your Lordſhip is at *Edinburgh*, ſo I thought it not needful to write to any other of the Queen's Servants.

My Lord Treaſurer has ordered three Months Subſiſtance to be advanced to your Lordſhip's Troops, until other Things be adjuſted: The Duke of *Argyle* ſpoke to the Duke of *Marlborough* for *Finab*'s independent Company going into *Argyleſhire*, which his Grace thinks reaſonable, and the Duke of *Argyle* deſired me to ſhew this to your Lordſhip.

The Lord Advocate's *Letter to the Earl of* MARR, *ſhewing the deſtitute Condition of* SCOTLAND *at that Time: Never a Country more deſtitute and defenceleſs, and that at leaſt ſome Order may be given whereby the neceſſary Expence may be defrayed.* March 11, 170$\frac{7}{8}$.

May it pleaſe Your Lordſhip.

THE Council met again yeſterday, and diſpatched their Orders for calling in ſuſpected Perſons to appear before them, with the Proclamation for the Faſt, of all which your Lordſhip had a full Account; there was preſented to the Council the Memorial here incloſed for the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, a large and particular Account of what it wants to put it into a Caſe of Defence, and Memorials alſo for the Caſtles of *Sterling*, *Dumbarton*, and *Blackneſs*, to ſhew their preſent Condition, and in what great Diſorder and Want they are, and all theſe Memorials I am ordered to lay before your Lordſhip, for her Majeſty's Information: I ſent Mr. *Slezer*'s Memorial formerly for a Train of Artillery, and I hope all will be conſidered, for *I believe there was never a Country more deſtitute, and defenceleſs than we are, nor have we ſo much as a Treaſury, or any Money for incident Charges, ſo that I muſt again by the Councils Order, lay theſe Things before your Lordſhip, and that at leaſt ſome Orders may be given, whereby neceſſary Expences may be defrayed, I am*, &c.

The Earl of MARR's *Letter to the Earl of* LEVEN, *to ſecure the Bank.*

My Lord, *Whitehall, March* 9. 170$\frac{7}{8}$.

THE Queen called a Cabinet Council laſt Night, where She was pleaſed to call the Dukes of *Queenſbury* and *Montroſe*, the Earls of *Loudon*, *Seafield* and Me; we gave an Account there, of what Orders the Queen had ſent to *Scotland*, ſince the News of the Invaſion; and the *Letter now to the Council was read*, of which you have a Copy: It is *expected that the Council of* Scotland *will* ſecure the Horſes and Arms of thoſe they think diſſaffected, *and alſo will be aſſiſting to give their Advice and Directions for Securing the Money, in the Mint and Bank, in Caſe of a Landing, or any apparent Danger, certainly the Enemies will have a Deſign of ſeizing that.* It was told us, that ſince both Houſes had addreſſed the Queen to apprehend, and ſecure ſuch Perſons as She had Cauſe to ſuſpect, and are now upon a Bill for ſuſpending the *Habeas Corpus* Act, it was fit that ſuſpected People, in *Scotland*, ſhould be apprehended and ſecured. *There was a Liſt of them read to us, which we took down in Writing; there were* Warrants ready drawn, conform to the Style here, which was thought inconvenient to be altered, but as to the Way they are ordered to be put in Execution, *&c.*

ANNE R.

The QUEEN's *Letter to the Council of* Scotland, March 8. 170$\frac{7}{8}$.

RIGHT Truſty, *&c.* We did by Our Letter of the 25th of *February* laſt, acquaint you with the intended Invaſion on ſome Part of Our Kingdom of *Great Britain*; and with Our Royal Pleaſure on that Occaſion, we doubt not but you have uſed the utmoſt Care, purſuant to Our Command: We have ſince further Confirmation of our Enemies Deſigns: The pretended Prince of *Wales* is at *Dunkirk*, with ſome Batallions of *French* and *Iriſh* Papiſts, ready to embark for *Scotland*; and our Enemies give out, that they have Invitations from ſome of Our Subjects there: We are hopeful, that this deſperate Attempt will, by the Bleſſing of GOD on Our Arms and Councils, be diſappointed, and turn'd to the Confuſion of all concerned in it. But that nothing be omitted on Our Part, for preventing the leaſt Danger which threatens our People, We have emitted a Proclamation, by Advice of Our Privy Council of *Great Britain*, which We herewith ſend to You, and We do require You to cauſe the ſame to be publiſhed at all Places needful, as Proclamations of Our Privy Council in *Scotland* have been publiſhed.

We think it neceſſary, that the Landlords in the *Highlands* and *Chieftains* of *Clans* be called to *Edinburgh*, to give the Security appointed by Law for

Preſerving the Peace and Order; and We do require you forthwith to do the ſame.

We do again recommend to you, to get Intelligence of the Deſigns of our Enemies, and evil affected People there, *and to give preſent Directions, for putting Our Forts, Garriſons and Magazines in a good Poſture of Defence, and what ſhall be expended towards theſe Ends,* by your Warrant *ſhall be repaid, for* which we have already given Orders.

We take this Occaſion to let you know, that Our Fleet is now at Sea, and much increaſed ſince our laſt: The *Dutch* Fleet is in great Forwardneſs, and both are ſo diſpoſed, that our Enemies cannot reaſonably hope to eſcape an Engagement; *Our Troops from* Ireland *and* Flanders, *which we mentioned in our laſt, are ready to embark in Tranſport Ships, provided in thoſe Places with all Neceſſaries for that Service: The Troops from* England *are alſo poſted in the beſt Way for the Relief of our People in* Scotland, *if our Enemies ſhall have the Boldneſs to purſue their Deſign.*

We have diſpatched the Earl of *Leven* from hence, to command our Forces there, and given him ſuch Inſtructions as we judged neceſſary on this Occaſion; to whom you will give your Advice, Aſſiſtance, and due Encouragement.

We expect that you will aſſemble frequently in Council, and uſe ſuch Vigour in Your Proceedings, as has been done on like Occaſions formerly; which will be acceptable to Us, and may prevent the Miſleading of our People, and their Conjunction with *French* and *Iriſh* Papiſts, the irreconcilable Enemies of their Religion and Liberties.

We do alſo require You to tranſmit to Us, full and conſtant Accounts of the State of Affairs there; and not doubting of your Zeal and Diligence, We bid You heartily farewell.

Given at Our Court at *Kenſington* the Eighth Day of *March* $170\frac{7}{8}$; and of Our Reign the Seventh Year.

By Her MAJESTY's Command.

Counterſign'd,

MARR.

The Earl of LEVEN's *Letter to the Earl of* MARR, *to preſs for Orders to* Ireland *for the Troops; and that he may know to whom he muſt write.*

Stamford, March the 7th, $170\frac{7}{8}$. *Sunday,* Ten o'Clock.

My Lord,

YOU will have a Memoir by the Earl of *Weems*, which I ſent from *Stilton. I muſt again intreat you to mind the Eſtabliſhment*, and all my Concernments, both perſonal, and what relates to the Garriſons, I deſire the three

three Commiſſions for the three Adjutants, to the Grenadiers and Dragoons, as I gave in the Liſt: *I deſire You to ſend down the Name of the Perſon I am to write to in* Ireland, *if there be Occaſion, altho' I muſt ſtill intreat your Lordſhip, to preſs that Orders be ſent to ſome Horſe and Dragoons to embark.* By my Letters from *Scotland* I underſtand that there is a great Ferment there, and particularly in the Weſt-Country; and that the Jacobites are very uppiſh: My Letter alſo ſays, *That the Officers can hardly get Money for the Bills ſent from* London; *therefore I pray you repreſent it ſo, that ſome Method may be taken to ſend Money down, for you may be ſure if the Invaſion be, there can none be got there; and how inconvenient the Want of it will be, is obvious.* My Lord adieu.

Pray write by every Occaſion, *and let me know, if I ſhall give any Encouragement to any who ſhall be willing to take Arms to join* Us. *I hope at leaſt ſo much of the Levy Money as is due ſince the* 24th *of* December *will be given now, for that will buy ſome Horſes, and levy ſome Men.*

ANNE R.

Inſtructions to Our Right Truſty and Well-beloved Couſin and Councellor, David *Earl of* LEVEN, *Lieutenant General, and Commander in Chief of Our Militia, and of all Our Forces in that Part of Our Kingdom of* Great Britain *called* Scotland.

YOU are to repair to *Scotland*, with all convenient Diligence, and to take the Advice of Our Privy Council in all Things you ſhall judge neceſſary, for preſerving the Peace of that Part of Our United Kingdom.

And whereas We have Intelligence, that there are Preparations at *Dunkirk* for Invading that Part of Our Kingdom of *Great Britain*, You are to oppoſe their Landing as much as You can; and in Caſe they ſhall land, You are to hinder as much as poſſible Our Subjects from joining them, and to fall upon and diſperſe any who ſhall tumultuouſly riſe in Arms, and endeavour to join them.

You are to make ſuch a Diſpoſition of the Troops, as you ſhall judge moſt for Our Service in this preſent Juncture.

You are to take Care to put *Edinburgh* Caſtle in ſuch a Poſture of Defence, as your Time will allow; and provide Proviſion for the Garriſon for three Months; and to adviſe with the other Governors of Garriſons, that they be in like Manner provided, and put in an Order of Defence.

You are to diſpoſe of the Ammunition you are to receive to the Garriſons and Troops as you ſhall judge moſt for Our Service.

You are to apply to Our Privy Council in *Scotland*, for giving the neceſſary Orders for providing of Horſes both for the Baggage and for the Train of Artillery, in Caſe you ſhall be obliged to take the Field.

You

You are impowered to call Councils of War as oft as you ſhall think fit, and to take their Advice in any Matter of Difficulty.

You are to advertiſe us from Time to Time, either by Expreſs, or the ordinary Packet, of the Poſture of Affairs there, and of what Intelligence you ſhall receive of the Deſigns and Condition of the Enemy, and obey ſuch further Inſtructions, as We ſhall think fit to give therein.

You are upon the firſt Appearance of any Squadron of *French* Ships upon the Coaſts, to ſend to *Ireland* to ——— *to advertiſe him thereof, who has Orders to ſend Troops to your Aſſiſtance.*

Given at Our Court at *Kenſington* the Fourth Day of *March* 170$\frac{2}{3}$, and of Our Reign the Sixth Year.

By Her MAJESTY's Command.

Counter Sign'd,

MARR.

ANNE R.

The QUEEN's *Letter to the Council concerning an Invaſion.*

RIGHT Truſty, *&c.* Whereas We have Intelligence that there are Preparations at *Dunkirk* for fitting out a Squadron of Ships. And that theſe Intelligences do likewiſe give an Account of embarking ſome Troops, Arms, and Ammunition, which may be deſigned for invading and making Diſturbance within that Part of our Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, call'd *Scotland*. We have therefore thought it neceſſary to acquaint You of this, and We do expect that You will uſe Your utmoſt Care and Diligence for the Protection of Our Subjects, and the Preſervation of the publick Peace there.

We are unwilling to believe that any of Our Subjects will give Aſſiſtance or Encouragement to any ſuch Invaſion, which would prove of ſuch dangerous Conſequence to their Religion and Liberties, and make their native Country a SCENE of Blood and Confuſion; however, we doubt not but that you will take all the neceſſary Meaſures to diſcover and diſappoint any ſuch bad Practices and Contrivances, and to ſecure ſuch as you ſhall find concerned herein.

We are hopeful, with the Aſſiſtance of GOD, to prevent and defeat this Deſign of our Enemies, and for this End nothing ſhall be wanting in our Part, we have fitted out a Fleet ſuperior to any they can have in thoſe Parts: We have alſo given Orders that ſome of our Troops in *Flanders* be ready to embark, in Caſe the Embarkation at *Dunkirk* ſhall go on, *and our Troops in* England *and* Ireland *are ſo diſpoſed as to give you what Aſſiſtance may be neceſſary.* In the mean Time we hereby authorize and impower you to give

ſuch

ſuch Orders as are proper to put our Forces, Forts, and Garriſons there, in the beſt Order.

We ſhall continue to inform you from Time to Time of what further Intelligence we may receive, and therefore we think it neceſſary, that you appoint all our Privy Councellours there to attend at *Edinburgh*, for receiving and obeying our Orders, except ſuch as You judge more uſeful for the Publick Service to be in the Country, and having entire Truſt and Confidence in your Loyalty and Conduct in this Juncture, we bid You heartily farewel.

Given at our Court at *Kenſington* the 25th Day of *February*, 170$\frac{7}{8}$. And of Our Reign the 6th Year.

By Her MAJESTY's Command.

Counterſign'd,

LOUDOUN.

JOH. ALPHONSI TURRETINI Paſtoris, S. Theol. & Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. Profeſſoris, Academiæ p. t. Rectoris, de variis Chriſtianæ Doctrinæ Fatis, Oratio Academica, Dicta ſtatis Academiæ GENEVENSIS Solennibus, XI. Maii, An. MDCCVIII.

An Univerſity Oration concerning the different Fates of the Chriſtian Religion. Spoke in the Publick Act of the Univerſity of GENEVA, *the Eleventh Day of* May, *A. D.* MDCCVIII.

By JOHN ALPHONSUS TURRETIN,

Paſtor, Profeſſor of Divinity and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and Deputy Rector of the Univerſity.

Printed in the Year 1709.

Illu-

Illuſtriſſimæ Societatis quæ ad Propagandum Evangelium ſub Regiis auſpiciis in ANGLIA inſtituta eſt Reverendiſſimo Præſidi THOMÆ, Archiepiſcopo CANTUARIENSI, Totius ANGLIÆ Primati & Metropolitano.

Admodum Reverendis Vice-præſidibus cæteriſque nobiliſſimis & præſtantiſſimis Membris, viris Doctrina, Pietate, Virtute ac Zelo conſpicuis, quorum pia ſollicitudine & munificentia vere Chriſtiana plurimæ jam Eccleſiæ erectæ, Scholæ Fundatæ, Evangelii Præcones ad Infideles miſſi & Stipendiis aucti, Libri pii editi ac diſſeminati, ſicque Chriſti cognitio longe lateque per Orbem ſparſa. Indefeſſis rei Chriſtianæ promotoribus veris, Temporum noſtrorum Apoſtolis: Hanc de variis Chriſtianiſmi Fatis Orationem, in ſummæ Venerationis obſervantiæ perpetuæ, gratiſſimique ac devotiſſimi Animi Signum D. D. D.

JOH. ALPHONSUS TURRETINUS, Socius.

Oratio de variis Chriſtianæ Doctrinæ Fatis.

Viri Ampliſſimi, Patriæ Patres, Comites Illuſtriſſimi, Barones Generoſiſſimi, Clariſſimi Collegæ, de Eccleſia & Academia, quibus præeſtis, optimè meriti, Hoſpites, Cives, quotquot adeſtis, præſtantiſſimi, humaniſſimi, Voſque, Academiæ & Scholæ noſtræ alumni dilectiſſimi,

DE variis Chriſtianæ Doctrinæ fatis, qualis à Chriſto primùm Apoſtoliſque tradita ſit, qualis ſequentibus ævis propagata, quibus acceſſionibus aucta, quibus fraudibus adulterata, quibus auſpiciis, beatæ noſtræ Reformationis tempore, ab integro velut inſtaurata, quonam deinque in ſtatu hodierno die verſetur, & ad ejus illuſtrationem quid maximè exoptandum ſit, breviter dicere in animo eſt. Cujus quidem conſilii rationes, ſi hîc in limine exponere, & apud vos aſſerere geſtiam, equidem actum agere, vobiſque injurius eſſe videar. Nec enim hîc res vulgaris agitur, aut ad nos parùm attinens, non humanum inſtitutum, non de trivio diſciplina, non terreſtris cujuſdam Reipublicæ vices ac fortuna, ſed ipſamet Dei oracula, ab unigenito Filio prodita, ſed ſapientia cœleſtis, ad nos beandos comparata, ſed eximiæ illius politiæ, quæ *Regnum Cælorum* audit, incunabula, progreſſus, bella, pericula, hîc deſcribentur. Fateor equidem, *Auditores*, fateor divinis humana, genuinis adulterina, heu! nimiùm hîc acceſſiſſe: Unde, qui rei Chriſtianæ fata oratione perſequi velit, humanorum ſimul errorum, figmentorum, lapſuum, odiorum, diſſidiorum, texere hiſtoriam neceſſe habeat; Verùm & hæc juvat dignoſcere, ut pretioſum à vili, ut veritas à mendacio, vel hoc ipſo quòd antiquior, & primævæ inſtitutionis retinentior, ſecernatur. Enimverò, *Auditores*, dum in hodiernum

Eccleſiæ

To the moſt Illuſtrious the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in Foreign Parts, by Royal Authority eſtabliſh'd in ENGLAND: *To the moſt Reverend the Preſident* THOMAS *Lord Archbiſhop of* CANTERBURY, *Primate and Metropolitan of All* ENGLAND.

The Reverend the Vice-Preſident: And all the moſt Noble and Excellent Members, Men eminent for Learning, Piety, Virtue and Zeal, by whoſe pious Care and truly Chriſtian Munificence, many Churches are already built, Schools founded, Preachers of the Goſpel ſent to the Infidels, and Stipends allowed them. Many pious Books put out and diſperſed, ſo that the Knowledge of Chriſt is thereby far and near ſpread through the World. To theſe unwearied Promoters of Chriſtianity, the Apoſtles of our Times, in token of my great Veneration, my perpetual Eſteem, and of my moſt thankful and moſt entirely devoted Mind to ſerve them: This is humbly dedicated by me,

JOHN ALPHONSUS TURRETINUS, *a Member of the Society.*

An Oration concerning the different Fates of the Chriſtian Religion.

Moſt Honoured Sirs, and Fathers of our Country, Moſt Illuſtrious Earls, Moſt Generous Barons, My moſt famous Collegues, ſo well deſerving of the Church and Univerſity, over which you do preſide, Moſt excellent and kind Foreigners, and others who are here preſent, And you moſt loving Members of our Univerſity and School,

MY Deſign is to ſpeak in ſhort of the different Fates of the Chriſtian Religion; how it was firſt delivered by Chriſt and his Apoſtles; how it was propagated in the following Ages; what Acceſſions were made to it; what Frauds did adulterate it; and by what Methods in the Time of our happy Reformation, it was reſtored, and as it were began anew; and laſtly, in what State it ſtands at preſent, and what is yet to be wiſhed for its further Improvement. If I ſhould ſet about to lay before you in the Beginning of my Diſcourſe, the Reaſons which moved me to this Deſign, and ſhould bring Arguments to ſupport it, I ſhould do a Thing which has been done before, and I ſhould but too much treſpaſs upon your Patience. Now the Subject of my Diſcourſe is not Matter of vulgar Moment, and what does but a little concern us; it is not the Relation of any ordinary Government, nor of an Account of the Viciſſitudes and Revolutions of an earthly Common-wealth, but of the Revelations of the Almighty God, delivered unto us by his only begotten Son, of that Wiſdom which is from Heaven, and which was deſigned for the making us happy; and you ſhall have deſcribed to you the Riſe, the Progreſs, the Conflicts and Dangers, of that admirable Polity which is entituled by no leſs a Name than that of the Kingdom of Heaven. Indeed, Sirs, I muſt confeſs, that ſeveral humane Things have too much mingled with theſe Divine Ones, and many Things ſpurious with what is genuine: So that he that will relate the different Fortunes of the Chriſtian Commonwealth, muſt, together with

Eccleſiæ ſtatum oculos conjicimus, dum in eorum omnium, qui Chriſti nomine cenſeri volunt, placita, ritus, diſciplinam, totam denique vitæ rationem, attentiùs inquirimus, dum Ethniciſmum multis in partibus ſub Chriſtiana larva redivivum, dum miſeras Scholæ argutias Chriſtianæ veritatis nomen mentientes, dum luxatam & ſine nervis ubique fermè Chriſti diſciplinam, dum humanam contrà tyrannidem pro Chriſti jugo falsò venditatam, dum internecina illorum odia, qui ſe Pacis filios nuncupant, dum Chriſti Eccleſiam, quà patet Orbis, ſciſſam in partes atque laceratam, dum denique Chriſtianorum mores, quos ſanctiſſimos eſſe decuerat, ita remiſſos, non dicam, ſed perditos, ut Ethnicis parùm ſint abſimiles, dum hæc, inquam, ſeriò perpendimus, profectò, ut quod res eſt dicam, turbatur animus, vacillat fides, de Evangelii divinitate non levia ſuboriuntur, mentemque trahunt, dubia; donec ad originem ipſam adſcendentibus, &, juxta Vatis monitum, vias antiquas explorantibus, Servatoris illud ſuccurrat, *In principio ſic non fuiſſe*; Exindéque de ſæculo in ſæculum deſcendentes, quid quóque tempore mutatum fuerit, quid additum, quid detractum, quid, vel humana imbecillitate, vel nefario auſu, interpolatum, obſervemus. CHRISTE, *cujus cauſſa hic agitur, dicentis animum linguamque dirige; nobiſque omnibus ita adſpira, ut Evangelii tui puritatem, ab humanis ſecretam vindicatamque corruptelis, tanto impenſius colamus, tanto ſtudioſius cuſtodiamus, tanto diligentius factis impleamus, quanto diſtinctius perſpecta fuerit.* Vos verò, quotquot hîc adeſtis, AUDITORES PRÆSTANTISSIMI, de ampliſſimo argumento breviſſimè differentem, nec niſi ſumma faſtigia legentem, patientia, quæſo, veſtra, & attentione, ſublevate.

MUndum, ipſo ſtatim initio, purum ſceleris ac feliciſſimum, poſtmodùm in deterius per varios gradus collapſum, ſignificaturi Poëtæ, illum in varias ætates, ſuis ſignatas metallis, diſtribuerunt. Idem verò, AUDITORES, de re Chriſtiana, non ſemel, nec immeritò, proditum eſt. Fuêre variæ illius ætates, quæ, quò longiùs à primæva receſſerunt origine, eò plus fæcis ac ſordium contraxiſſe deprehenduntur.

Aurea prima ſata eſt, Chriſtô Magiſtrô, præconibus Apoſtolis. Mox *argentea* ſucceſſit, per tria prima Eccleſiæ Sæcula. Hinc *ænea* paulatim facta eſt, humani ingenii audaciâ ſine modo laſciviente, & ſæculi pompâ, ſuperbiâ, æmulatione, diſſidiis, in Eccleſiam irrumpentibus. Exinde, tanta ſuperſtitio, tanta tyrannis, tanta barbaries, tanta, non dicam, morum depravatio, ſed in vitiis obduratio, Sæculô imprimis X. & ſequentibus, in Eccleſiam invaſere, ut *ferrea* tempora fuiſſe, ipſi illi quorum minimè intererat, fateri

that, write a Hiſtory of the Miſtakes, the Fictions, the Miſcarriages, the Animoſities of Chriſtians. But however, it will be worth our while to take a View of theſe Things, that the Gold may be ſeparated from the Droſs, that Truth may be diſtinguiſhed from Falſhood, as being more ancient, and retaining more of the Primitive Inſtitution. For truly, Sirs, whilſt we caſt our Eyes upon the preſent Condition of the Church, whilſt we make a diligent Enquiry into the Opinions, the Rites, the Diſciplines; in a Word, the whole Tenour of the Lives of thoſe who call themſelves Chriſtians, whilſt rather they profeſs Heatheniſm ſpringing up again under the Guiſe of Chriſtianity, whilſt they maintain the Subtilties of the Schools for the Truth of Chriſt, whilſt the Nerves of Chriſtian Diſcipline are looſned, whilſt the Tyranny of Man is ſet up in Oppoſition to the Croſs of Chriſt, whilſt a mortal Hatred reigns even in the Minds of thoſe who profeſs themſelves to be the Sons of Peace, whilſt the Church of Chriſt is all over the World torn into Pieces, whilſt the Manners of Chriſtians, which ought to be moſt holy, are not only remiſs, but if I may ſo ſay, profligate, and not much different from thoſe of the Pagans: *I ſay, whilſt I ſeriouſly conſider theſe Things, I will take upon me the Boldneſs to ſay the Truth, one's Mind is unſettled, one's Faith wavers, and diſtracting Doubts ariſe even concerning the Divinity of the Goſpel; till we go up to the Fountain's-Head, and like the Prophet,* aſk for the old Paths, *and remember what our Saviour ſays,* from the Beginning it was not ſo: *And from thence going down from one Age to another, make a nice Obſervation at what Time any Thing was changed, what was added, what was laid aſide, or what was brought in, either thro' human Weakneſs, or by wicked Deſign.* And do thou, O Chriſt, whoſe Cauſe I am here pleading, direct both my Mind, and my Tongue, and ſo inſpire all of us by thy Grace, that by how much the more we have a diſtincter Knowledge of the Purity of thy Goſpel, ſo we may the more heartily love it, more circumſpectly obſerve it, and in all our Actions more diligently fulfil it. *And you, moſt excellent Auditors who are here preſent, I beſeech you to hear me with Patience and Attention, whilſt I ſhall ſpeak a few Words, touching only upon ſome general Heads of this ſpacious Subject.*

THE Poets having a mind to repreſent: That the World was free from Wickedneſs in the Beginning, and in a State of Happineſs, did divide it into ſeveral Ages, which they named by the Names of the different Metals. And truly, Sirs, the ſame has been frequently, and not without good Reaſon, applied to the Affairs of the Chriſtian Religion. For there have been likewiſe ſeveral Ages of this, which the farther they have departed from the firſt Original, *ſo much the more of Droſs and Dregs they have contracted.*

The firſt Age was a *Golden* Race.—*Who learnt their Religion from Chriſt their firſt Maſter, and from the Preaching of his Apoſtles. After this ſucceeded the* Silver *one, which continued for the firſt three Ages of Chriſtianity: That is, by little and little was turned into* Braſs, *as Men indulged themſelves in bold Fancies in Religion, and ſecular Pomp, Pride, Contentions and Diviſions broke into the Church. Hence came ſo much Superſtition, ſo much not only Depravation of Manners, but ſuch a Hardneſs in Wickedneſs over-run the Church in the Xth and the following Ages, that they themſelves, who had no Intereſt to ſay it, are forced*

fateri cogantur. Dum verò hæc ita eſſent, en ſubitò purgata apparuit craſſioribus ſordibus fides, ferrumque ſæculi, felici Alchymiâ, ſi non in auri penitùs, in *argenti* certè ſpeciem, converſum. Hæc ſumma rerum: Verùm hæc omnia diſtinctiùs enarranda ſunt.

I. Ætas Aurea, *ſub Chriſto & Apoſtolis.*

Auream igitur, ſub Chriſto & Apoſtolis, rei Chriſtiani ætatem fuiſſe, nullus, ut puto, inficias iverit: Non quòd auro, non quòd purpurâ, non quòd opibus ac dignitatibus, divinus ille chorus ſplendeſceret; Nec enim his eminuit Chriſtus; &, *Ecce reliquimus omnia*, Apoſtolorum ſymbolum fuit. Verùm intùs, beatô illô Sæculo, filiæ Sionis fuit gloria; intemerata nimirùm Doctrinæ ſinceritas, puritas Cultûs, Diſciplinæ ſanctitas, vitæ innocentia; res auro quovis pretioſiores, & quibus felix hæc ætas reliquis omnibus ætatibus longo intervallo præcelluit. Ante actis temporibus, denſiſſima in caligne verſabatur humanum genus. Ethnici, relictô parente & conſtitutore omnium Deô, non Aſtra modò ſenſûs expertia, non homines modò defunctos, & plures quidem vitiis ac ſceleribus infames, ſed animantia bruta, ſed hortorum ſuorum plantas, ſed lignea & lapidea digitorum ſuorum figmenta, ſed viliſſimos affectus, ut venerem, pavorem, diſcordiam, impudentiam, ſed corporum morbos, ut febrim, ſed merum non Ens, ut fortunam, ſed ineptiſſima Numina, vel minimis rebus præpoſita, ut Deam *Petam* rebus petendis, Deam *Patellam* & *Patellanam* rebus patefaciendis, Deam *Pelloniam* hoſtibus pellendis, Deam *Pandam* viæ pandendæ, Deam *Putam* putandis arboribus, Deum *Nodutim* rebus ſatis ad nodos perducendis, Deum *Terenſem* frugibus terendis, quin & *Lubentiam & Commoditatem*, *Ferculam* & *Saturitatem*, paraſitorum deas, & quas non ineptias? venerabantur. Judæi, gens olim Deo ſacra, in varias diviſi Sectas, errorum ac ſuperſtitionum non uno genere inquinabantur. Utriſque mores impuriſſimi, ac in omne projecti nefas, quos nec humana Leges, nec ſæculi Philoſophia, nec Moſaïca diſciplina, nec Propheticæ monitiones, emendare ſatis voluerant. Tu verò, Chriſte, ſplendor Patris, lux mundi, Sol juſtitiæ, Tu caliginem illam diſpuliſti. Tu, ab Idolis mortuis, ad verum nos Deum revocaſti. Tu Deum mentem eſſe, adeòque mente purâ ac ſincerâ colendum, apertiſſimè prodidiſti. Tu pietatis, juſtitiæ, benignitatis, manſuetudinis, patientiæ, modeſtiæ, omnium denique virtutum, & præceptor humano generi, & exemplar exſtitiſti. Tu erratorum omnium veniam à Numine impetratus, Te hoſtiam piacularem loco noſtro obtuliſti; utque immortalitatis ſpem nobis ingenerares, ipſe, fractis mortis repagulis, Te redivivum, ac cœlo receptum, claris indiciis demonſtrâſti. Tu, in te recumbentes, tuúmque ad præſcriptum atque exemplum vitam emendantes, Deo propitio frui, &

Mat. xix. 27.

Pſ. xlv. 14.

Vid. Arnob. Lib. 4. & *Auguſtin. de Civ. Dei, Lib.* 3, 4, *&c.*

Vid. Tan. Fabri Epiſt. Lib. 1. *Epiſt.* 40.

Joh. iv. 24.

to affirm, that thoſe Ages were Iron *Ones. But when Things were in this Condition, behold of a ſudden, our Religion appeared purged from thoſe groſs Errors which it had contracted, and the* Iron *Age, by a very happy Chymiſtry, was turned, if not into Gold, yet at leaſt into Silver. This is the Subſtance of my preſent Diſcourſe; the Particulars of which are now more diſtinctly to be ſpoken to.*

I.
The Golden Age under Chriſt and Apoſtles.

I think no one will deny, that the Golden Age of Chriſtianity was under Chriſt and his Apoſtles: Not as if thoſe Divine Perſons ſhone with Gold or Purple, or Riches or Honours, nor was Chriſt himſelf remarkable for any of theſe: Behold we have forſaken All, *was the Apoſtle's Motto.* The Daughter of *Sion* was all glorious within *in that happy Age: That is, the Church enjoyed incorrupted Truth of Doctrine, Purity of Worſhip, Holineſs of Diſcipline, Innocence of Life, Things more precious than any Gold, and wherein this happy Age did by many degrees excel any other. For, in the Times preceding theſe, Mankind was clouded in the thickeſt Darkneſs: The Heathens forſaking God the Father and Maker of all Things, worſhipped not only the inſenſible Stars, and dead Men, many of which were notorious for their vicious Lives, but even brute Animals with Plants of their Garden, and Wooden and Stone Images, which their own Hands had made, but even they gave Divine Honour to the vileſt Affections, ſuch as* Love, Fear, Diſcord, Impudence, *the Diſeaſes of the Body as* Febris, *nay, even to* Non-Entities *as* Fortune; *they having ſeveral other ridiculous Deities ſet over the minuteſt Things, as the Goddeſs* Peta *for aſking Things; the Goddeſs* Patella *and* Patellana *for opening Things, the Goddeſs* Pellonia *for driving away the Enemy, the Goddeſs* Panda *for opening a Way, the Goddeſs* Puta *for pruning Trees, the God* Nodutis *for making Fruit to knot, the God* Terenſis *for grinding Corn; nay, moreover they worſhipped* Lubentia, Commoditas, Fercula, *and* Saturstas, *the Trencher-Men Goddeſſes, and indeed what other Fooleries did they not? The* Jews *heretofore, God's choſen People, being divided into various Sects, were polluted with divers Kinds of Errors and Superſtitions: Both of them were very impure in their Morals, and ſo prone to all Wickedneſs, that neither human Laws, the Philoſophy of that Age; nor the Diſcipline of* Moſes, *nor the Exhortations of the Prophets could amend them. But thou, O Chriſt, the Glory of the Father, the Light of the World; the Sun of Righteouſneſs; thou haſt diſpelled this Darkneſs. Thou haſt called us back from dead Idols, to ſerve the Living God. Thou haſt clearly diſcovered,* that God is a Spirit, and that thoſe who worſhip him, muſt worſhip him in Spirit and in Truth: *Thou waſt the great Maſter and Example of Mankind, of Piety, Juſtice, Bounty, Meekneſs, Patience, Modeſty, and in a Word, of all Virtue. Thou, to procure a Pardon from God for our Sins, didſt offer up thyſelf a Sacrifice in our Stead, and that thou mighteſt beget in us a Hope of Immortality, thou breaking through the Bars of Death, didſt, by the moſt manifeſt Diſcovery ſhew thyſelf to have ariſen from the Dead, and to aſcend up into Heaven. Thou haſt given Encouragement to all thoſe, who put their Truſt in thee, and amend their Lives ac-*

Mat. xix. 27.

Pſal. xlv. 14.

Arnob Lib. 4. Aug. Civ. Dei Lib. 3. 4.

Vid. Tanq. Fab. Epiſt. Lib. 1. Epiſt. 10.

John 4. 24.

& bono animo eſſe juſſiſti. Tu, æterna piis ſupplicia, denuntiâſti. Tu, Deum nobis, nos Deo, efficaciſſimè conciliâſti. Tu denique cœleſtem ſapientiam verè in terras detuliſti; noſque, humano in corpore, verè divinam, traducere vitam docuiſti; Donec, ſuperatis hujus exilii diebus, in meliorem tranſcribamur ſortem, & Dei ipſius conſortio ac deliciis æternum fruamur.

Talis, AUDITORES, talis fuit primæva Chriſtianiſmi facies. Talia arcana illa cœleſtia, quæ ex paterno ſinu unigenitus Filius
1 *Cor.* xi. 6. produxit. Talis ἐν τοῖς τελείοις σοφίᾳ, quam Viri rudes atque ignobiles, piſcatores, artifices, nullo generis, nullo opum, nullo dignita-
2 *Cor.* x. 4. tum præſidio, non carnalibus armis, non ſuaſoriis humanæ ſapientiæ
1 *Cor.* xi 4. ſermonibus, nullóque non obſtaculo, periculo, ſupplicio preſſi, intra pauciſſimorum annorum ſpatia, per totum Orbem terrarum diſſeminârunt. O reddite mihi illa tempora, quibus ipſamet Veritas, humanis induta pannis, nullis errorum, nullis affectuum nebulis violata, ſeſe mortalium oculis conſpiciendam præbuit! Non multa tunc credendorum capita Chriſtianorum mentibus impoſita; ſed unius veri
Joh. xvii. 3. Dei, & ab eo miſſi Chriſti, cognitione, tota fidei ac ſalutis ſumma conſtabat. Non humanis tunc argutiis, non Metaphyſicis diſquiſitionibus, ex Zenonis, vel Platonis, vel Ariſtotelis ſchola depromptis, Chriſtiani exercebantur; Alia longè fuit, mihi credite, cœlo delapſa diſciplina; non ad ſcholam nata, ſed ad vitam; plana, facilis, ſimplex, omnium captui adtemperata. Non ſubtilis tunc arcanorum divinorum inveſtigatio, non temeraria rerum ſupra nos poſitarum de-
Eph. iv. 24. terminatio, non iracunda de quæſtionibus etiam leviſſimis altercatio,
Gal. vi. 15. ſed novus homo Dei verbo genitus, ſed fides per charitatem operans,
Gal. v. 6. ſed vera Religio in ſolandis miſeris, & vitandis Mundi ſordibus po-
Jacob. i. 27. ſita, ſed, ut verbo omnia complectar, divinarum virtutum effigies in animis efformata, Chriſtianum conſtituebat. Tunc, non multiplices ritus, non operoſæ de rebus externis ab hominibus facta præceptio-
Act. ii. 41, 42. nes, Chriſtianorum cultum onerabant; ſed precibus, verbi præconio, unda ſalutari, panis fractione, tota Chriſtiana Sacri celebritas finiebatur. Tunc, fidei dominari, imperium in hæreditates Domini exer-
2 *Cor.* i. 24.
1 *Pet.* v. 5. cere, ipſimet Apoſtoli, divinitùs licèt adflati, nefas ducebant; ſed gregem ſibi concreditum paſcere, & fidelium gaudium famulari,
1 *Cor.* v. 11. unica ipſis erat gloria. Tunc, ſi quis frater appellatus, vel forni-
2 *Theſſ.* iii. 14. cator, vel maledicus, vel avarus, vel idolatra, vel ebrioſus, vel ra-
2 *Joh.* 10. pax eſſet, ne cum illo quidem cibos capere, ne illi quidem ſalutem
Act. iv. 32. dicere, Chriſtianis integrum erat. Tunc, Chriſtianis omnibus, unus animus, una mens fuit; neque ſua omnia in commune conferre,
Act. xi. 44, 45. ſicubi opus eſſet, ipſos pigebat. Tunc, ſi qua fortè inter ipſos emergerent ſententiarum divortia, modò fidei ſumma ſalva eſſet, non ſtatim res in nervum erumpere, non ſtatim à ſe mutuò diſcedere, non

ſtatim

according to thy Preſcript and Example, that God ſhall be reconciled to them. Thou has promiſed eternal Rewards to the Good, and threatened everlaſting Puniſhments to the Bad, Thou haſt, in the moſt efficacious Manner, reconciled God to us, and us to God. In a Word, thou haſt brought down the true heavenly Wiſdom upon Earth, and taught us to live a truly heavenly and divine Life in an human Body; till, having paſſed theſe Days of our Pilgrimage here, we ſhall be tranſlated to a better Inheritance; and enjoy the Converſation and Delights of God himſelf for ever.

Such, Sirs, was the Primitive Face of Chriſtianity: Such were thoſe Divine Secrets, which the only begotten Son diſcovered out of the Boſom of his Father. This is that Wiſdom among them that are perfect, *which* 1 Cor. ii. 6.
poor illiterate Men, moſt of them Fiſhers or Handicraftmen, having no 2 Cor. x. 4.
Advantage from Birth, or from Riches or Honours, but by Weapons not 1 Cor. ii. 4.
carnal, *and* not with enticing Words of Man's Wiſdom; *notwithſtanding all the Difficulties, Dangers, and Tortures which they conflicted with, within the Space of a few Years, ſpread throughout the whole World. O give me back thoſe Times, wherein Truth itſelf, clad in human Rags, ſhaded by no Clouds of Paſſion, gave a clear View of herſelf to Mankind! Numerous Articles of Faith were not then impoſed upon Men's Underſtandings, the whole Sum of Faith and Salvation conſiſted,* in knowing the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt whom he ſent. *Chriſtians* Joh. xvii. 3.
then were not exerciſed in human Quirks, and metaphyſical Diſquiſitions, drawn out of the School of Zeno, Plato, *or* Ariſtotle. *Believe me, the Diſcipline which came from Heaven, was far different from this, not adopted for the School, but for Life; plain, eaſy, ſimple, and attempered to the Capacity of all Men. It was not a ſubtile hunting after the Secrets of God, it was not a bold Determination of Matters above our Reach, it was not an angry quarrelling about trivial Queſtions, but the* new Man Eph. iv. 24.
which is after God created in Righteouſneſs, *but* Faith which worketh Gal. vi. 15.
by Love, *but that* pure Religion *which conſiſted* in viſiting the Fatherleſs and Widows in their Affliction, and keeping themſelves unſpotted Gal. v. 6.
from the World; *in a Word, it was the Image of the Divine Virtues, formed in the Mind of Man, which made up the Chriſtian. Then no Multiplicity of Ceremonies, no operoſe Commands made by Men concerning Externals in Religion, did load the Worſhip of Chriſtians, all the Solemnity of the Chriſtian* Sacra *did conſiſt in Prayers, Preaching of the Word, Baptiſm, and breaking of Bread. Then to exerciſe* Dominion 2 Cor. i. 24.
over the Faith, *and to be* Lords over God's Heritage, *the Apoſtles* 1 Pet. v. 3.
themſelves, though divinely inſpired, thought it a great Crime; their only Glory was to feed the Flock committed to their Charge, and to miniſter to the Joy of the Faithful. If any one that was called a Brother, were 1 Cor. v. 11.
a Fornicator, or Covetous, or an Idolater, or Railer, or a Drunkard, 2 Theſ. iii. 14.
or an Extortioner, with ſuch a one the Chriſtians were not to eat. 2 Joh. x.
Then among all Chriſtians there was one Heart, and one Soul; *nay,* Act. iv. 32.
when there was Occaſion, they did not think it much to have all Things in common. Then, if there aroſe among them any Difference of Opinions, Act. 2. 44.

if

ſtatim ſibi mutuò anathema dicere, ſed ſe invicem tolerare, ſed ingenio potiores debiliorum nævis parcere, ſed omnes in jam cognitis eâdem incedere regulâ, uſquedum ignota cœlitus illuceſcerent, conſpiciebantur. Tunc denique, ne plura jam addamus, non tam Chriſti myſteria nôſſe, non tam illa profiteri, non tam de iis diſſerere, diſputare, altercari, quàm Chriſti vitâ vivere, quàm ejus Spiritu duci, quàm ad ejus exemplum componi, Chriſtianæ rei caput & complementum cenſebatur.

II. *Ætas Argentea, tribus primis Eccleſia Sæculis.*

Hieron. ad Demetr.

Et ita quidem ſe ſe res habuit, beatô illo Sæculô, quod Chriſti Domini in terris præſentia, & Apoſtolorum præconium, illuſtravêre. Neque verò ſtatim ab Apoſtolis, imò neque per aliquot Sæcula, multum de priſtino illo delibatum eſt Eccleſiæ ſplendore; dum ſcilicet *Domini noſtri adhuc calebat cruor, & fervebat recens in credentibus fides*, ut cum Hieronymo verba faciamus. Nec enim hîc fœdam illam moramur *Gnoſticorum* colluviem, cum ſuis illis *Æonum* conjugiis, abditâque, ſi Deo placet, & clam ab Apoſtolis tradita ſapientia; uti nec *Cerdonis*, *Marcionis*, *Manetis*, aliorumque deliria: Eos quippe, præter nomen, Chriſtiani ferè nihil habuiſſe, quicquid de illis cognoſcitur, abundè probat. Verùm ad Eccleſiam ipſam quod attinet, ſumma rerum eadem manſit, fides eadem, idem cultus, eadem diſciplina, nec modica Chriſtiani ſpiritûs, Chriſtianárumque virtutum, in Fidelibus menſura. Fuêre tantùm nævi quidam, ſi modò hîc ſubſtitiſſent, tolerabiles futuri; Unde ætas iſta *argentea*, auro quidem deterior, ſed pretioſior ære, à nobis appellata eſt.

Doctrina. Iren. lib. 1. cap. 2. Tertull. de Præſcript. cap. 13. Id. de virgin. vel. cap. 1. Novatian. de Trinit.

Fidem quæris? Non alia fuit, quàm quæ in vulgato Symbolo, *Apoſtolico* dicto, exhibetur quemadmodum apud *Irenæum*, *Tertullianum*, *Novatianum*, alioſque, cernere eſt. Non alia tum vivebatur fide, non aliam docebant Antiſtites, nec tingendi profitebantur. "Hæc regula "fidei una omninó erat, ſola immobilis & irreformabilis, quam Ec- "cleſia per univerſum orbem uſque ad fines mundi ſeminata, ab "Apoſtolis eorumque ſucceſſoribus acceperat, ac diligenter cuſto- "diebat; adverſus quam nihil ſcire, omnia ſcire fuit, ut ipſiſſima "*Irenæi* & *Tertulliani* verba uſurpemus." Interim, non paucos hujus ævi Doctores ingenio nimis indulſiſſe, &, tum ob Philoſophiam Ethnicam, præſertim Platonicam, Chriſtianæ Doctrinæ admixtam, tum ob Linguarum Originalium, in pleriſque, ignorationem, tum ob Allegoriarum ſtudium, quibus ad ineptiam uſque indulgebant, tum ob mirorum amorem immodicum, tum ob fervidum, præceps, ac modi neſcium ingenium, in variis ceſpitaſſe, adeò ut *ingenium ſuum Eccleſiæ ſacramenta facerent* (quod de *Origene* in primis notatum) nemo niſi immoderatus Veterum admirator poteſt negare.

Hieron. præ. lib. 5. comm. in Eſa.

Cultum

if the chief Points of Chriſtianity were not thereby affected, they did not preſently fly to Impriſonments, *nor yet to* Separations *nor* Excommunications; *but they bore with one another, thoſe who were ſtrong gave Way to the Infirmities of the weak; and all were obſerved to walk in the ſame Rule, in all Things known to them, till God was pleaſed to reveal other Things to them. And laſtly, to add no more, then the chief Matter of Chriſtianity was reckoned, not ſo much to know the Myſteries of Chriſt, and to make Profeſſion of them; not ſo much to make Diſſertations concerning them, to diſpute and wrangle about them; as to live the Life of Chriſt, to be led by his Spirit, and to be formed after his Example.*

Rom. xiv. 1. *&c.* Phil. iii. 15. 16.

II. The Silver Age, during the firſt three Ages of the Church.

This was the Condition of the Church during that happy Age, which our bleſſed Lord was pleaſed to grace by his Preſence, and the Apoſtles by their Preaching. Neither was there much abated of the ancient Beauty of the Church, in the Times immediately after the Apoſtles, nor indeed for ſome Ages after them whilſt *(as* St. Jerom *ſpeaks)* our Lord's Blood was warm, and the Faith being then but new, was fervent in Believers. *There can be no Objection againſt this Truth, drawn from the Spawn of the Gnoſtick Hereticks, with the Conjunctions of their* Æons, *and their occult Wiſdom, which they pretend they learned privately from the Apoſtles; nor yet from the Dreams of* Cerdon, Marcion, Manes, *and others; for 'tis plain, from all that we are able to learn of theſe People, that they retain'd nothing of Chriſtianity but the bare Name thereof. But as to what concerns the Church, it was, as to the main, the ſame as before; the ſame Faith, the ſame Worſhip, the ſame Diſcipline, and no ſmall Share of Chriſtian Spirit and Chriſtian Virtues were in Believers. There were only ſome little Blemiſhes, which, if they had not grown greater, had been tolerable: From which this Age, which being worſe than the* Golden, *and better than the* Brazen, *is by us call'd the* Silver *one.*

Hier. ad Demetr.

Doctrine.

Do you aſk after the Faith of this Age? It was no other than what was contain'd in the Creed call'd the Apoſtles, *as we learn from* Irenæus, Tertullian, Novatianus, *and others, Men lived by no other Faith, the Miniſters of the Goſpel taught no other, and no other was profeſſed by thoſe who were to be baptized.* "*This was the only Rule of Faith, im-*
"*moveable and unalterable, which the Church propagated to the Ends*
"*of the World, received from the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors, and doth*
"*diligently keep it; to know nothing contrary to whoſe Doctrines, to know*
"*all Things; to ſpeak in the Words of* Irenæus *and* Tertullian". *In the mean while, no one but who is an immoderate Admirer of Antiquity, can deny, but that the Doctors of this Age, gave too great a looſe to their Wit, partly on account of the Ethnick Philoſophy, eſpecially the Platonick, which they had ſtudied and mixed with the Chriſtian Doctrine, partly upon account of the Ignorance of moſt of them in the Oriental Tongues; partly on the Score of their Study of Allegories, which they indulged even to Fooleries; partly upon Account of their extraordinary Fondneſs for Miracles, and partly that many of them being of a hot, bold,*

Iren. lib. 1. c. 2. Tert. de Præſcript. cap. 13. Id. de virg. vel. cap. 1. Nov. de Trin.

Cultus. Cultum poſtulas? Idem quoque fuit, ſaltem ſi ad rerum ſummam attendamus, quem tradiderant Apoſtoli, prout à *Juſtino* Martyre, *Tertulliano*, aliiſque, illum accuratè deſcribentibus, docetur: Preces nempe, gratiarum actiones, hymni Deo & Chriſto cantati, Scripturæ lectio, lectæ expoſitio, Baptiſmus, Euchariſtia. Additæ tantummodo Ceremoniæ nonnullæ, illo quidem tempore non malæ, imò piæ quædam ac utiles, ſed quas poſtmoduùm in immenſum auxit, atque in deterius vertit, ſequioris ævi ſuperſtitio: velut *Martyrum Natalitia*, pio quidem fine, ſed infauſto ſucceſſu inducta: velut *Preces pro defunctis*, precariæ quidem illæ, & idoneo fundamento caſſæ ſed diverſiſſimæ etiam ab iis quæ poſtmodùm uſurpatæ ſunt; ſiquidem fiebant pro omnibus, etiam Martyribus, etiam Apoſtolis, quos ſumma adeptos nemo ambigebat: velut *ſignaculum Crucis*, ad omnem progreſſum atque promotum, ad omnem aditum & exitum, ad veſtitum, ad calceatum, ad lavacra, ad menſas, ad lumina, ad cubilia, ad ſedilia, & quando non? ſignari conſuetum: velut *Oſculum pacis*, poſt preces finitas apponi ſolitum: velut, in *Baptiſmo*, *trina immerſio*; ſolemnis atque iterata, de *nuntio miſſo Diabolo*, & pompæ, & angelis ejus, apud Antiſtitem facta conteſtatio; lactis & mellis præguſtatio, qua *infantari* dicebantur; unctio; manuum impoſitio à communi lavacro per hebdomadem abſtinentia; veſtis candidæ illa hebdomade geſtatio, unde *candida cohors* apud *Cyprianum*, & *Dominica in albis* dicta: velut, in *Euchariſtia*, Symbolorum oblationes à fidelibus factæ; hinc preces pro omnibus; mox peculiares preces & gratiarum actiones, ſuper elementa; dein, panis fractio & diſtributio; vini pariter aquâ diluti participatio; communio infantium; miſſio Euchariſtiæ ad ægrotos atque abſentes; panis nonnunquam intinctio, ſicubi ægris vel infantibus porrigeretur: velut eorum Συσσίτια ſive *Agapæ*, quibus inopes ſublevati, quáſque tanta pietate ac modeſtia temperabant, primis ſaltem illis temporibus, ut *non tam cœnam cœnare* viderentur *quàm diſciplinam:* velut *Stationes* atque *Jejunia*, quorum varia admodum ac libera erat praxis: velut *pervigilia*, quibus concubia nocte ad Deum celebrandum excitabantur. Et hi quidem ritus horum temporum; Quibus, ſi dixero, neque cultos Angelos, neque Divos ad opem vocatos, neque reliquias eorum quæſitas, aut honore affectas, neque imagines adoratas, cùm & ipſa pingendi ars illicita haberetur, neque *Crucis ligna feralia Ceremonias noſtras*, multò minùs ἀρτολάτρας ac θεοφάγους Chriſtianos fuiſſe, retorquendis facilè in ipſos, ſi modò tales fuiſſent, quæ in Ethnicos vibrabant telis, nec alia denique innumera ſequiorum temporum adhuc uſurpata, equidem nihil aſſeram

Juſt. Mart. Apol. 2.

Tertull. Apologet. cap. 39.

Tertull. de coron. cap. 3.

Tertull. Apologet.

Minut. Felix.

and ungovernable Wit, it lead them into various Errors; ſo that they made their Wit *(which is remark'd of* Origen *above any other) the* Sacraments of the Church. Hier. Proœ. lib. 5. Comm. in Eſa.

Do you enquire after their Diſcipline? This alſo was the ſame, as to the main, that was taught by the Apoſtles, as we are inform'd by Juſtin Martyr, Tertullian, *and others, who give an accurate Deſcription thereof, namely, Prayers, Thankſgiving, Hymns ſung to God and Chriſt, Leſſons out of Scripture, and Expoſitions upon them, Baptiſm, and the Euchariſt. There were only added ſome Ceremonies, not indeed at that Time to be found Fault with, nay, ſome very pious and profitable ones, which the Superſtition of the following Ages increaſed, and changed for the worſe: As the Obſervance of* Martyrs Birth Days *(as they call'd them)* [i. e. *when they ſuffer'd*] *yet ſet up at firſt with a good Deſign, but afterwards abuſed to ill Purpoſe: As* Prayers for the Dead, *which were then at every one's Diſcretion, tho' having no good Foundation, but very different from thoſe which were afterwards uſed, they being made for all without Diſtinction, even for Martyrs and Apoſtles themſelves, of whom no one doubted, but that they had obtained a principal State of Happineſs: As the* Sign of the Croſs *made upon them whenever they ſtirr'd, upon their going out and coming in; upon putting on their Clothes, and their Shoes; when they went to the Bath, or ſat down to Meals; when they lighted Candles, or went to Bed, or ſat down, or when not? As the* Kiſs of Peace, *which was uſed to be given when their Prayers were ended; at the* Trine Immerſion *in Baptiſm; the ſolemn and iterated renouncing the Devil, his Pomp and Angels made before the Prieſt; the* Taſting of Milk and Honey; *by which they were ſaid* Infantari: Unction, Impoſition of Hands, *the abſtaining a Week before from the common Bath, the wearing* White Garments *that Week, from whence they are called the* White Company *by St.* Cyprian, *and that Sunday* Whitſunday; *as in the Euchariſt, the* Oblation *of the Symbols made by the Faithful; from hence Prayer for all; and, by and by, peculiar Prayers, and giving of Thanks over the Elements; afterwards Breaking and Diſtribution of the Bread, and Participation of the Wine* diluted with Water; *the ſending the Euchariſt to ſick and abſent Perſons, and ſometimes dipping the Bread in the Wine, when it was to be carry'd to ſick Perſons or Infants; as their* Συσίτια, Agapæ, *or* Love-Feaſts, *by which the Poor were entertain'd, and which they manag'd with that Piety and Temperance, eſpecially in the firſt Time, as that they did not ſeem ſo much to* eat a Supper, as to perform an Ordinance: *As their* Stations *and* Faſts, *the Practice of which was various and free: As their* Watchings, *in which they roſe at Midnight to praiſe God. Theſe were the Ceremonies of thoſe Times, in which if I ſhould ſay that Angels were not worſhipped, nor the Aid of Saints implored, nor their Relicts fought for or honoured, nor their Images adored, when even the Art of Painting was look'd upon as unlawful, when the diſmal Wood of the* Croſs was no Part of our Ceremonies, *much leſs were the Chriſtians* Worſhippers of Bread, *and* Eaters of their Worſhip. Juſt. Mart. Ap. 2. Tertul. Apol. c. 39. Tertull. Apologett.

asseram quod per sese abundè non pateat, certissimisque documentis non confirmetur.

Regimen. ☞ Sciscitaris de Regimine? Erat Προεσ-ὼς sive *Episcopus*, inde à prima antiquitate, & ad Synagogæ exemplum haud dubiè, cui suus ראש הקהל fuerat. Erant *Presbyteri*, sive Seniores, honorem istum non pretio, sed testimonio, adepti, & quorum ex consilio præcipua quæque gerebantur. Accedebant *Diaconi*, à quibus, & Eucharistia distributa, atque ad absentes delata, & alia ministeria minoris notæ exercita: Quibus etiam *Lectores*, *Acolythi*, *Exorcistæ*, postmodùm accessêre. Cæterùm nondum Orbis adorabat Romam; nondum Tiberinus ille Pontifex Ecclesiæ Monarcham agebat: Vel, si quando jura dare, atque à se dissentientes inclementiùs damnare voluit, prout, à *Victore* & *Stephano* factum, (jam tum ἐνεργυμένυ τῦς τῆς ἀνομίας μυς-ηρίυ) neque id cæteri multum curârunt, neque defuerunt qui audaciam illam acerrimè arguerent, prout *Irenæi* ad Victorem, & *Cypriani* ac *Firmiliani* ad Stephanum Epistolæ abundè testantur.

Justin. Mart. Tertull. Cyprian.

2 Thess. ii. 7.

Disciplina. Percontaris de Disciplina? Sanctissima illa fuit, & peccatis fugandis aptissima; nemine, nisi post idoneam explorationem, sacris undis tincto; nemine, sacri cibi participe, nisi qui ad Christi normam se re verâ composuisset; & severissimis, imò aliquando plus justo severioribus, in graviùs delinquentes, constitutis pœnis; *à communicatione* nempe *orationis*, *& conventus*, *& Omnis sancti commercii*, *relegari*; quin &, si gravius delictum esset, *omni Ecclesiæ tecto submoveri*: Neque modò ad breve tempus, sed ad multos annos non rarò, aliquando ad mortem usque, aliquando ne illis quidem, qui in extremis versarentur, ad Ecclesiæ pacem admissis: Quæ quidem, ut in se sanctissima, tamen nimia quandóque fuisse, & ab Evangelica mansuetudine aliquantulùm abhorrentia, negari nequit. Jam, ut Lapsis pax redderetur, quis nescit quàm laboriosæ subjecti sint Pœnitentiæ? *sacco & cineri incubare*, *corpus sordibus obscurare animum mœroribus dejicere*, *pastum & potum pura nosse*, *jejuniis preces alere*, *ingemiscere*, *lacrymari*, *mugire dies noctesque*, *Presbyteris advolvi*, *caris Dei adgeniculari*, (unde forsan calumnia illa de *Sacerdotum genitalibus* à Christianis cultis, cujus mentio apud *Minutium*) *presbyteris*, inquam, *advolvi*, *caris Dei* (hoc est, Martyribus) *adgeniculari*, *omnibus fratribus legationes deprecationis suæ injungere*: Quæ quidem *exomologesis* (sic Pœnitentiam publicam vocabant) cùm "provolvebat hominem, magis relevabat; cùm squalidum faciebat, "magis mundatum reddebat; cum condemnabat, absolvebat, prout "eleganter *Tertullianus*.

Tertull. de Pudic. cap. 4.

Tertull. Pœnit. cap. 9.

Tertull. ibid.

Ac

God *(it being eaſy for the Heathens to have turned theſe Objections againſt them, if there had been any ſuch Practice)* nor many other Things which *were uſed in latter Times. In laying down all this, I ſay, I ſhould aſſert nothing but what is abundantly evident, and what might be proved by the beſt Ceremonies.*

Government.

Do you enquire of the Church Government? There was a Προεσ-ὼς *or* Biſhop, even before that Time, up to the firſt Antiquity; *undoubtedly taken from the Example of the* Jews, *who had their* Roſh Hachoel, *the Prince or Head of the Congregation. There were* Preſbyters, *or Seniors,* Juſt. M. Tertull. Cyprian. *who attained this Office not by Price, but by Teſtimony, and by whoſe Advice the principal Affairs of the Church were managed. To theſe were added* Deacons, *by which the Euchariſt was diſtributed and carried to Abſents, and other Services of leſſer Note were executed; to which afterward* Readers, Acolyths, Excoriſts, *were added. But as yet the World did not adore* Rome, *the High-Prieſt of* Tiber *did not as yet* 2 Theſ. ii. 7. *uſurp the Monarchy over the Church: Or if at any Time he pretended to give Laws, or to deal ſeverely with thoſe that diſſented in Opinion from him, as was done by* Victor *and* Stephen *(for even then the Myſtery of Iniquity began to work) other Biſhops ſet little by his Cenſures, neither were there wanting thoſe who roundly reprimanded him for it, as the Letters of* Irenæus *to* Pope Victor, *and thoſe of* Cyprian *and* Firmilian *to* Stephen, *do abundantly teſtify.*

Diſcipline.

Do you aſk concerning their Diſcipline? That was moſt holy, and excellently well adapted, to deter Men from Sin; no one being admitted to Baptiſm before he had been ſtrictly examin'd; no one being allow'd to Juſt. M. Apol. 2. *receive the Sacrament, but who had exactly conformed his Life to the Rule of Chriſt; and very ſevere Puniſhments, nay, oftentimes too rigid, being inflicted on thoſe who had committed any great Offence, they being ſhut out from the* Communication of Prayer, and the Right of Aſſembly, Tertul. Ap. cap. 39. and from all ſacred Commerce; *nay, if the Crime were very heinous, they* were perfectly ſhut out from the Church; *not only for a ſhort Time,* Tertul de pudic. cap. 4. *but oftentimes for many Years, ſometimes even to Death, and ſometimes not being admitted to the Peace of the Church, even at their Deaths. Which Things, as they were in themſelves very pious, ſo it cannot be denied, that ſometimes they were overdone, and did not agree with the Gentleneſs of the Goſpel. Now for the Fallen to be reſtored, every Body knows how laborious a Pennance they muſt ſubmit to.* They muſt lie upon Sackcloth of Aſhes; they muſt go in a ſordid Habit; they muſt Tertul. de pœn. cap. 9. caſt down their Mind with Grief; they muſt nouriſh their Devotion with Faſting; they muſt groan, weep, bemoan themſelves Night and Day; throw themſelves down at the Preſbyter's Feet; kneel before Tert. ib. the beloved of God *(from whence perhaps aroſe that Calumny of the Heathens, in* Minucius Felix, *and of the Chriſtians worſhipping the Prieſt's Genitals)*; *I ſay, they muſt fall down before* the Preſbyters, they muſt kneel before the Beloved of God *(i. e. the Martyrs)* they muſt beg the Interceſſion of all the Brethren for their Pardon. *Which* Exomologeſis

Mores.

Ac re verâ, his tyrociniis, istâ castrorum disciplinâ, Christianorum militum virtus, sanctitas, pietas, justitia, sobrietas, castitas, fortitudo, constantia, dici non potest quantùm promotæ sint. Enimverò, illis adhuc Sæculis, vis Christiani nominis, non in dictis, sed in factis, sese exeruit; Οὐκ ἐν λόγοις; ἀλλ' ἐν ἔργοις τὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας θεοσεβειας πράγματα. *Non eloquimur magna, sed vivimus.* Hinc, in Scriptis illis Apologeticis, per ea tempora editis, non innocentia modò Christianorum defenditur, & *neminem Christianum malum, nisi qui fidem simularet*, apertè asseritur, sed &, ad exquisitam illorum sanctitatem, velut ad palmarium quoddam Evangelicæ veritatis argumentum, provocatur. Dicamne, quanta ipsis fuerit, & colendi Dei cura, & in orando assiduitas, & in promovendo Dei Regno zelus, & in proximis diligendis sinceritas, & in sublevandis pauperibus, captivis redimendis, confessoribus, intra carcerum septa, invisendis, sustentandis, erigendis, follicitudo, (missâ etiam non rarò, ad oras remotissimas, eum in finem ingenti pecuniâ) & ni domandis libidinibus studium, & in fugiendis Mundi illecebris diligentia, & in gravissimis persecutionibus, exquisitissimis suppliciis, Evangelii caussâ perferendis, fortitudo alacritas, & constantia? Res in vulgus notissimæ, & ab ipsis etiam Christianorum hostibus, non sine stupore, memoratæ.

Justin. Mart. Minut. Fel.

III. *Ætas Ænea, inde à temporibus Constantini Mag.*

Sic igitur illibata manfit, ad summam rerum quod attinet, imò sic per aliquot perstitit Sæcula, professio Christianorum. Verùm, tum maximè vitiari cœpit, cùm minimè debuerat; Imperiô ad fidem adductò, sed & Imperii pompâ Ecclesiam inficiente; Ethnicis ad Christum conversis, sed & Christi Religione ad Ethnicæ formam depravatâ; assertâ Christianis pace, sed & pacis malis irrumpentibus; Ecclesiâ divitiis & potentia majore, sed virtutibus minore; Antistitum honoribus, reditibus, immunitatibus, munificentiâ Principum auctis, sed & eorum superbiâ, æmulatione, rixis, dissidiis, pari passu augescentibus; denique levibus illis nevis, quos ab initio irrepsisse vidimus, ad cumulum ita perductis, ut, quæ argentea hactenus fuerat rei Christianæ facies, in *æneam* postmodùm, tandem & *ferream*, mutata fuerit. Ire per singula non vacat; Præcipua quædam fat erit notasse.

Fidei capita multiplicata.

Et una quidem ex primariis Apostolicæ Doctrinæ laudibus, fuit illa Fidei sinceritas, fuit illa credendorum paucitas, quæ in eorum Scriptis observatur. At verò, illò, quo de agimus, tempore, Fidei capita in immensum aucta, nova Symbola quotidie cusa, novæ voces quotidie inductæ, Scriptis humanis atque Conventibus nova auctoritas quotidie ad scripta, subtiliorum de rebus divinis disquisitionum

geſis *(for ſo they call'd the publick Pennance)* when it threw down the Man, it did thereby the more raiſe him up; when it made him ſqualid, it made him the more clean; whilſt it condemned him, it gave him Abſolution; *as* Tertullian *elegantly expreſſes it.*

Their Manners.

It was by theſe Exerciſes, by this Military Diſcipline, that the Virtue, the Holineſs, the Piety, Juſtice, Sobriety, Chaſtity, Courage, Conſtancy of the Chriſtian Soldiers were raiſed to ſuch a Height as cannot be expreſſed: For in thoſe Ages the Power of Chriſtianity diſplay'd itſelf, not in Words, but in Deeds. The Affairs of our Religion are to be diſcovered, not in Words, but in Works; we do not ſpeak great Things, but live them. *Upon this Account in thoſe Apologetical Writings which were publiſhed in thoſe Times, not only the Innocence of the Chriſtians is defended, but it is expreſly aſſerted,* That there was no Chriſtian an ill Man, unleſs he were one who counterfeited the Faith: *Nay, they appealed to this exquiſite Holineſs of their Lives, as a principal Argument of the Truth of the Goſpel. Shall I ſpeak of the great Care they took in the Worſhip of God, their Diligence in Prayer, their Zeal in promoting the Kingdom of God, their Heartineſs in loving their Neighbour, the Pains they took in relieving the Poor, in redeeming Captives, their viſiting and ſuccouring and comforting Confeſſors in the Priſons (ſending oftentimes to remote Countries great Sums of Money for that Purpoſe) their Application in conquering their Appetites, their Diligence in avoiding the Temptations of the World, their Courage, Alacrity and Conſtancy, in undergoing the moſt grievous Perſecutions, and moſt exquiſite Puniſhments, for the Sake of the Goſpel? Theſe Things were commonly known, and are mentioned, not without Admiration, by the Enemies of the Chriſtians.*

III. The Brazen Age from the Time of *Conſtantine the Great.*

Thus the Chriſtian Religion, as to the main, continued undefiled for ſeveral Ages: But it began then to be vitiated, when it leaſt ought to be ſo; the Empires coming into the Faith, infecting the Church with the Imperial Pomp; and Heathens being converted to Chriſt, the Religion of Chriſt being depraved by too great a Conformity to their Religion; Peace to the Church being procured, the Evils of Peace likewiſe breaking in upon her; the Church being now great in Riches and Power, but withal leſs in Virtue; the Honours, Revenues and Immunity of the Clergy, being increaſed by the Bounty of Princes, but alſo their Pride, Ambition, Quarrels, Diviſions, with equal Degrees increaſing; in a Word, thoſe little Blemiſhes which we obſerved from the Beginning to have crept in, being grown to ſuch a Bulk, that the Face of Chriſtianity, which was before Silver, *was now changed into Braſs, and at length into* Iron. *I have not Time to inſiſt upon all Particulars, it will be ſufficient to remark ſome of the chief.*

Articles of Faith multiplied.

One of the principal Excellencies of the Apoſtles Doctrine is the Purity of Faith, and the Fewneſs of Things to be believed, which are obſervable in their Writings. But in this Time which we are now ſpeaking of, Articles of Faith were vaſtly increaſed, new Creeds were every Day coined, new Words brought into Uſe, new Authority was continually given to human Writings and Conventions; there was no End of ſubtile Diſ-

quiſitions

Basil. M. apud Damas. Hilar. Constant. Aug.

tionum nullus finis, Christi Religio in artem conversa; τεχνολογῶσιν, ἀσχὶ θεολογῶσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, inquiebat *Basilius*; tot fides existere cœperunt, quot voluntates; " erat fides temporum, potiùs quàm E- " vangeliorum, secundùm annos scribebatur; dumque plures quo- " tidie fierent, ad id cœperunt esse, ne ulla sit, quemadmodum turbatô illô ævô, Nicænam Synodum secutô, & Arianis tumultibus deformi, querebatur *Hilarius*.

Ceremonia in immensum aucta.

Alia genuini Christianismi laus, fuit illa Cultûs simplicitas, quâ, tum ab Ethnicis ineptiis, tum à Judaïcorum rituum onere, Christiani sublevabantur. At illis Sæculis, quæ nos jam describimus, sive ex innata humano ingenio ad res sensibiles propensione, sive ad augendum Sacrorum decus, sive præposterâ quâdam Ethnicorum æmulatione, sive malè sanis Oratorum ac Poëtarum figmentis, Religio,

Aug. Epist. 119. ad Jan.

" quam pauciſſimis & manifestissimis celebrationum sacramentis mi- " sericordia Dei liberam esse voluerat, servilibus oneribus indies premi " cœpit; ut tolerabiliorem Judæorum conditionem fuisse, qui lega- " libus quidem sarcinis, non humanis præsumptionibus subjiciebantur, " *Augustinus* asserere & lamentari non vereatur.

Sancti.

Quòd Martyres, aliósque Sanctos, in Domino piè defunctos, summo in pretio haberent Christiani, id laude quidem dignissimum erat. Quòd memorias eorum statis diebus celebrarent, id, si non præceptum à Deo, vix tamen culpari meruit, siquidem ad accendendam parem in vivis pietatem honos ille fuit comparatus. Quod postmodùm in Concionibus aliquando compellati sint, id oratorum initio, adeóque minimè urgendum; unde & hæc ut plurimùm addita,

Gregor. Nazianz. in Orationibus passim.

Εἰ τις αἴσθησις, εἰ τίς σοι τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων, εἰ μὴ τολμηρὸν τοῦτο εἰπεῖν. At verò, quòd figuræ illæ mox in literalem sensum detortæ sint, quòd Martyrum animæ circa tumulos ipsorum vagari, ibíque preces ex audire, & Miracula patrare creditæ, quòd eorum reliquiæ quæsitæ, & majori indies cultu excerptæ, quòd Basilicæ, quòd Oratoria, in eorum honorem exstructa, quòd Festa solennia ipsis dicata, quòd eorum denique patrocinium, & apud Deum deprecatione studiosè ambitæ, illa degeneris Christianismi, & revocati velut postliminio Ethnicismi indicia fuêre.

Imagines.

Sed &, ne quid Ethnicum deesset, illæ divinis præscriptionibus ita expressè veritæ, illæ à primis Christianis tanto studio proscriptæ Imagines, postmodùm, tum ob ornatum, tum ad juvandam memoriam, & rudiorum institutionem, tum ut plebs

Paulin. Nat. 9. Felic.

Assueta diu sacris servire profanis,

advena Christo lubentiùs fieret, quemadmodum testis est *Paulinus*, sensim in Ecclesias illatæ, nec multò post cultu affectæ sunt. Diu obsistunt

quiſitions concerning divine Matters, the Chriſtian Religion was turned into an Art, and as St. Baſil *ſays,* Men rather ſeem'd to act the Part of Artiſts than Divines; *there were ſo many Faiths as there were Men's Humours*; it was the Faith of the Times rather than of the Goſpel; Men wrote Divinity according to the Times they lived in, and when new Faiths were continually coined, it brought Matters to that Paſs that there began to be none, *as* Hilary *complains of that Age which followed the* Nicene *Council, and was deformed by the* Arian *Diſtractions.*

Ceremonies mightily increaſed.

Another Excellency of primitive Chriſtianity was the Simplicity of its Worſhip, by which the Chriſtians were eaſed from the Heathen Fooleries and the Burden of the Jewiſh Rites. But in thoſe Ages which we are now deſcribing, whether it came to paſs from an innate Propenſion to ſenſible Things, or from a Deſign thereby the more to adorn the Chriſtian-Worſhip, or from an unwarrantable Emulation of the Heathen, or from the wild Fictions of the Orators and Poets, " *that Religion, which the Mercy of* " *God would have to be free by the Celebration of a few, and thoſe very* " *plain Sacraments, began every Day to be more and more to be oppreſſed* " *by ſervile Burdens, ſo that* Auſtin *does not ſtick to aſſert and lament,* " *that the Condition of the* Jews *was more tolerable, who were ſubject* " *indeed to legal Burdens, but not to human Preſumptions.*

Aug. Epiſt. 119. ad Jan.

Saints.

It was a very laudable Thing, that the firſt Chriſtians highly eſteemed the Martyrs, and other Saints who had departed in the Lord. That they celebrated their Memories upon certain Days, altho' this was not commanded by God, yet it could hardly be blamed, when this Honour was given them, to excite the Living to a like Piety. That afterwards they were called upon in Sermons, was only a Stroke of Oratory at firſt, and therefore not much to be ſtood upon; from whence proceeded many of theſe Expreſſions, If thou, O happy Soul, haſt any Knowledge of what we do: If thou haſt any Diſcourſe of our Affairs; If it be not too bold to ſay this to thee. *But that afterwards theſe Figures were drawn into a literal Senſe; That the Souls of Martyrs wandred about their Graves, and there heard the Prayers which were put up to them; that they were believed to do Miracles, and that their Relicts were hunted after, and were every Day more and more worſhipped; that Churches and Oratories were built to their Honour; that ſolemn Feaſts were dedicated to them; that their Patronages and Interceſſions to God, on their Behalf, were earneſtly deſired, theſe Things were Signs of a degenerate Chriſtianity, and of a Sort of Heatheniſm coming in again.*

Greg. Naz. in ſeveral Places.

Images,

And that nothing of Heatheniſm might be wanting, Images, which were ſo expreſly forbid by the divine Law, and ſo much condemned by the Primitive Chriſtians, were afterwards, partly for Ornament, and partly to aſſiſt the Memory, and to inſtruct the Ignorant, and partly that the common People who were

So long accuſtomed to Heathen Rites,——

Paul. Nat. 9. Felio.

might the more willingly embrace Chriſtianity; theſe were firſt brought into Churches, and afterwards were worſhipped. Holy Men withſtood

Concil. Eliber. Can. 36. *Epiph. Epiſt. ad Joh. Hieroſol. Gregor. M. Epiſt. Lib.* 9. *Epiſt.* 9. *Synod. Pariſ. an.* 824.

ſiſtunt viri pii. Vetat Concilium *Eleberitanum*, picturas in Eccleſiis eſſe. Exardeſcit *Epiphanius*, velúmque effigie ſignatum ſcindit. Frangit *Serenus* imagines, & ab Eccleſiis projicit. *Carolus Magnus* cum ſuo illo *Francofurtenſi* Concilio, *Ludovicus Pius* cum *Pariſienſi*, Ethnicam praxim Decretis caſtigant. Imperator Orientis non unus Imaginibus adverſum ſe præbet. *Agobardus*, *Hincmarus*, *Claudius Taurinenſis*, alii bene multi, in Occidente obnituntur. Fruſtrà hæc omnia fuêre; Quippe, inter Imperii turbas, & mutuas Conciliorum ſecum invicem pugnantium diras, *ſuperſtitionis illius peſtis, partim ignorantia, partim peſſimæ conſuetudinis uſu*, (ſic loquuntur *Pariſienſes*) tandem prævaluit.

Baptiſmus, Euchariſtia.

Jam, de Baptiſmi & Euchariſtiæ ſolennibus, quid dicamus? Quos quidem ritus, in ſe ipſis planiſſimos, & intellectu obvios, non tam novos inſtituit, quàm, ex Judæorum uſibus deſumptos, ſuæ Diſciplinæ aptavit Chriſtus. Neque verò primi Chriſtiani ab horum rituum fine atque indole ſtatim aberrârunt, utpote quos in Apologiis, ad Ethnicos ipſos datis, apertiſſimè ſimul & ſimpliciſſimè deſcribunt. Verùm ſorduit ſimplicitas illa apud ſequioris ævi Doctores. Majus quid ſuſpicati ſunt, & ad ereandam apud Ethnicos reverentiam aptius. Fuerunt jam φρικτὰ μυστήρια, mira quidam ac tremendi ritus, de quibus, niſi apud initiatos, ne muſſitare quidem licuit; ἴσασιν οἱ μεμυημένοι. Hinc nova pompa quotidie Solennibus illis addita, nova virtus iis adſcripta, novæ figuræ, novæ ὑπερβολαὶ, in extollendis illis uſurpatæ. Quod quidem, progreſſu temporis, in eam excrevit prodigiorum, imò abſurditatum, molem, cujus, niſi certis miniùm conſtaret documentis, fides eſſet laboratura.

Juſtin. Mart. Apol. 2.

Regiminis facies mutata.

Quemadmodum verò in Ritibus, ſic & in ipſo Eccleſiæ Regimine à primæva inſtitutione non parùm aberratum eſt. Tota ejus facies mutata. Novorum Munerum nullus finis. Politia Eccleſiaſtica ad Imperii normam exacta. Miniſteria in Dignitates, docendi cura in ſocordiam, modeſtia in faſtum, pietas in factionem converſa. Synodi, ad Eccleſiæ bonum, & componenda diſſidia, natæ, ab illis finibus ita degeneres, partium ſtudiis ita violatæ, Principum arbitrio ita mancipatæ, ut nullum ſe vidiſſe, quæ *non magis ad augenda mala, quam minuenda, contulerit*, teſtetur *Nazianzenus*; αἱ γὰρ φιλονεικίαι καὶ φιλαρχίαι λόγῳ κρείττονες, *nam*, addit, *litigandi & imperitandi cupido, plus quam ratio, in illis valent*; Unde ſe φεύγειν πάντα ζύλλογον ἐπισκόπων, *ſe omnem Epiſcoporum conventum fugere* atque averſari, apertè prodit. Quorum tamen Conventuum uſus, pro imperantium voluntate, & ſæpe quidem minimis de cauſſis, ita temporibus illis crebeſcebat, ut Ethnicis ludibrio eſſent, *caterviſque illis Antiſtitam, jumentis publicis ultro citroque diſcurrentibus, per Synodos, quas*

Gregor. Nazianz. Epiſt. 55. *ad Procop.*

Amm. Marcell, Lib. 21. *cap.* 16.

this a great while; the Council of Eliberis *forbids Pictures to be placed in Churches. Upon the Thought of this* Epiphanius *was in an Heat, and tore a Veil which had a Picture drawn upon it.* Serenus *brake Images, and threw them out of the Church:* Charles *the Great in his Synod held at* Franckfort, *and* Ludovicus Pius *in his* Synod *at* Paris, *made Decrees to condemn this Heathen Practice; ſeveral of the Emperours of the* Eaſt, *declare themſelves againſt the Uſe of theſe.* Agobardus, Hincmarus, Claudius Taurinenſis, *and many others, endeavour the ſame Thing in the* Weſt. *But all this was in vain; for what by reaſon of the Troubles of the Empire, and what upon account of the Anathema's of contrary Councils,* the Plague of that Superſtition, partly from Ignorance, and partly from a bad Cuſtom, (*for ſo the Council of* Paris *ſpeaks*) prevailed.

Conc. Elib. Can. 36. Ep. Epiſt. ad Joh. Hieroſ. Greg. M. Lib. IX. Ep. 9. Syn. Par. an. 824.

What ſhall we ſay of the Ceremonies uſed in Baptiſm, and the Euchariſt? Which Rites as they are in themſelves very plain, and eaſy to be underſtood, ſo our Saviour did not ſo much inſtitute them anew, as taking them from the Uſage of the Jews, *adapted them to his Religion. Neither did the primitive Chriſtians, for a good while, make any Deviation from the End and Nature of theſe Rites, which in their Apologies to the Heathens, they plainly and ſimply deſcribe. But this Simplicity ſeemed too mean to the Doctors of the following Ages. They ſuſpected ſome greater Thing to be in them, and ſomething more fit to create Reverence among the Heathen. Hence came the* dread Myſteries, *the* wonderful *and* tremendous Rites, *of which they muſt not ſo much as* whiſper but among the initiated; *thoſe who are* Partakers of the Myſteries know what they are. *From hence ſome new Pomp is continually added to theſe Sacraments, ſome new Virtue is aſcribed, ſome new Figures and new Hyperboles uſed in extolling them. Which in Proceſs of Time, grew to that Heap of Monſters and Abſurdities, which we could not believe, unleſs we had the moſt evident Aſſurance thereof.*

Baptiſm Euchariſt.

Now, as in Ceremonies, ſo in the Government of the Church, there was a ſwerving from the primitive Inſtitution. The whole Force of it was changed; there was no End of inſtituting Eccleſiaſtical Officers; the Church Polity was modell'd according to the Form of the Empire; the Miniſterial Offices were changed into Dignities; the Care of Teaching into Slothfulneſs; Modeſty into Pride; Piety into Faction; Synods, which were deſigned to compoſe the Differences in the Church, did ſo degenerate from that End, being ſo perverted by Faction, and ſo ſlaviſhly devoted to the Wills of Princes, that Nazianzen *witneſſes, that he* never ſaw any one of them, which did not more increaſe the Diſtempers of the Church, than leſſen them; *for* the Love of Contention, and the Love of Power, were more prevalent in them, than Reaſon: *Wherefore he openly declares, That he* ſhunned and avoided thoſe Meetings of the Biſhops. *Which Conventions, they meeting according to the Pleaſure of the Prince, and upon ſo little Occaſions, were ſo common in thoſe Times, that they made Sport to the Heathen: For* Ammianus, *either jeſtingly or ſeriouſly, takes Notice,* That Troops of Biſhops run ſo much backwards

The Face of Church Government changed. Greg. Naz. Ep. LV. ad Procop. Ammian. Marc. Lib. 21. Cap. 16.

quas appellant, rei vehiculariæ nervos succisos, jocô-ne an seriò, notet *Ammianus*.

Dissidia Ecclesiastica.

Et quis nescit Antistitum iras, æmulationes, dissidia, bella plusquàm civilia, & nunquam intermoritura, utramque Annalium paginam implentia? Pugnas nempe de rebus leviſſimis, de meris vocibus ut plurimùm, de ritibus adiaphoris, de mysteriis ἀλαλαλέπλοις, de quæstionibus quas neutri intelligerent, imò & à se non intelligi ipsi sæpe confiterentur: Convitia ab Antistibus, nullo pudore, nullo iræ modo, in se invicem conjecta; qualia, vel ab uno *Hieronymo*, mox in *Ruffinum*, mox in *Jovianum*, mox in *Vigiliantium*, mox in *Johannem Hierosolymitanum*, fœda prorsùs, & ore Christiano indignissima, proferuntur: Anathemata in mortuos, imò pluribus nonnunquam post obitum Sæculis, vibrata; velut in *Originem* illum *Adamantium*, cujus pridem defuncti fama tot convitiis discerpta, sed cujus tamen, *cum invidia nominis*, optasset Hieronymus *habere etiam scientiam scripturarum*; velut in *Theodoreti*, *Theodori*, atque *Ibæ* Capitula, totô etiam post obitum Sæculô Ecclesiam in partes vocantia; De summis Sedibus certamina, non ambitu modò fœdissima, sed & tumultibus ac stragibus non semel funestata, & sapientum inter Ethnicos stomachum moventia; velut in *Damasi* & *Ursicini*, Romanum Episcopatum ambientium, competitione, quâ *peremptorum uno die, in Basilica Sicinini, centum triginta septem reperta cadavera, efferatamque diu plebem ægre delinitam*, non sine indignatione & gravissima censuræ nota, homo Ethnicus refert *Ammianus*; Qui & alibi, *nullas infestas hominibus bestias, ut sunt sibi ferales plerique Christianorum*, disertè asserit. Quæ quidem Ecclesiæ probra ac dedecora, exemplô *Constantino M.* pallio obvelare, eorumque monumenta in ignem conjicere mallem, quàm eorum memoriam recolere, nisi ex his documenta ducere, & alienarum culparum moneri exemplis, è re nostra esset.

Hieron. Proœ. Quæst. Hebr. in Gen.

Amm. Marcell. lib. 27. cap. 3.

Id. Lib. 22. cap. 5.

Episcopi Romani fastus.

Quid, quòd unus inter Episcopos, pari cum reliquis loco, si ad originem ipsam ascenderis, nec majori potestate præditus, mox suadente, Urbis majestate, favente Christianorum illuc undique ob varia negotia proficiscentium concursu, adjuvante Imperatorum, aliorumque Principum, in illam Sedem benevolentiâ, & collatis in eam honoribus, promovente Augustæ Sedis Constantinopolim translatione, & Barbarorum irruptionibus, & fractis Imperii viribus, aliisque circumstantiis, impellente inter hunc Episcopum & Byzantinum æmulatione, accedentibus plurium ex iis, qui Sedem istam occupârunt, artibus, in illud tandem supercilium (ὀφρὺς δυτικὴ dicitur *Basilio*; *fumosum typhum* dicunt Africani) in illud, inquam, superbiæ atque arrogantiæ culmen ascendit, ut omnia ad se trahere, more dictatorio de omnibus pronuntiare, Episcopi *Œcumenici* titulum usurpare, & cum titulo imperium re verâ in universam Ecclesiam assumere,

Basil. M. Ep. 10. Conc. Afric. Ep. ad Gæles.

Leges

and forwards to their Synods, as they call them, in the Publick Carriages, that they ſpoil'd the Limbs of the Horſes.

Beſides, who is ignorant, that the Anger, Contentions, and Differences of the Biſhops; Differences more than Civil, and which were ſometimes never made up, do fill up the Books of Hiſtory; They had Quarrels about the moſt trivial Matters, for the moſt Part about mere Words, about indifferent Rites, about unintelligible Myſteries, about Queſtions which neither of them underſtood, nay, which they themſelves confeſſed that they did not underſtand; Reproaches caſt by ſome of the Clergy againſt others, without any Modeſty or Temper; as to inſtance only in Jerom, *one Time flying out againſt* Ruffinus, *at another, againſt* Jovinian; *ſoon againſt* Vigilantius, *and then againſt* John *of* Jeruſalem, *ſpeaking againſt them moſt ſcandalous Words, and not fit for a Chriſtian's Mouth; throwing out Anathema's againſt the Dead, and that many Years after their Deceaſe, as againſt* Origen, *whoſe Character after his Death was tore in Pieces with ſo many Invectives, tho' at the ſame Time* St. Jerom *ſo envied him,* that he wiſhed he had his Knowledge of the Scriptures; *as the Calumnies which were thrown upon the Chapters of* Theodoret, Theodorus, *and* Ibis, *which divided the Church into Parties, a whole Age after they were dead. Their Contentions about the chief Sees, not only in ſcandalouſly canvaſing for them, but occaſioning ſuch Tumults and Murders by them, ſo as to make the wiſe Heathens to upbraid them for it; as in the Competition of* Damaſus *and* Urſicinus, *for the Biſhoprick of* Rome, during which, in the Church of *Sicinius*, there were found an hundred and thirty ſeven dead Carcaſes kill'd in one Day, and the common People were in ſuch an Uproar, that it was very hard to appeaſe them, *as Ammianus Marcellinus, a Heathen Writer, does relate, not without a very ſevere Animadverſion; and who in another Place does expreſly aſſert,* That wild Beaſts do not infeſt Mankind more, than Chriſtians are Plagues to one another. *

Hier. Præm. Qn. Heb. in Gen.

Am. Marcel. Lib. 38. c. 3.

Vib. Seb. 22. c. 5.

The Pride of the Biſhop of *Rome.*

What ſhall we ſay, that one among the Biſhops, but of equal Authority with the reſt, if you look back to his Original; but afterwards, by reaſon of the Greatneſs of his City, and the vaſt Concourſe of People thither upon Buſineſs; upon account of the Bounty of the Emperours, and other Princes, to that See, who likewiſe conferred conſiderable Honours upon it; the Tranſlation of the Imperial Reſidence to Conſtantinople, *the Irruptions of the barbarous Nations, and the Decay of the Power of the Empire, the Emulation between that and the* Conſtantinopolitan *See, with other Circumſtances aſſiſting; to which we may add the Arts of thoſe that ſat in that See, which roſe to ſuch a Degree of Haughtineſs and Arrogance; (St.* Baſil *calls it the* Weſtern Brow; *the* Africans *call it the* Smoaky Pride) *that he began to bring all Things to his Cognizance, to pronounce like a Dictator upon every Matter, to uſurp the Title of univerſal Biſhop,*

* Which Diſgraces of the Church, I could be willing, with *Conſtantine the Great,* to throw a Cloak over, and rather turn the Records of them, than to remember them, unleſs it were to our Advantage, to take Warning by theſe Miſcarriages.

and

Leges figere ac refigere, ſeſe ſupra Reges ipſos ac Imperatores extollere, illos pro libitu exauctorare, ſubditos fidelitatis ſacramento exſolvere, alios in eorum locum ſufficere, denique Monarcham Eccleſiæ, Chriſti Vicarium, Deum in terris, ſeſe gerere non dubitaverit: Ut pateret, verè illum eſſe, quî, juxta Pauli vaticinium, in Templo Dei ſeſſurus, ſe pro Deo venditaturus, ſéque ipſum ὑπὲρ πᾶν σέβασμα, auſu ſacrilego, elaturus fuerat.

2 *Theſſ.* ii. 4.

Diſciplina collapſa.

Inter hæc verò, & aliud malum in Eccleſiam irrepſit; remiſſa nempe paulatim, tandémque exſtincta prorsùs Diſciplina. Enimverò, auctâ dignitatibus ac divitiis Eccleſiâ, aucta ſimul licentia eſt. Principes, aliíque Nobiles, dum in vitia præcipites ruerent, jugum Chriſti detrectare, omnem Eccleſiæ libertatem, jura omnia everſum ire. Epiſcopi, ſæcularibus impliciti negotiis, alia omnia quàm ſui gregis emendationem curare; diras omnes, non in vitia, ſed in hæreſes, vibrare; partium ſtudiis totos ſe tradere, reliqua omnia poſt habere; Eccleſias, non antiquo ritu, Preſbyteris nimirùm in conſilium vocatis, ſed pro lubitu adminiſtrare, adeóque multa negligere, ad quæ attendi oportuit. Tandem publica Pœnitentia penitùs deſueſcere, nec niſi inanis quædam ejus umbra relinqui cœpit, quæ nec frænum vitiis injiceret, nec in aliis propemodùm quàm in nugis occuparetur.

Mores quotidie impejus ruentes.

Quibus omnibus, quàm corrupti fuerint, quantùm à primæva puritate devii, Chriſtianorum mores, me tacente, abunde perſpicitis. Ita profectò fuit, Auditores, Chriſtiani nomine quidem plurimi, re pauciſſimi fuerunt. Pietatis forma ubique, vis nuſpiam. Religio, non ut antea, in mentis puritate, morumque innocentia, tota in ritibus collocari cœpit. Principes bellis ſævire, in omnem effundi libidinem, nullo ab Ethnicis diſcrimine. Antiſtites ſuperbiâ tumeſcere, factionibus agitari, in res ſuas toti intendere. Plebs, cœcos illos Ductores ſecuta, iiſdem vitiis indulgere, idem in barathrum ſe conjicere. Adeò ut, præter pauciſſimos, qui vitia fugiebant, *nihil aliud cœtus omnes Chriſtianorum, quam vitiorum ſentinam fuiſſe*, conqueratur *Salvianus*; Eccleſiamque, *navi putreſcenti*, ac præ vetuſtate naufragium minanti, *Gregorius* ille Magnus aſſimilare non vereatur: Heu! quid dicturus uterque, ſi ad illam temporum fæcem ac putredinem, quæ aliquot poſt Sæculis conſpecta eſt, vitam protendiſſent?

Salven. de Guber. Dei, lib. 3.

IV. Ætas Ferrea, *Sæculo* 10. *& ſequentibus.*

Atque ita ſenſim ad infauſta illa delabimur tempora, quibus tetrioria ac fœdiora ne fingi quidem poſſe, vel acerrimi cauſſæ Pontificiæ defenſores non inficiantur. Certé *Baronius* Sæculi X. primordia narraturus, dicit illud ſui aſperitate ac boni ſterilitate ferreum, " mali exundantis deformitate plumbeum, inopia Scriptorum ob- " ſcurum, appellari conſueviſſe. Et mox Deum oblitum Eccleſiæ " ſuæ, cujus facies lurida ac fœdiſſima; Chriſtum alto ſopore in

Baron. ad An. 900. *Sect.* 1. *Id. An.* 908. *& 912.*

" Eccleſiæ

and, beſides the Title, in reality to take upnn him the Government of the whole Church, to make Laws and to repeal them, to exalt himſelf above Kings and Emperours, to depoſe them at their Pleaſure, to abſolve their Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, and to ſubſtitute other in their Places, to make himſelf the Monarch of the Church, the Vicar of Chriſt, a God upon Earth: Which made it clear, that he was that Perſon, who, according to St. Paul's *Propheſy*, oppoſeth and exalteth himſelf above all that is called God, or that is worſhipped. 2 Theſ. ii. 4.

Among theſe Evils of the Church there crept in another, which was, That the Diſcipline was remiſs, and in a Manner extinct. For the Church being increaſed in Dignities and Riches, Licentiouſneſs likewiſe increaſed with them. Princes, and other great Men, run into all Wickedneſs and Extravagancies, throwing off the Yoke of Chriſt, they broke through all the Eccleſiaſtical and Human Laws. The Biſhops being immerſed in ſecular Affairs, took care of every Thing elſe but their Flocks; they threw out their Anathema's not againſt Vices but againſt Hereſies; they laid out all their Time in promoting their Parties, neglecting every Thing elſe; they did not call in their Preſbyters to adviſe with, but did every Thing upon their own Head, and therefore muſt need neglect many Things which they ought to have taken care of. At laſt publick Pennance began to be diſuſed, or at leaſt nothing left but an empty Shadow of it, which neither gave any Check to Wickedneſs, nor was uſed in any but frivolous Matters. The Diſcipline ſunk.

By all which, how corrupt the Manners of Chriſtians were rendered, and how much deviated from the primitive Purity, you yourſelves are apprized of, without my ſpeaking. This, Sirs, was the State of the Church then: There were many Chriſtians in Name, but few in Reality. The Form of Piety was every where, but the Power no where: Religion did not, as heretofore, conſiſt in Purity of Mind, and Innocency of Manners, but it began all to be placed in Ceremonies. Princes raged in War againſt one another, giving themſelves a looſe to all their Luſts, in no Ways different from the very Heathens. The Biſhops were proud and factious, and only intent upon their own Intereſt. The common People following theſe blind Guides, indulged themſelves in the ſame Vices, and fell into the ſame Pit. So that excepting ſome few good Perſons (as Salvian *complains), the* Congregation of Chriſtians was nothing but a Sink of Vices, *and as* Gregory the Great *compares it, the Church was like a* rottten Ship, which was continually in Danger of ſinking. *Oh! What would both of them have ſaid, if they had lived to thoſe Dregs and Corruption of Times, which were ſeen ſome Ages after!* Manners daily growing worſe and worſe.

IV. The Iron Age, in the 10th and following Ages.

And now we are by degrees fallen down into thoſe unhappy Ages, than which, as the Defenders of Popery themſelves allow, more filthy and ſcandalous ones cannot be imagined. Baronius, *in his Introduction to his Hiſtory of the tenth* " *Age, ſays, that by its Roughneſs and Barrenneſs* " *of all Good, it may be called the Iron Age; that for its Deformity, upon* " *the Account of the Prevalence of all Vice, it may be ſtiled the Leaden* " *Age; and for its Want of good Writers, may be called the dark Age.* Baron. ad A. 900. Sect. 1.

" *And*

Id. An. 900. *Sect.* 1. & 3.

" Eccleſiæ navi dormiiſſe, neque quenquam, qui ipſum excitaret, " repertum eſſe; abominationem deſolationis tunc in Eccleſia viſam; " vix credi poſſe, quàm indigna, quàm turpia ac deformia, quàm " execranda ac abominanda, in Apoſtolica ſede viſa ſint, expreſſis " verbis docet Purpuratus. Referam-ne craſſiſſimam illorum temporum ignorantiam, exſtincta ſtudia, jacentes literas, incubantem Eccleſiæ barbariem, humanarum pariter ac divinarum rerum imperitiam, ſtuporem quendam animis inditum, eò uſque ut nemo ferè qui literas didiciſſet, Romæ exſtitiſſe perhibeatur? Dicam-ne effræ-

Guliel. Tyr. Hiſt. lib. 1. *cap.* 8.

nem prorsùs, quæ tum regnabat, morum licentiam? " fidem de- " feciſſe; timorem Domini de medio ſublatum; periiſſe de rebus " juſtitiam; æquitatem ſubactam; violentiam atque fraudem latè " dominantes; continentiæ, parcimoniæ, ſobrietati, nullum locum; " fornicationum genus quodlibet ſine rubore exercitum; omne in " præcipiti vitium ſtetiſſe; qualem populum, tales Sacerdotes; Cle- " ricorum domos, in poſtibula meretricum, & conciliabula hiſtrio- " num evaſiſſe; prout fide digniſſimi horum temporum Scriptores teſtantur. Narremne proculcata jura, everſam Diſciplinam, Romanam Eccleſiam ab *improbis*, *ſceleratis*, *impudicis*, *prædonibus*, *invaſoribus*, *ſanguinariis*, *graſſatoribus*, teſte *Baronio*, occupatam; quorum

Baron. ad An. 1000. *Sect.* 21. *Genebr. Chron. ad An.* 901.

50. circiter, per annos ferè 150. *apotactícos & apoſtaticos*, non *Apoſtolicos* dicendos eſſe, fatetur *Genebardus*; Pontificatum ex fœdiſſimarum meretricum arbitrio pendentem; puerum necdum quinquennem in Archiepiſcopum Rhemenſem electum; ac, ne quid Oriens Occidenti debeat Conſtantinopolitanum Præſulem, vix annos ſexdecim natum, ipſo die Cœnæ Dominicæ, Magnæ quintæ Antepaſcalis, in Pontificalibus Sacris operatum, ſolennia abrumpentem Sacra, ut ad æquæ partem accurreret; mox, conſpectô pullô, ad abſolvenda Sacra redeuntem? O digna tempora, quæ, & firmandæ Idolomaniæ, Artolatriæ inducendæ, & propagandis erroribus, & Pontificiæ tyrannidi ad cumulum perducendæ, & hirſutæ cuidam ac barbaræ Theologiæ in medium proferendæ, & putidiſſimis Legendis, Fabulis ſine fine ac modo, cudendis, & inſtaurando Bello ſacro (ſacro, dicam, imò ſacerrimo, ſed prout dicitur *auri ſacra fames)* iniquitatum, ſcelerum, nequitiarum, fonte uberrimo, & erigendo denique, ad vim conſcientiis inferendam, iniquiſſimo juxtà ac ſæviſſimo Tribunali, obſtetricarentur! Verùm tædet ſentinam illam ulteriùs movere; tempúſque eſt, ut ad purgatam tot ſordibus Eccleſiam oculorum aciem vertamus.

Hugonem Aquitaniæ Comitis filium. Theophylactum Romani Imperat.

V. *Chriſtianiſmi inſtauratio per beatam* Reformationem.

Magna, profectò, AUDITORES, imò maxima jam Dei fuerat in Eccleſiam indulgentia, quòd, ingruente illô errorum ac ſuperſtitionum diluviô, quandam ſemper Arcam ſervaſſet, quòd, obtenebratâ Ægyptô, aliquem ſemper Goſcen illuſtraſſet, quòd ſiccâ areâ, aliquod ſemper vellus irrigaſſet; ſive, ut planiùs mentem exponamus, quòd, in mediis Papatûs tenebris, inter *Waldenſes*, *Albigenſes*, *Wicleſitas*, *Huſſitas*, *Bohemos*, puræ ſuæ veritatis ſcintillas emicare ſemper

" *And preſently after, the Cardinal ſays expreſly, that God ſeemed in this*
" *Age to have forgotten his Church, whoſe Face was now ſo lowring and*
" *deformed, that Chriſt ſeemed to be aſleep in the Ship of his Church, nor*
" *was there any one found to awake him; that the Abomination of Deſo-*
" *lation now ſeemed to be in the Church, that it can hardly be believed,*
" *what ill, what ſcandalous, what curſed and abominable Things were*
" *ſeen in the* Roman *See. Shall I ſpeak of the dark Ignorance of thoſe Times, how all Learning was extinguiſhed, and Study laid aſide, how Barbarity overſpread the Church, how there was an Ignorance of every Thing divine and human, and ſuch a Stupidity upon Men's Minds, that, in all the City of* Rome, *there was hardly any one who had learned to read? Shall I ſpeak of the ungovernable* " *Licence of Manners, which prevailed*
" *then? Faith failed, the Fear of God was taken away, Juſtice was*
" *loſt, and Equity oppreſſed, Violence and Fraud prevailed; there was no*
" *Place for Moderation, Parſimony, or Sobriety; all kinds of Uncleanneſs*
" *were practiſed without Shame, every Vice was at its full Pitch; as was*
" *the People, ſo was the Prieſt; the Houſes of the Clergy were Neſts*
" *of Whores and Players, as the moſt credible Authors of thoſe Times teſtify. Shall I tell, how all the Laws of the Church were trampled under Foot, the Diſcipline overturned, and the See of* Rome (*as* Baronius *witneſſes*) *poſſeſſed by* wicked and impious Perſons, by lewd Rakes, Robbers, Uſurpers, Murderers, Cut-throats, *of which* 50 *for an* 150 *Years together,* Genebrard *confeſſes, that they ſhould rather be called* Apotacticks *and* Apoſtates *than* Apoſtolicks? *That the Popedom was diſpoſed of at the Pleaſure of Whores; That a Boy of five Years old was choſen Archbiſhop of* Rhemes; *and, leaſt the* Eaſt *ſhould not be as bad as the* Weſt, *the* Patriarch *of* Conſtantinople, *was a Boy of Sixteen Years of Age, who celebrating the* Euchariſt, *upon* Maunday Thurſday *in the Great Week, in his Pontifical Habit, left the Solemnity, and run to ſee his Mare which had foaled, and having view'd the Colt, he came back to make an End of the Office. Fit Times indeed! For the ſettling the Worſhip of Images, and Bread, for propagating all other Errors, for ſetting up the Pope's Tyranny, for bringing in a barbarous Divinity and ridiculous Legends, for coining Fables without End or Reaſon, for ſetting on Foot holy Wars, thoſe Fountains of all Iniquities, Villanies and Impoſtures; for ſetting up an unjuſt Tribunal over Men's Conſciences. But I am weary of raking in this Sink, and it is Time that we ſhould turn our Eyes upon the Church, as it was purged from this Filth.*

Great indeed, Sirs, was the Mercy of God to his Church, that, when ſuch a Deluge of Errors, and Superſtition, had overflowed the Church, he always kept his Ark ſafe; that when Darkneſs overſpread the Face of Ægypt, *yet he ſtill afforded Light in* Goſhen; *that, tho' the Floor was dry, yet he ſtill watered his Fleece; and to ſpeak yet plainer, that, in the Midſt of all the Darkneſs of Popery, he was willing that ſome ſmall Sparks of Truth ſhould ſhine among the* Vaudois, *the* Albigenſes, Wiclevites,

ſemper voluiſſet. Verûm ulteriùs progreſſa eſt paterna Dei in Eccleſiam cura. Splendidiorem quippe accendi voluit facem, quâ, non obſcuri quidam anguli, non arctæ quædam convalles, ſed Europa, quanta eſt, imò & totus Orbis illuſtraretur. O felicia tempora! O beatam rerum converſionem! cujus, quot ſunt circumſtantiæ, tot profectò miracula, tot divinæ miſericordiæ indicia deprehenduntur!

Enimverò, quis non obſervet paratam veluti huic operi viam, per Literaram inſtaurationem, Sæculis XV. & XVI. in his occiduis partibus factam; Arte Typographicâ opportunè ad id repertâ, ut Bibliothecarum theſauri publici juris fierent; & doctâ illâ Græcorum manu, poſt captam à Turcis Conſtantinopolim, in Italiam delatâ, Græcaſque literas reſtituente, dum alii Latinas Hebraïcaſque inſtaurarent; quin imò viris præſtantiſſimis non ſine Numine excitatis, qui, velut aliud agentes, ad Sacra inſtauranda faciem præferrent; Qualis præ cæteris fuit *Eraſmus*, qui, quanquam ad Reformatores ipſemet non acceſſerit, imò & iis nonnunquam ſe adverſum præbuerit, attamen, tum in ſacro Codice edendo atque illuſtrando, tum in Eccleſiæ Veteris Scriptoribus in lucem mittendis, tum in receptæ Religionis ineptiis arguendis, tum in veræ pietatis officiis exponendis & commendandis, ita utilem operam poſuit, ut dici nequeat, ad cauſſam Proteſtantiam promovendam, quantùm contulerit.

Hæc præludia. Jam, ſi ad ipſum Reformationis opus accedamus, quis non miretur, velut ſignô datô, per totam paſſim Europam, apud *Germanos*, apud *Helvetios*, (Gentes receptis uſibus mordicùs adhæreſcentes) apud *Gallos*, apud *Italos*, apud *Britannos*, apud *Batavos*, imò & ad ultimas uſque *Septentrionis* oras, ingenti numerô Viros exortos, qui Veritatis illuſtrandæ, & Eccleſiæ ab errorem ſordibus expurgandæ, operam darent? Quis non ſuſpiciat, in viris illis, miram ingenii felicitatem; eruditionem exquiſitam, longè ſupra captum temporum illorum; perpolitam dicendi ſcribendíque rationem, à Scholæ barbarie planè alienam; facundiæ vim incomparabilem, quæ non moveret, ſed traheret; laboris patientiam penè incredibilem; mentem excelſam ac planè divinam; veri ſtudium indefeſſum; zelum domus Dei ferventiſſimum; fortitudinem, conſtantiam, interritum animum, qui nec præſentiſſimis periculis, nec minis inſtantis Tyranni nec ignibus ac ſuppliciis, à propoſitio dimoveretur, res toto orbe notiſſimas, neque ſatis unquam prædicandas? Quis non miretur, tot circa capita, tum in Doctrina, tum in Cultu, tum in Diſciplina atque Regimine, eos ad verum perveniſſe; cumque tota Chriſti Religio, inde à pluribus Sæculis, caligne non dicam obducta, ſed penè obruta jaceret, eam ex tumulo velut excitaſſe, & nativo ſuo ſplendori, in pleriſque ſaltem, reddidiſſe? Quis non miretur incredibilem, quâ magnum illud opus promotum eſt, velocitatem;

Huſſites and Bohemians. *But the fatherly Care of God, to his Church, went further than this. He was pleaſed that a more ſhining Light than this ſhould be kindled, by which not only a few dark Corners, and narrow Vallies, but all* Europe, *wide as it is, and even the whole World, ſhould be enlightened. Happy Times! And bleſſed Turn of Affairs! All the Circumſtances of which are ſo many Miracles, and ſo many Inſtances of the Divine Mercy.*

For who does not make the Obſervation, That the Way was paved to this Work, by the Reſtoration of Learning in theſe Weſtern Parts, during the XVth and XVIth Ages? Printing being very opportunely found out, whereby the Treaſures of Libraries became of publick Uſe, a great Number of Learned Greeks, *after the taking of* Conſtantinople *by the* Turks, *coming into* Italy, *and reſtoring the* Greek *Learning there, whilſt others were recovering the* Hebrew *and* Latin *Letters; nay, moreover ſome very excellent Men, being raiſed up by the divine Providence, who, whilſt they were carrying on another Deſign, opened the Way to a Reformation of Religion: As in particular* Eraſmus, *who altho' he did not join himſelf with the Reformers, nay in ſome Things oppoſed himſelf to them, yet partly by putting out the Books of the Holy Scripture, partly, in publiſhing Editions of the Writers of the ancient Church, partly in expoſing the Follies of the then received Religion; and in explaining and preſſing moral Duties, he laid out his Labours ſo profitably, that it is unſpeakable, how much he aſſiſted the Cauſe of the Proteſtants.*

Theſe were Preludes of the Reformation. But if we approach nigher to the Work itſelf, who is not ſtruck with Wonder, That a great Number of Men ſhould ariſe, as it were upon a Signal given, throughout all the Nations of Europe, *among the* Germans *and* Switzers *(Men that are want tenaciouſly to adhere to their own Cuſtoms) among the* French, Italians, Britains, Dutch, *yea, and the moſt Northern Nations, and ſhould lay out their Labours, in clearing up the Truth, and purging the Church from all the Soil of Errors, which it had contracted? Who is not aſtoniſhed at the wonderful Happineſs of natural Parts, which theſe Perſons were endowed with; at their exquiſite Learning, far above the Capacity of thoſe Times; their polite Way of ſpeaking and writing, ſo different from the Scholaſtick Barbarity which then obtained; the incomparable Force of their Eloquence, which not only moved but attracted; their incredible Patience in Labour; their Minds ſo noble and divine; their Indefatigableneſs in their Studies; their moſt fervent Zeal for the Houſe of God; their Fortitude, Conſtancy, and intrepid Courage, as not being to be beat off from their Deſign, either by the preſent Dangers, or the Threats of Tyrants; Things ſufficiently known over all the World, and never enough to be extolled? Who does not admire, that they ſhould come at the Truth in ſo many Heads of Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline and Government; and when all Religion for ſo many Ages was not only overcaſt but buried in Darkneſs, that they ſhould revive it out of its Grave, and reſtore it, for the Generality at leaſt, to its ancient Splendor? Who*

locitatem; dementata Romæ consilia; artes adversantium Principium irritas; imò verò Principes illos, qui maximè adversabantur, hujus operis ministros factos; Ecclesias nostras, veteris more, suis ex cineribus non semel renatas; sanguinem Protestantium, semen Ecclesiæ; exquisitiorem crudelitatem Sectæ illecebram; ædificatam, cùm cæderetur: Ut instaurati Christianismi, eadem quæ primævi esset fortuna.

Equidem, Auditores, dum in illa tempora cogitatione me transfero, dum Heroas illos, quorum ministerio Lux Ecclesiis nostris reddita est, ob oculos mihi pono, dum eorum virtutes, dum eorum labores considero, dum, quid viderint, quid tentaverint, quid perfecerint, quid perpessi sint, apud me ipsum expendo, sanè his omnibus ita afficior, ita moveor, ita extra me rapior, ut majora ab hominibus vix perfici posse videantur. Quòd si verò illos interim non omnia vidisse, in quibusdam cespitasse, humani quid passos esse, quibusdam caruisse subsidiis, quæ, noviſſimi temporis industriâ, dicam an felicitate, reperta sunt, ob res leviusculos nimis quando-
☞ que exarsisse, *Cultus forte atque Disciplinæ ultimas nondum curas adjeciſſe, imo & per temporum infelicitatem, quæcunque enim voluebant, perficere non valuiſſe, denique, inter immensos suos & summa laude digniſſimos labores, aliquid nihilominus posterorum diligentiæ reliquiſſe* confiteamur, id profectò eorum gloriæ & laudibus non magis detrahit, quàm si homines, non Dii, fuisse perhibeantur.

VI. *De statu Doctrinæ Evangelicæ post Reformationem.*

Ab illo verò tempore, si quis postulet, quænam fuerit instaurati Christianismi, in Ecclesiis nostris, fortuna, responsum ferat, non parùm lucis, quibusdam saltem in regionibus, & per quosdam verè doctos viros, Doctrinæ sacræ commodatum esse; tum ex Linguarum originalium notitia uberiore; tum ex veræ Critices regulis accuratiùs perspectis, meliúsque in praxim redactis; tum ex rectiori, quàm quæ antea fuerat, philosophandi ratione; tum denique ex Antiquitatis, cùm profanæ, tum sacræ, studio, magnâ industriâ passim exculto: Quæ quidem subsidia, quàm doctos pepererint in Codicem Sacrum commentarios, quàm eximios tum de dogmatibus, tum de officiis, tractatus, quàm solidas de capitibus inter Christianos controversis disputationes, prædicari satis non potest.

Interim, quòd lumen illud latiùs diffusum non sit, & tot adhuc nebulis tegatur, causſæ plures possunt assignari. Non jam rogos, non jam carnifices, non jam exilia, carcereſque, accuſo. Non hi præcipui, mihi credite, rei Evangelicæ hostes fuerunt. Contrà, *plures efficimur, dum metimur*; aurúmque fidei ex ignibus purius exit. Sed paci potiùs & pacis vitiis, sed Mundi contagio, sed remisso nostrorum zelo, sed Scholæ barbariei multis in locis adhuc regnanti,

sed

does not wonder at the incredible Swiftneſs, with which this Work was carried on; how the Councils of Rome *were infatuated; how the Arts of Princes who oppoſed it were fruſtrated, and they themſelves made Inſtruments of this Work; how our Churches, like the primitive one, were born again out of their Aſhes, how the Blood of the Proteſtants were the Seed of their Church; how the more exquiſite Cruelty there was uſed againſt it, brought Proſelites thereunto; how it was raiſed up whilſt it was cut down; ſo that that reformed Chriſtianity did exactly ſhare the ſame Fortune with the Primitive?*

And truly, Sirs, whilſt I carry my Thoughts to thoſe Times, whilſt I caſt my Eyes upon thoſe Heroick Perſonages, by whoſe Miniſtry Light was reſtored to our Churches, whilſt I conſider their Virtues and their Labours, what they diſcovered, what they attempted, what they brought to Perfection, I am ſo affected, moved and tranſported, that I cannot think that greater Things were poſſible to be done by Men. For, altho' we ſhould acknowledge that they did not ſee all Things, That they were in ſome Matters miſtaken, and were ſubject to human Frailty, That they wanted ſome Helps, which the Induſtry, or rather the Happineſs, of theſe latter Times have afforded, That they were ſometimes too much heated upon ſmall Matters, That perhaps they did not add their laſt Cares to *Worſhip and Diſcipline,* and thro' the Infelicity of the Times they lived in, That they were not able to bring about what they had in their Thoughts, and, that, after their immenſe, and moſt worthy Labours, they left ſomething for the Diligence of Poſterity to do after them, *we ſhould not more detract from their Glory and Honour, than if we ſhould ſay, they were Men, and not Gods.*

V. Of the State of Chriſtianity, after the Reformation.

But if any one ſhould aſk what was the State of Reformed Chriſtianity in our Churches, after that Time? he may be anſwer'd, That no little Light has been given to the ſacred Doctrine, by ſeveral Men in different Countries, partly by reaſon of a fuller Knowledge of the Oriental Tongues, partly becauſe the Rules of true Critick are more accurately underſtood, and reduc'd to Practice; partly upon account of a more exact Way of Philoſophizing, than was known before; and laſtly, by reaſon that the Study of prophane and ſacred Antiquity has been cultivated, with more Pains. By which Aſſiſtances what excellent Commentaries have been written upon the Bible! What admirable Treatiſes upon the Doctrines and Duties of Religion! What ſolid Diſſertations upon controverted Points! nothing can be ſaid too much.

But why this Light was not further diffuſed, and why it is yet under ſome Clouds. There are ſeveral Cauſes which may be aſſign'd. I don't lay the Blame upon Fire and Faggot, upon Executioners, Baniſhments, and Priſons. Believe me, theſe were not the chief Enemies of the Proteſtant Religion; Nay, on the contrary, the more we were mowed down, we grew up the faſter, and came, like Gold, the more pure out of the Fire. This is moſtly owing to the Vices which our State of Tranquility has produc'd, to the Contagion contracted from the World, to our Zeal growing cold, to

the

ſed inanibus Myſtarum rixis, precariis hypotheſibus, expoſitionibus Scripturæ vanis, & nullo tibicine nixis, ſed pertinaciæ, ſuperbiæ, dominandi cupidini, ſed in primis infauſtis illis, & ſanguineis lacrymis deflendis, *Eccleſiarum noſtrarum ſciſſuris, quæ, tum in* Germania, *tum in* Britannia, *tum in* Belgio, *viſæ ſunt, hodieque non ſine maximo bonorum luctu, ibidem cernuntur*, his inquam, his propriè debetur, quòd uſque adhuc ſtet Antichriſtus, quódque Lux Evangelica, inde à tempore Reformationis, non majora incrementa ceperit.

VII. Concluſio. *Quid facto opus ſit, ampliorem Doctrinæ Chriſtianæ illuſtrationem.*

Nos quod attinet, AUDITORES, ut de nobis tandem dicamus, noſtrum eſt hac luce frui, imò & illam, ſi fieri poſſit, ulteriùs indies proferre. Noſtrum eſt, magnorum illorum, ſive primævi, ſive renaſcentis Chriſtianiſmi Antiſtitum, veſtigiis inſiſtere. Noſtrum eſt, illorum exemplô, præjudicatis opinionibus depoſitis, excuſsâ ſuperbiâ, affectibus omnibus valere juſſis, ad Veritatis inveſtigationem generoſo impetu ferri, inveſtigatam admittere, admiſſam profiteri, profeſſi retinere, & factis implere. Noſtrum eſt, humanâ omni auctoritate poſt habitâ. Scriptis omnibus humanis, quantumcunque conſpicuis, ad Sanctuarii lucem appenſis, ab ore Dei unicè pendere, in Dei unîus verba jurare, neque quidquam in Sacris admittere quod illo ex fonte non derivetur. Noſtrum eſt, ſcholaſticis argutiis, vanis quæſtionibus, pugnis de vocibus, prout à Reformatoribus noſtris magna ex parte jam factum fuerat, Theologiam noſtram purgare. Noſtrum eſt, infauſta illa, *Lutheranorum, Calvinianorum, Epiſcopalium, Preſbyterianorum*, aliáque partium nomina, utinam nunquam nata, exſtinguere, unóque omnes ac eodem Chriſtianorum nomine cenſeri; Illud *Hilarii* menti infigentes; *Dum in verbis pugna eſt, dum de novitatibus quæſtio eſt, dum de ambiguis occaſio eſt, dum de auctoribus querela eſt, dum de ſtudiis certamen eſt, dum in conſenſu difficultas eſt, dum alter alteri anathema eſſe cœpit, prope jam nemo Chriſti eſt.* Noſtrum eſt, pacis conſilia, διὰ δόξης καὶ ἀτιμίας, διὰ δυσφημίας καὶ εὐφημίας, per gloriam & ignominiam, per convitia & laudes, proponere, urgere, iterare: dum infamamur, precari; dum convitiis afficimur, benedicere; neque aliis magis armis, quàm patientiâ multâ, quàm puritate, quàm lenitate, quàm bonitate, quàm caritate non ſimulatâ, renitentes ad nos adducere *Nazianzeni* illud uſurpantes, Συγχωρήσωμέν τι μικρὸν, ἵνα μεῖζον ἀντιλάβωμεν τὴν ὁμόνοιαν, *Exiguum quiddam concedamus, ut, quod majus eſt, concordiam lucrifaciamus.* Noſtrum eſt, poſitis inimicitiis, datis Reipublicæ Chriſtianæ ſimultatibus noſtris, pro communi cauſſa decertare, communis Domini regnum promovere, communem hoſtem profligare, ad communem palmam tendere. Noſtrum eſt, *Cultum atque Diſciplinam, ſicubi forte minus perfecta ſunt, ad Apoſtolicæ Inſtitutionis, & primitivæ Eccleſiæ modulum, quantum fieri poteſt, adducere.*

☞

Hilar. lib. ad Conſtant. Aug.

2 *Cor.* vi. 8.

2 *Cor.* vi. 4.

Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. 14.

Noſtrum

the Barbarity of the Schools, which yet reigns in many Places; to the idle Quarrels of the Miniſters of our Religion; to precarious Hypotheſis's advanced by ſome, and to vain Expoſitions of Scripture, which will not bear the Teſt, given by others; to Peeviſhneſs, Pride, with a Deſire of preſcribing to all others; but chiefly to the Rents in our Churches, which are to be bewailed with Tears of Blood; ſuch as the Diviſions which formerly aroſe in Germany, Britain, Holland, *and which continue to this Day; to theſe, I ſay, it is principally owing, that Antichriſt yet ſtands, that the Light of the Goſpel has not received a greater Increaſe, ſince the Time of the Reformation.*

VII. What is yet to be done, &c.

Now to ſpeak ſomething, Sirs, which relates to ourſelves, it is our Part to enjoy the Benefit of this Light as much as we can, and to endeavour a further Propagation of it among others. It is our Part to tread in the Footſteps of thoſe great Perſons, who lived in the Time, both of the Primitive and the reviving Chriſtianity. It is our Part, after their Example, laying aſide all prejudicial Opinions, Pride, and Paſſion, to purſue Truth with a generous Eagerneſs, and when we have found it, to give it Entrance into our Minds, to make Profeſſion of it when it is there, and ſo to retain it, and to teſtify the Truth thereof by our Actions. It is our Part, examining all human Authorities, how ſpecious ſoever, by the Light of the Sanctuary, to be determin'd only by the Mouth of God, to rely only upon his Authority, and to admit nothing as a Point of our Religion, which is not deriv'd from that Fountain. It is our Part, to purge our Divinity from all Scholaſtick Quirks, vain Queſtions, and Strife about Words, as is in good Part done by our Reformers already. It is our Part, to extinguiſh thoſe unhappy Names of Lutherans, Calviniſts, Epiſcoparians, Preſbyterians, *and other Party-Names, which I would to God that they had never been coined, and that we were all call'd by one general Name of* Chriſtians; *keeping in our Minds that Paſſage of* Hilary, Whilſt the Fight is concerning Words, and the Queſtion about Novelties, whilſt Men take Occaſion of contending about uncertain Matters, whilſt they quarrel about the Opinions of learned Men, and the Combat about Literature, whilſt they raiſe Difficulties about giving their Conſent, and one holds the other Anathema; there are very few left of Chriſt's Side. *It is our Part to propoſe, to urge, and to reiterate Counſels to Peace,* by Honour and Diſhonour, by evil Report and good Report; being reviled to bleſs, and being defamed to intreat; *and not to uſe any other Armour,* than Patience, Pureneſs, Knowledge, Long-ſuffering, and *Kindneſs, to bring our Adverſaries over to us; making Uſe of that Saying of* Nazianzen, Let us give up a little, that we may obtain Concord, a Thing much greater. *It is our Part, laying aſide all Animoſities, and giving up our own Quarrels, for the Sake of the Chriſtian Commonwealth, to fight for the Common Cauſe, to promote the Kingdom of our common Lord, to conquer the Common Enemy, and to ſtrive after the one Common Palm, to which we are all intituled.* It is our Part to bring, as near as we can, to the Model of the Primitive Church, and Apoſtolical Inſtitution, our

2 Cor. vi. 8.

2 Cor. vi. 4.

Greg. Naz. Orat. 14.

Worſhip

Noſtrum eſt, mutuam inter Eccleſias, quoties ſeſe dederit occaſio, *communicationem inſtaurare* inſtauratam colere, atque officiis omnibus fovere; quod ſolenne in Eccleſia Veteri, nec non & tempore Reformationis; & ex quo quidem fructus uberrimus ſingulas ad Eccleſias redundare poſſet. Sed noſtrum eſt in primis, recordari Doctrinam noſtram *Doctrinam Pietatis* eſſe, adeóque in promovenda atque inſtillanda Pietate laborum omnium ſummam collocare. Noſtrum denique, à ſcholis ad vitam, à theoria ad praxim, à profeſſione ad mores, diſciplinam Chriſtianam transferre; quô ſine, nonniſi evanida, coloribus omnibus ac lineamentis deſtituta, rei Chriſtianæ umbra futura eſt.

Fallit-ne animus? Jam ſpes aliqua meliorum temporum affulget. Jam ingenia ad Veritatis inquiſitionem aſſurgere; Jam pietatis ſtudia apud multos in pretio eſſe; Jam Scripturæ lectio crebeſcere, etiam apud illos qui eam attingere nefas ducebant; Jam ſcholaſticæ quiſquiliæ ſordere; Jam ſolida Sacrorum notitia plurimorum mentes imbui; Jam Chriſtiana moderatio ſeſe animis inſinuare; Jam Principes, Eccleſiæ favere, zelo Dei ſuccendi, pietatis exemplis præire; Jam Sodalitia, ad rem Chriſtianam promovendam inſtituta, ad finem illum nihil prætermittere, utróque in Orbe Eccleſias erigere, Scholas fundare, Libros emittere, Proſelytos ſuſtentare, perituræ pecuniæ non parcere, ut æterna bona propagentur; Cujus quidem beneficentiæ ſplendidiſſima non ita pridem viſa ſunt inter nos exempla: Jam Viri multi doctrina pariter ac zelo conſpicui, id ſibi penſi datum arbitrari, in id totis incumbere viribus, ut greges ſibi commiſſos Chriſto ſiſtant quàm puriſſimos; jamque Deus eorum laboribus non obſcurè benedicere. Quæ quidem auguria ne fallant, ſed ut contrà Chriſti Regnum magis magiſque promoveatur, ſplendeat fides, floreat pietas, virtutum omnium chorus excitetur, ſtudiis, conatibus, votis, quódque omnium potentius, exemplis, nobis omnibus allaborandum eſt. DIXI.

Worſhip and *Diſcipline*, in whatſoever Point they are leſs perfect. *It is our Part, to renew a mutual Intercourſe by Letters, as often as there ſhall be occaſion, between the Churches; to cultivate and cheriſh this Correſpondence by all kind Offices: Which, as it was the Cuſtom not only in the ancient Church, and at the Time of the Reformation, ſo thereby very extraordinary Advantages will redound to the Proteſtant Churches. But chiefly it is our Part, to remember, that our Doctrine is a* Doctrine according to Godlineſs; *and therefore, that we ought to make it the chief Aim of all our Labours, to promote and inſtil Piety. Laſtly, it is our Part to transfer the Chriſtian Diſcipline from Scholaſtick Diſputations, to Life; from Theory, to Practice; from Profeſſion, to Morals; without which it will only be a faint Shadow of Chriſtianity, void of all Colours and Lineaments.*

But I am miſtaken, if the Hope of better Times does not now ſhine upon us: Now a new Series of Ages, and a new Generation, ſeems to be riſing up; now the Study of Piety begins to be in Eſteem; now the Reading the Holy Scriptures, which many Men formerly diſdain'd, begins to be very frequent; now the Scholaſtick Fooleries begin to be deſpiſed; now Mens Minds begin to be endow'd with a ſolid Knowledge of the holy Truths; now a Chriſtian Moderation begins to inſinuate itſelf into their Minds; now Princes begin to afford their Favour to the Church, to be inflamed with a Zeal of God, and to give an eminent Example of Piety to others; now Societies are erected for the Promoting Chriſtianity, *and omitting nothing which may be ſerviceable to this End, they erect Churches on both Sides of the World, found Schools, give out Books, provide a Maintenance for Converts, and ſpare not their Money,* which periſheth, *to promote thoſe* good Things which are Eternal; *of which Charity we have lately had moſt eminent Examples. Now many pious and learned Perſons, have uſed the utmoſt of their Endeavours, to make the Congregations committed to their Charge eminent for Piety; and God Almighty has been pleaſed manifeſtly to give a Bleſſing to their Labours. But we muſt not content ourſelves only with theſe good Preſages, but we muſt labour with the utmoſt of our Studies, Endeavours and Prayers, but chiefly with, what is beyond all, our Examples; that the Kingdom of Chriſt may be more and more promoted; that our Faith may ſhine; that Piety may flouriſh; and that a Choir of all Chriſtian Graces may be ſtirred up in us.*

Magnatum apud ANGLOS Privilegia: *Or, the Privileges and Prehemineneces belonging to our* Engliſh *Peerage. Extracted from the Writings of the moſt celebrated Authors, Ancient and Modern. Together with ſeveral Remarks relating to our Temporal Peerage, by way of Introduction.* 1712.

Elenchus Authorum: Or, The NAMES of the AUTHORS quoted in this ſmall Tract.

*A*Nderſon.
Bacon.
Baker.
Bodin.
Blount.
Bracton.
Braudlatcht.
Britton.
Brooke.
Bucke.
Bulſtrode.
Burnet.
Coke, Sir *Edward*
Coke, *Roger*
Camden.
Chamberlain.
Clarendon, Earl.
Coventry.
Cotton.
Croke.
Compton.
Daliſon.
Davis.
Dyer.
Dodridge.
Elſyng.
Finch.
Filmer.
Fitzherbert.
Fleta.
Frerotus.
Gratian.
Heywood.
Hobart.
Holbourn.
Hutton.
Jones, Sir *William*
Jones, Sir *Thomas*
Juſtinian.
Keble.
Lambert.
Levinz.
Manwood.
Mills.
Modern Reports.
Moor.
Nalſon.
Owen.
Perkins.
Plowden.
Plutarch.
Prinne.
Records of Parliam.
Regiſter.
Ridley.
Ruſhworth.
Rolls.
Syderfin.
Saunders.
Stamford.
Styles.
Terms of Law.
Ventris.
Womans Lawyer.
Year-Books.
Zouch.

The Privileges of the Superior Nobility, Lords of Parliament.

AS all the Degrees of the Superior Nobility (*viz.* Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, Viſcounts, and Barons) were originally derived from the Sovereign Power of our Monarchs, Kings and Queens of *England:* Even ſo all the Honourable Immunities and Privileges, that by Law appertain unto the Temporal Lords of Parlia-

Parliament, had their Emanation, only at the firſt, from the Special Grace and Indulgencies of our Imperial Princes, the Supreme Legiſlators of this Nation.

Now, before a View of theſe great Privileges be tendered to the Reader, I ſhall preſume to accoſt him, by way of Introduction, with ſome conſiderable Remarks relating to our Lords Temporal, that are *Pares Regni*, and *Peers* of *Parliament*, which do here immediately follow.

REMARK I.

The Policy of England how ſeen in the Diſtinction of Perſons.

IT is an eſtabliſh'd Maxim, among ſuch as have written of Policy, and of ſundry Sorts of Government, * *That in all well-govern'd Commonwealths, a Diſtinction of Perſons is abſolutely neceſſary:* According to which it hath been the Politick Prudence of this our Nation, for the Suſtentation and Regiment of the Common-weal of the ſame, to make a threefold Diviſion of Perſons, namely,

1. The *King*, or *Sovereign Monarch*; under which Names alſo a *Sovereign Queen* is comprehended, as it hath been declared, by a Law enacted in the Firſt Year of Queen *Mary*'s Reign: So that the Regal Power thereby is aſſerted to be in a Queen, as well as in a King. 1 Mar. *c.* 1.

2. The *Nobility*, which do compriſe *Dukes*, *Marqueſſes*, *Earls*, *Viſcounts*, and *Barons* Spiritual and Temporal.

3. The *Commons*, by which general Words are underſtood, *Knights*, *Eſquires*, *Gentlemen*, *Yeomen*, *Artificers* and *Labourers*. *Co. Litt. fol.* 16. 3. 109. *B.* & 156. *B. Dodridge's Treatiſe of the Nobility, pag.* 1.

REMARK II.

None Noble under the Degree of a Baron.

The Law of *England* calleth none *Noble* under the Degree of a *Baron*, and not as Men of Foreign Countries do uſe to ſpeak, with whom every Man of Gentile Birth is reported *Noble*; for we daily ſee, that both Gentlemen and Knights do ſerve in the Parliament, as Members only of the Community. *Lambert's Juſtice of Peace, l.* 4. *c.* 13. *Co. Litt. f.* 16. *B.*

REMARK III.

The Words, The Nobles, do not imply the King.

Neither do theſe Words, *the Nobles*, the High, or Great Men of the Realm, imply the Perſon and Majeſty of the King, *Dyer* 155. *Crompton's Courts, fol.* 35. *B.* But with the *Civilians* the *King* or *Emperor* is reckon'd among his Nobility: *cod.* 12. 1. 8. And why ſo? Becauſe he ſhould not be puff'd up, with the Glory of his Place, and conceive he were of a more excellent Mould than the reſt, when

* *Nulla Univerſitas poteſt ſubſiſtere, niſi nam Ordo ſervet & ſuſtineat. Bod. de Rep. Lib.* 3.

iudeed we are all one, and the ſelf-ſame Clay. Sir *Thomas Ridley's View of Laws: part.* 2. *c.* 1. *Sect.* 7. *pag.* 140. *Edit.* 4*th*, 1675.

REMARK IV.

The ſeveral Names or Titles beſtowed on the greater Nobility.

The Superior Nobility are known by the general Name, *Of Peers of the Realm, Barons of the Parliament, Barons of the Realm,* and *Barons of Honour*, for Difference of them, who yet, according to that old Form of Barons, be commonly called Barons, as thoſe of *Burford*, of *Walton*, of the *Exchequer*, and thoſe who were Barons under the *Count Palatines* of *Cheſter* and *Pembroke*, that were *Barons* in Fee, and by Tenure. *Camden's Britannia, fol.* 196. *Engl. Edit.* 1610. and *Finch lib.* 2. *cap.* 1. *pag.* 86. *Edit.* 1627.

REMARK V.

All the Degrees of Nobility do ſit in Parliament, in Right of their Baronies.

Dukes, Marqueſſes, and Earls, and all other of Nobility do ſit together in the King's great Council in *Parliament*, as *Barons*, and in Right only of their *Baronies*. And therefore by the general Name of *Barons* of this Realm, and for the Baronage thereof, we do underſtand the whole Body of the Nobility. *Co.* 2. *Inſt. fol.* 61. and *Camden's Brit.* 169. *Engl. Edit.* 1610.

REMARK VI.

The Parliament Robes of Dukes, &c. *differ not from thoſe of the Barons.*

The Parliament Robes of Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls and Viſcounts, do differ nothing from the Barons, but they wear the Guards upon their Shoulders Three or Fourfold; for altho' Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, and Viſcounts, in their Creation, are tired with Garments of Silks and Velvet; yet in the Parliament they uſe the ſame as Barons do, made with Scarlet, with divers Differences of White Furr, ſet with Fringes, or Edging on their Shoulders; for there they ſit by reaſon of their Baronies, and according to their Dignity take their Places. Mr. *Tho. Mills, fol.* 66.

REMARK VII.

A Baron is in Equipage, as to Nobility and Privileges, with Dukes and other degrees of the Peerage.

Altho' the Nobility of *England* in Titles, and by certain Ceremonies may be diſtinguiſhed; yet a *Baron* is in Equipage, as unto Nobility, and Privileges incident to their Dignities, with Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls and Viſcounts, *Co. lib.* 6. *fol.* 53. Counteſs of *Rutland's* Caſe. And it is in ordinary Experience, that Dukes, and others of any high Degree of Nobility, in Caſes Criminal, are tried by *Barons*, together with many Earls, and Viſcounts, as their Peers, and Peers of the Realm, *Co. Lit. fol.* 156. *B.*

REMARK

REMARK VIII.

In the Reign of *Hen.* III. the Title of *Baron*, which had been before promiſcuous to Men of Eſtate, was firſt confined to ſuch only, as by the King were call'd to have Voice in Parliament; But that which King *Hen.* III. began a little before his Death, his Son King *Edw.* I. and his Succeſſors, conſtantly obſerved and continued. *Baker in vitâ E.* I. *Camden's Britannia, fol.* 169. and *Co. lib.* 12. *fol.* 70. Lord of *Abergavenny*'s Caſe.

The Title of Barons *confined to thoſe who were ſummoned by Writ of* Parliament.

REMARK IX.

At the making of the Statute of *Magna Charta*, in *Hen.* III. Time, there was not any Duke, Marqueſs, or Viſcount in *England:* And *Edward*, the eldeſt Son of *Edw.* III. call'd the *Black Prince*, was the Firſt Duke in *England*, after the Conqueſt; and *Robert Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*, in the Reign of *Rich.* II. was the firſt Marqueſs: And before the Reign of *Hen.* VI. there was not any Viſcount: And the Lord *de Bellomonte*, or *Beaumont*, was the firſt Viſcount, created by *Hen.* VI. *Co. Lit.* 69. *B. &* 83. *a. Co.* 2. *Inſt. fol.* 5. *Camden Britan. fol.* 165. *&* 167. 4 *Hen.* IV. *N.* 18. *Cotton.*

In 9 Hen. III. *neither Duke, Marqueſs, nor Viſcount in* England.

REMARK X.

Upon a Debate (*Anno* 1640.) in the Houſe of Lords, concerning a Power of conveying away of Honour, it was reſolved upon the Queſtion, *Nemine Contradicente, That no Perſon that hath any Honour in him, and Peer of this Realm, may alien, and transfer the Honour to any other Perſon.*

Honours of Peers not alienable.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion, *Nemine Contradicente, That no Peer of this Realm can drown, or extinguiſh his Honour (but that it deſcend to his Deſcendents) neither by Surrender, Grant, Fine, or any other Conveyance to the King.* *Dr.* Nalſon's *Collect.* 1. *Vol. fol.* 744.

REMARK XI.

Anno 1641. A Meſſage was ſent to the *Houſe of Commons*, to deſire a preſent Conference by a Committee of both Houſes, touching Honour.

A Conference of the Lords to be with the Commons about the King's beſtowing Honours.

The Subject of the Conference to be, *That both Houſes may petition his Majeſty, that Titles of Honour may not be bought, and ſold for Money, but that it may be confirmed by his Majeſty, as antiently it was, for Vertue and Merit.* *Dr. Nalſon's* 2 *Vol. f.* 325.

REMARK

REMARK XII.

How the Deſcent in Honorary Titles is guided among Parents.

Although the Laws of this Realm regularly do make all the Daughters, where there are no Sons, equally to inherit Lands and Tenements, and to be one Heir to their Anceſtors; yet it is not ſo in the Deſcent of Dignities and Titles of Honour; for Inheritances concerning Matters of Honour, being Things in their Nature participating of Superiority and Eminency, are not partable among many, and therefore muſt of neceſſity deſcend unto one, and that is to the Eldeſt Daughter, Siſter, Aunt, or Couſin Female, Inheritable, where there are no Heirs Males, that may lawfully challenge the ſame. *Doderidge in his Treatiſe of Nobility and Peerage, pag.* 169. *Tit.* Noble-women. *Camden's Britannia, fol.* 165. *Engl. Edit.* 1610. *Bracton lib.* 2. *cap.* 34. *fol.* 76. *B. Co. Lit. fol.* 165. *a. Fleta lib.* 5. *c.* 9. *n.* 16. *p.* 313. *Britton cap.* 72. *fol.* 186. *B.* 187. *a.* But ſome hold, that if a Baron dies, having Iſſue divers Daughters, the King (who is the Sovereign of Honour and Dignity) may confer the Dignity on him, that marries any of them, as has been done in divers Caſes. *Co. lib.* 12. *fol.* 3. *Tit.* Dignity. And *Co. Lit.* 165. *a.*

REMARK XIII.

There cannot be Poſſeſſio Fratris *of a Barony.*

A Queſtion was moved in Parliament (*Anno* 16. *Car.* I.) touching the Barony of *Ruthen*, where the Caſe was, That one being created Baron to him and his Heirs, hath Iſſue a Son and a Daughter by one Venter, and a ſecond Son by another Venter, and the eldeſt Son hath the Barony, and ſits in Parliament, and afterwards dies without Iſſue; *Whether the ſecond Son ſhall have that Dignity, as Heir to his Father: Or, the Siſter ſhould have it as Poſſeſſio Fratris in Lands,* &c. and deſired to have the Opinion of the Judges therein? And all the Judges reſolved, that there is not any *Poſſeſſio Fratris* of a Dignity; but it ſhall deſcend to the Son; for the younger Son is *Hæres Natus*, and the Siſter is only *Hæres Factа*, by the *Poſſeſſion* of her Brother, of ſuch Things as are in Demeſn, but not of Dignities, and ſuch like; whereof there cannot be an Acquiſition of the Poſſeſſion. *Cro. Car. fol.* 601. The Lord *Grey*'s Caſe.

REMARK XIV.

A greater Dignity drowns not a leſſer.

The greater Dignity doth never drown the leſſer Honour, or Dignity: But both do ſtand together in one and the ſame Perſon: And therefore if a Knight be created a Baron, yet he remains a Knight ſtill: So if a Baron be made a Viſcount, yet the Dignity of a Baron continueth: So if a Viſcount be made an Earl, yet the Viſcountſhip remaineth,

maineth, *& ſic de Cæteris:* But if an Eſquire (which is no Name of Dignity) be made a Knight, the Degree of the Eſquire is changed and gone, and cannot be ſo named in any Judicial Proceedings. *Co.* 2. *Inſt. fol.* 594. & 669. *Co. Lib.* 4. *fol.* 118. *a. Aſton's Caſe* 27. *H.* 64. 4. *E.* 410. 5. *E.* 4. 142. 35. *H.* 6. 12. 32. *H.* 6. 29. But it is agreed, (in *Plowden's Com.* 213.) That if the Crown of *England* do deſcend to a Duke, within *England*, his Name of Duke is gone.

REMARK XV.

Honour conferr'd by a foreign Prince upon the Monarch of England's Subject, without acquainting him, is not admitted.

The Law of *England* doth prohibit any Subject of this Realm to receive Titles of Honour or Dignity of the Gift, or Donation of a Foreign Prince or King, or Emperor (without the Knowledge, Conſent, and Approbation of his own Sovereign Prince;) for it is a Thing greatly touching the Majeſty of the King, and the State of his Kingdom: *It is the Right of Majeſty, and among the Enſigns of Sovereign Authority.* "And therefore ſuch Titles of Honour are not to be accepted by Subjects, nor admitted by the Prince: That it belongs "only to the Prince, and not to any other whatſoever, to diſtribute "Dignities to their Subjects; according to that Saying of *Valerian* the "Emperor, *Let that Dignity only hold, which is born by our Will.* "For much is detracted from the Prince's Majeſty, and the Subjects "Obedience, if they may be permitted to receive Honours from "Foreign Princes; for a Tacit Contract of Fidelity ſeemeth to paſs "between the Honourer and Honoured: That ſuch Titles are ſecret "Enticements to withdraw the Hearts of Subjects from their Princes; "That an Action of Theft lies againſt him, that ſhall brand another "Man's Sheep with his Mark, and an Action of Fraud againſt him "that by ſtrewing of Food ſhall entice another Man's Sheep to his "Flock.

The Concluſion of this *Remark* ſhall be the Judgment of Queen *Elizabeth*, touching the Title of Honour conferred by the Emperor on *Thomas Arundel* of *Wardour*, without her Majeſty's being acquainted with it; *Between Princes and their Subjects there is a moſt ſtraight Tie of Affections. As chaſte Women ought not to caſt their Eyes upon any other Prince than him, whom God hath given them. I would not have my Sheep branded with another Man's Mark; I would not that they ſhould follow the Whiſtle of a ſtrange Shepherd.* Camden's *Eliz. Anno* 1596. *pag.* 467. 468. *Engl. Edit.* 1635. Camden's Britannia, *fol.* 246. *Engl. Edit.* 1610. Baker's Hiſtory *in vitâ* Eliz. *pag.* 408. *Edit.* 1660. *and* Camden's *Eliz. Anno* 1594. *p.* 435. *Dr.* Zouch *de Judicio inter Gentes pars* 2. *Sect.* 2. *p.* 64. & 65. *Ed.* 1650.

REMARK

REMARK XVI. and laſt.

What Truſts and Enſigns of Honour Barons *have.*

Dukes, Earls, and all others of the Degree of Nobility and Honour, have Offices of great Truſt, and Confidence, being for two principal Purpoſes, *Ad conſulendum Regi tempore Pacis*, To counſel the King in Time of Peace. The other, *Ad defendendum Regem, & Patriam tempore belli*; to defend the King, and Country in Time of War: And therefore Antiquity hath given unto them two Enſigns to reſemble both the ſaid Duties: For the Firſt, the Head is adorned with a Cap of Honour, and Coronet, and the Body with a Robe, in Reſemblance of Councel: Secondly, they are girt with a Sword, in Reſemblance, that they muſt be faithful and true to defend the Prince and Country. *Co. lib.* 7. 34. *a.* Nevill's *Caſe, and lib.* 12. *fol.* 95. *Counteſs of* Shrewſbury's *Caſe, Co.* 2. *Inſt. fol.* 5. & 6. Bracton, *lib.* 1. *c.* 8. *n.* 2. I will conclude this laſt *Remark* thus; the ennobled amongſt the *Romans* had a Badge of a Moon, or Creſcent; in *Plutarch*'s Judgment, not ſo much to ſignify the Inſtability or Frailty of their Place and Honour, as to put them in Mind to be obedient and loyal to their Prince, the Fountain of their High Dignity, as the Sun is to the Moon, *Plut. in Probl. Probl.* 72.

Having given the Reader ſeveral *Remarks* concerning our Noblemen, I am now coming to give him a Declaration of the divers and ſundry honourable Privileges and Immunities allowed unto them by the Laws and Cuſtoms of this Realm; and that both in and out of Parliament.

And in order thereunto, it will not be impertinent in the firſt Place to ſhew what a Privilege is, and how it is defined by ſeveral Authors; 1. *Frerotus* defineth it, *Privilegium eſt Jus ſingulare, hoc eſt, privata Lex, quæ uni hominis, vel Loco, vel Collegio; & ſimilibus aliis conceditur.* In Paratittlis ad titulum Decretalium de Privilegiis.

2. *Gratian* thus; *Privilegia ſunt Leges privatorum, quaſi privatæ Leges. Nam Privilegium inde dictum eſt, quia in privato feratur.* Decreti prima pars Diſtinctio 3. *c* 3.

3. *Privilegium* (ſaith *Georgius Braudlacht Weſtp.*) *eſt Jus ſingulare, certæ perſonæ, vel rei, ob aliquam æquitatis rationem, contra Communes Juris normas, indultum,* lib. 7. *c.* 5. de Privilegiis.

4. Another tells us, *Quòd Privilegium eſt quaſi privata Lex, & contra diſpoſitionem Juris Communis conceſſio facta.*

5. Dr. *Ridley* defines it in this Manner: *It is an Immunity granted unto a private Man, beſide the Law.* His View of the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Law, *part.* 3. *cap.* 4. *ſect.* 1. Out of all which Authors we may pronounce, That privileged Perſons are ſuch as are enriched with ſome ſpecial Freedoms, or Benefits, contrary to the common Courſe of Law.

PRI-

PRIVILEGE I.

A Baron, Viſcount, Earl, or other Lord of Parliament, and Peer of the Realm, being Plaintiff in any Action, the Defendant pleads, That the Plaintiff is not a Baron, Viſcount, Earl, &c. *as he is named in the Writ, This muſt not be tried at our Common Law by Jury, who may be corrupted, nor by Witneſſes, as in the Court of Chancery, who may be ſuborned; But it muſt be tried by the Record in that Court, which imports by itſelf ſolid Truth: So great Reſpect hath the Law to the Trial of their Honour and Dignity.* *Co. lib.* 12. *fol.* 94. & 95. Counteſs of *Shrewſbury*'s Caſe, *and fol.* 70. Lord *Abergaveny*'s Caſe. *Co. Lit.* 16. *B. Co. lib.* 6. 53. Counteſs of *Rutland*'s Caſe, & *lib.* 9. 49. Earl of *Shrewſbury*'s Caſe, *Co. lib.* 7. 15. *b. Calvin*'s Caſe, 6. *H.* 6. 46. *Br. Challenge* 18.

Trial by Record, not by Jury.

Notes on this PRIVILEGE.

1. When a Title of Honour doth deſcend to a Woman, if Queſtion in Law doth ariſe between the Noble Woman, and any other Perſon, whether ſhe be of that Degree of Nobleneſs or no, the Iſſue ſhall be tried by the Record thereof, and by the King's Writ it ſhall be certified, and not by a Jury of twelve Men, even as it ſhould be in Caſe her Anceſtor had been Party. *Dodridge's Law of Nobility, and Peerage, Tit.* Noble Women.

A Woman whether of the Degree of Nobility.

2. In the Caſe of acquir'd Nobility by Marriage, if the Queſtion be, *Whether Dutcheſs or not Dutcheſs, Counteſs or not Counteſs, Baroneſs or not Baroneſs?* The Trial hereof ſhall not be by Record, as in the former *Note*, but by a Jury of twelve Men; and the Reaſon of the Diverſity is, becauſe the Dignity is accrued unto her by Marriage, which our Lawyers term Matter in Fact, and not by any Record. *Co. lib.* 6. *fol.* 53. *a.* Iſabella *Counteſs of* Rutland's *Caſe*, 2. *H.* 6. 11.

A Diverſity between Nobility gained by Marriage, and by Deſcent.

PRIVILEGE II.

For the Honour and Reverence, which the Law gives to Nobility, their Bodies are not ſubject to Torture, in Cauſa Criminis læſæ Majeſtatis: *Co. lib.* 12. *fol.* 95. *Counteſs of* Salop's *Caſe.*

Peers not put to the Torture in Treaſon.

A Note on this PRIVILEGE.

By the Imperial Conſtitutions, the Nobility may not be put to the Rack or Torture to diſcover the Truth, but vulgar or common Perſons are in ſuch Caſe liable to that Puniſhment: *Cod.* 9. 4. 11, & 17. & *Cod.* 12. 1. 10. But this Immunity of Noblemen holds only in Matters of no great Moment; *Sed cum de crimine Majeſtatis quæritur, nulla dignitas à tormentis eximitur. D.* 48. 18. 10. 1. *Cod.* 9. 8. 3.

Nobiles non torquentur in quibus Plebei torquentur.

PRIVILEGE III.

Conſpiracy of the King's Servants on the Check-Roll to deſtroy a Lord of Parliament.

If any Servant of the King in the Check-Roll, compaſs, or intend to kill any Lord of Parliament, or other Lord of the King's Council, this is Felony: 3. *H.* VII. 14. *Co. lib.* 22. *fol.* 95. *Counteſs of* Shrewſbury's *Caſe, Co.* 3. *Inſt. fol.* 37.

PRIVILEGE IV.

Exemption from Arreſts.

At the Suit of the Subject the Bodies of Noblemen, Lords of Parliament ſhall not be arreſted; neither Capias nor Exigent lyeth againſt them: Co. lib. 12. *fol.* 95. The Counteſs of *Shrewſbury*'s Caſe: *Crompton*'s Courts, 14. *a. Edit.* 1594. Camden's *Britannia*, 169. *Engl. Edit.* 1610. *Co. lib.* 9. 49. Earl of *Salop*'s Caſe, Finch's *Law*, *lib.* 4. *c.* 26. *p.* 354. *Br. Exigent.* 72. Stiles's *Reports*, 234. & 252. The Caſe of the Counteſs of *Rivers*, *Co. lib.* 6, 53. Counteſs of *Rutland*'s Caſe. This *Privilege* belongs alſo to our Spiritual Lords, the Biſhops, in reſpect of their Baronies.

Notes on this PRIVILEGE.

Peers why exempted from being caught by the Poll.

1. The Reaſon why Noble Peers, are privileged from Arreſts, is grounded on Preſumption of Law, That *the moſt honourable, are likelieſt to be right honeſt*, and pay even before Demand; and likewiſe, that their Fortunes, are ſufficient to ſatisfy, without attaching their Perſons, *Co. lib.* 6. 52. *B.* The Counteſs of *Rutland*'s Caſe, *More*'s Reports, 765. *n.* 1063. *Finch*'s Law, *lib.* 4. *c.* 26. *pag.* 354. *Stiles*'s Reports, *fol.* 222. *More v.* Earl of *Rivers*, *Br. Exigent.* 72.

When the Sheriff is to be excuſed, upon Arreſt by Capias.

2. If the Court of Common Pleas in a Debt doth award Plea of a *Capias* againſt a Baron, or other Peers of the Realm, which by the Law doth not lie againſt them, and the ſame appeareth in the Writ it ſelf, yet if the Sheriff arreſt them by Force of the *Capias*, although that the Writ be againſt Law notwithſtanding, inaſmuch as the Court hath Juriſdiction of the Cauſe, the Sheriff is excuſed, *Co. lib.* 10. 76. *B.* The Caſe of *Marſhalſea*, 38. *H.* VIII. Dyer, 60. *B. Co. lib.* 6. 54. *a.* Counteſs of *Rutland*'s Caſe.

The Killing of an Officer in executing a Capias, *that is erroneous, adjudged to be Murder.*

3. If a *Capias* in an Action of Debt, be awarded againſt a Baron, or other Peer of the Realm, which is erroneous, (becauſe their Body by the Law is privileged in ſuch Caſes) yet, if the Officer be kill'd in Execution thereof, it is Murder, for the Officer is not bound to diſpute the Authority of the Court, which awardeth the Proceſs; but his Office is to execute the Proceſs. *Co. Lib.* 9. *fol.* 68. *Mackalley's* Caſe.

Capias *lies againſt a Peer for a Contempt.*

4. For Contempts, a *Capias* lies againſt a Peer of the Realm: As for Reſcouſing of one arreſted by the Courſe of Law. 27. *H.* VIII. 27. Crompton's Courts, *fol.* 14. *a.* So a *Capias pro fine* lies againſt a Nobleman; for none can be privileged againſt the King. *Cro. Eliz.*

fol.

fol. 170. *Lord* Stafford *v. Thinne* & *fol.* 503. *Earl of* Lincoln *againſt Flower.*

5. If a Lord of the Parliament, doth with Force and Arms, detain a Man in Priſon in his Houſe, or elſewhere, the Remedy in ſuch Caſes, by himſelf, or his Friends abroad at Liberty, to have a Writ called *De Homine replegiando*, to deliver him: But if the Lord, to prevent the Execution thereof, and, of Malice, do keep, or convey away this ſame Man, ſo wrongfully impriſoned, ſo privily, as that the Sheriff cannot execute his ſaid Writ: Then will the Court award a *Withernam*, whereby the Sheriff ſhall attach and arreſt the Body of the ſaid Lord, and impriſon him, until he do deliver his ſaid Priſoner. 11. *H.* IV. 15. *F. N. B.* 68. *Crompton's Courts, fol.* 20. *a. Hobart's Rep. fol.* 61. *Foſter v. Jackſon.*

In what Caſe the Writs de Homine replegiando, *and of* Withernam *lye againſt a* Peer.

PRIVILEGE V.

Noblemen, and Lords of Parliament, are not to be Empanell'd upon the Common Jury of twelve Men, for the Enqueſt de Facto. *Br. Exemption* 3. and *Challenge* 37. 27. *H.* VIII. 27. *Crompton's Courts*, 14. *a. co. lib.* 6. 53. *Counteſs of* Rutland's. *Terms of Law, f.* 161. *b. Tit.* Exemption. *co. lib.* 9. *Earl of* Shrewſbury's *Caſe, Dyer* 314. *p. l.* 98. *Co. Lib.* 12. 95. *Counteſs of* Shrewſbury's *Caſe. Camden's Britannia* 169. *Engl. Edit.* 1610. *Co. Litt. fol.* 156. *B.*

To be exempt of Juries, and empanell'd upon Inqueſts.

A Note on this PRIVILEGE.

In Caſe a Lord of Parliament be returned upon a Common Jury, there is a Special Writ for his Diſcharge: And this may be directed either to the Sheriff, not to put him into Juries, or to the Judge to diſcharge him: But if a Peer of the Realm be returned, he muſt be ſworn, or loſe Iſſues, if he appear not, unleſs he bring the Writ. *Regiſter* 179. *B. F. n. B.* 165. *A. D. Finche's Law, lib.* 4. *c.* 48. *pag.* 506. *Co. Lib.* 6. 53. *Counteſs of* Rutland's *Caſe.*

A ſpecial Writ in the Regiſter to diſcharge a Peer from ſerving in Juries.

PRIVILEGE VI.

In the Common Pleas, a Temporal Lord of Parliament ſhall have Knights returned on his Jury. Co. Lib. 12. 95. *Counteſs of* Shrewſbury's *Caſe* & *Lib.* 6. 53. *Counteſs of* Rutland's *Caſe. Dodridge in his Treatiſe of Nobility, fol.* 145. *Edit.* 1658. 4. *Eliz. Dyer* 208. *Plowd. Com.* 117. *a. Earl of* Derby's *Caſe. Syderfin* 2. *Part. fol.* 31. *Earl of* Leiceſter's *Caſe.* 13. *E.* III. *Inqueſt* 44. 27. *H.* VIII. 22. *b. Finch*'s *Law, lib.* 4. *c.* 36. *pag.* 412. *Br. Challenge* 5. and *Trial* 142. *Crompton's Courts* 14. *a.* & 20. *a.* 8. 9. *l.* 4. 37. 34. *H.* VI. 18. *Fitzh. Challenge* 113. *Modern Reports* 1. *pt.* 226. *Br. Enqueſt.* 100. *Br. Novel Caſes N.* 88. This Privilege is incident to Biſhops, as Peers of the Realm.

Knights returned on his Jury.

Notes on this PRIVILEGE.

If upon the Non-Return of a Knight, there is a Challenge of the Array, this ſhall quaſh all the Array, as to the other Defendants.

1. Where there are divers Defendants, whereof one is a Lord of Parliament, and the Array is challenged, by reaſon no Knight is returned, this ſhall ſerve to quaſh all the Array againſt the other Defendants alſo, for that it is entire. *Dyer* 246. *Crompton's Courts, fol.* 20. *B.*

A Knight, if returned, not material, whether he appear.

2. If a Knight be returned on a Jury, when a Nobleman is concerned in a Suit, it is not material, whether he appear and gives his Verdict, or not. 1. *Modern* 226. *Southcot* 2. *Stowel. Crompton's Courts, fol.* 20. *B.*

A Serjeant at Law, that is a Knight, when his Privilege is not allowable.

3. If there be no other Knights in the County, a Serjeant at Law, that is a Knight, may be returned, and his Privilege ſhall not excuſe him. 2. *Mod.* 182. The Counteſs of *Northumberland*'s Caſe.

When no Knights are returned, the Defendant a common Perſon may challenge the Array, as well as a Peer Plaintiff.

4. If a noble Peer of the Realm be Plaintiff, and a common Perſon Defendant, they join Iſſue, and two Knights are not returned in the Jury between them, as there ought to be, the Defendant may challenge the Array of that Jury, as well as our Peer. *Mich.* 33. & 34. *Eliz. Anderſon* 1. *part* 272. *N.* 281.

5. The Earl of *Kent* by the Name of *Reginald Grey*, Eſq; brought a Writ of *Entry* againſt *H. G.* and the Pannel was returned: Now by the Heralds, he was then newly declared Earl, and thereupon he challeng'd the Array, becauſe there was no Knight returned in the Pannel: But it was not allowed by the Court; for that there was no Default in the Sheriff, he being commonly reputed an Eſquire. *Dyer.* 318. *p. l.* 10. *Crompton's Courts, fol.* 20. *B.*

PRIVILEGE VII.

Eſſoin *lies not againſt a Peer.*

No Eſſoin, or Day of Grace, is to be granted to Plaintiffs, in Suits or Actions, wherein Noblemen, Lords of Parliament, are Defendants. Camden's *Britannia* 169. *Engl. Edit.* 1610. 27. *H.* 8. 27. Crompton 14. *a. Co. lib.* 9. 49. Earl of *Salop*'s Caſe. 27. *E.* 3. 88. 27. *H.* 8. 22. This Privilege is incident to the Lords Spiritual, as well as to the Lords Temporal.

Notes upon this PRIVILEGE.

Reaſon why againſt a Nobleman an Eſſoin *lies not.*

1. The Reaſon of Immunity, is, for that thereby a Nobleman ſhould be no longer delayed, than the ordinary Courſe of the Court is, and ſuch a Lord is to have Expedition of Juſtice, in reſpect he is to attend the

the Sacred Perſon of the King, and the Service of the Commonwealth. *Co. lib.* 9. *fol.* 49. *Earl of* Shrewſbury's *Caſe.*

2. If there be no ignoble Perſon, Party to the Suit, the Judges do, and may at their Diſcretion, grant upon Motion and Prayer, a Day, or more, of Trial otherwiſe, than by the ſtrict Courſe of the Law the Plaintiff may challenge. *Dodridge's Treatiſe of the Nobility pag.* 144. *Edit.* 1658. *When the Judges may grant, upon Prayer, a Day, or more.*

3. In caſe a Baron, or Baroneſs, Earl, *&c.* have their Abſence excuſed by *Eſſoin*, he who caſts ſuch *Eſſoin*, or Excuſe, ought to find Pledges, that the *Eſſoin* is true; but in the Caſe of a common Perſon, it ſhall reſt upon the Credit and Integrity of the *Eſſoniator:* And the Reaſon of ſuch Diverſity is this; for that Noblemen, *in warrantizatione Eſſonii*, do not ſwear by themſelves, but by their Proxies, *viz.* their Pledges, *&c. Bracton lib.* 5. *Tract.* 2. *de Eſſoniis, c.* 9. *Nu.* 3. *fol.* 351. *B. & c.* 2. *N.* 3. *f.* 337. *B. Britton, c.* 1. 22. *fol.* 282. *a Fleta lib.* 6. *c.* 10. *nu.* 15. *Co.* 2. *Inſt.* 137. *To what Eſſoins one ſhall be ſworn, and to what not.*

PRIVILEGE VIII.

Noblemen, Peers of the Realm, and Lords of Parliament, are exempted from Attendance at the Sheriffs Tourn, or at any Court Leet, or to take there the Oath of Ligeance. Statute of *Marlebridge cap.* 10. *Finch's Law lib.* 4. *c.* 1. *pag.* 242. *Britton cap.* 29. *f.* 73. *B. Co.* 2. *Inſt. fol.* 120. *&* 121. And ſo are Biſhops from Attendance at Tourns and Leets. *Exemption from Attendance at Tourns or Leets.*

Notes on this PRIVILEGE.

1. Every Man of the Age of twelve Years, and upwards, (being within the Precinct of Leets) oweth Suit, and muſt be ſworn to the King's Allegiance; and this is called a Suit Real, being not due by reaſon of Mens Freehold, but of their Body, becauſe they are reſiant within the Precinct of the Leet. *Britton cap.* 29. *fol.* 73. *B. F. N. B.* 161. 12. *H.* 7. 18. 25. *E.* 3. 236. *Co. lib.* 7. *fol.* 6. *&* 7. *Calvin's Caſe. Co. Litt.* 68. *B. Fleta, lib.* 1. *cap.* 5. *Nu.* 4. *Co. Litt. fol.* 172. *B. Infant at* 12 *Years bound to take the Oath of Ligeance in the Leet.*

2. Albeit Noblemen be exempted from their Perſonal Coming to the Tourn and Leet, and many other Perſons never took the Oath of Allegiance, yet are all Subjects of what Quality, Profeſſion, or Sex ſoever, as firmly obliged to their Allegiance, as if they had taken the Oath, becauſe it is written by the Finger of the Law of Nature, in every one of their Hearts, and the taking of the Corporal Oath, is but an outward Declaration of the ſame, *Co.* 2. *Inſt. fol.* 121. The Subſtance and Effect of that Legal Ligeance (ſay the Learned Judges in *Calvin*'s Caſe) is due by the Law of Nature, *Ex Inſtitutione Naturæ*, the Form and Addition of the Oath is, *ex proviſione Hominis. Perſons that never have taken the Oath of Ligeance, are as much bound to their Ligeance, as if they had taken it, and why.*

PRI-

PRIVILEGE IX.

Exemption from taking the Oath of Supremacy.

By the Statute of 5 Eliz. c. 1. *It is enacted, That every Knight, Citizen, and Burgeſs of the Parliament ſhall take the Oath of Supremacy before the Lord* Steward, *or his Deputy; but it is not required of any of the Temporal Lords, becauſe the King is otherwiſe ſufficiently aſſured of their Faith, and Loyalty, as is preſumed.*

PRIVILEGE X.

Making Proxies.

A Temporal Peer of the Realm ſummoned to Parliament, in his Abſence, lawful, and Licence of his Prince may appoint a Proxie, to vote for him, which none of the Houſe of Commons can do, *Co.* 4. *Inſt. fol.* 12. 21. *E.* 4. 50. Davis's *Reports, fol.* 47. *B. Le Caſe, de* Capitulariter Congregatis, *The Biſhops, Lords of Parliament, do enjoy this ſame Privilege.*

Notes upon this PRIVILEGE.

The making Proxies by the Peers, ſhews their Right to be ſummoned.

1. Thoſe Lords that would not appear, according to their Summons, made their Proxies, and even this ſhews their Right to be ſummoned, elſe what needed their Proxies, *Elſing, cap.* 5. *of Proxies.*

Lords amerced if they appeared not at the Parliament *either perſonally or by Proxies.*

2. If the Temporal Lords of Parliament neither came, nor made Proxies, then for their Diſobedience unto the King's Writ, they were amerced, *viz.* antiently an Earl at 100 *l.* and a Baron at 100 *Marks*; which ſince was qualified many Times, *viz. An.* 31. *H.* 6. *n.* 46. A Duke was taxed at 100 *l.* an Earl at 100 *Marks*, and a Baron at 40 *l.* if he came not to Parliament, *Elſing, c.* 5. of Proxies.

He that receives a Proxy muſt be a Member of the Lords Houſe, and no Stranger.

3. Tho' in the High Court of Parliament, our Temporal Barons may give their Votes by *Procuracy*, or *Proxy*, yet the Proctor ought to be a Baron, and Member of the ſame Houſe, for a Stranger is not capable of ſuch Proxy: *Davis* Reports, 47. *B. Caſe, de Capitulariter Congregatis*; which is, according to the Rules of the Canoniſts, namely, *Abſens non poteſt demandare Votum niſi uni de Capitulo:* Inſtit. Juris, Can. lib. 1. cap. Electionibus.

Oportet quod procurator ſemper inſtitutus ſit de Collegio.
Votum dari non poteſt per Literas.

A Proxy muſt not be made to a Peer that is abſent himſelf.

4. A Proxy cannot be made to a Lord, that is abſent himſelf: For Inſtance; The Lord *Latimer* ſent his Proxy, which the Clerk refuſed; but was repealed, by the Lord Chancellor, for that the Lord *Latimer*'s Deputies were not preſent: *Elſing, cap.* 5. of Proxies.

5. If

5. If a Lord, unto whom the Proxy is made, be afterwards abſent, the Proxy is void, yea, altho' the *Procurator* be abſent *ex Licentia Regis*, and hath made a Procurator alſo for himſelf, for the Proxy is but an Authority to give another Man's Aſſent which cannot be transferred to a Third Perſon: *Elſing*, *c.* 5. of Proxies.

A Lord to whom a Proxy is made, if afterward abſent, the Proxy is invalid.

6. A Lord of Parliament, by Licence obtained of the *Sovereign*, made a Proxy to Three Lords of Parliament. *Conjunctim, & diviſim, dans eis poteſtatem tractandi, tractatibuſque auxilium & conſilium impendendi, atque Statutis, & Ordinationibus, quæ inactitat, contigerint, conſentiendi, ita quod non ſit melior conditio occupantis.* And one of the Procurators gave Conſent to a Bill, and the other two ſaid, *Not Content:* And firſt it was by Order of the Lords debated among the Judges and Civilians Attendants, and conceived by them, that this was no Voice, and the Opinion was affirmed by all the Lords of Parliament. *Seriatim.* At the Parliament holden *An.* 1 *Eliz. Co.* 4. *Inſt. fol.* 12, & 13.

A Peer maketh a Proxy, to three Lords, and one of the Proxies gives Conſent, the other two ſay, Not content, *this is no Voice.*

7. At the ſame Time another Queſtion was ſtarted, That if a Lord of Parliament made a Proxy, and after come into the Lords Houſe of Parliament, and ſit there without arguing, conſenting, or ſpeaking any Thing: And it was conceived by the Judges, and Civilians, that his ſitting there without ſaying any Thing, was a *Revocation* in Law of his Proxy; *à fortiori*, if he moved, or ſpake to any Matter there propounded; and their Opinion was reſolved by the Lords *Seriatim*, *Co.* 4. *Inſt. fol.* 13.

A Lord that makes a Proxy comes after into the Houſe, and ſits there without ſpeaking anything, adjudged a Revocation in Law of the Proxy.

8. In the Year 1626. 2 *Car.* 1. the Houſe of Peers made an Order, That for the future no Lord of the Houſe ſhall be capable of receiving above two Proxies, nor more to be numbred in any Cauſe voted. *Ruſhworth*'s Hiſtorical Collections, 1 *part*, *fol.* 273.

Ordered, that no Lord can be capable of receiving above two Proxies.

PRIVILEGE XI.

When the King doth ſummon a Duke, Earl, or any other Peer of the Realm, of the Parliament, he ſends his Writ, directed to himſelf particularly, and not to the Sheriff of the County, as the general Summons are for Knights and Burgeſſes for the Parliament, Co. 4. Inſt. 4. and *Dodri'ge*'s Tract of the Nobility, *pag.* 25, & 26. *Tit.* of *Earls.* Every Spiritual Lord of Parliament, as well as the Temporal, ought to have ſeveral Writs of Summons.

Writs ſpecial of Summons to Parliament directed to the Peerage Temporal.

PRIVILEGE XII.

No Temporal Peer and Lord of Parliament, ſitting in Parliament, or within the uſual Time of Privilege of Parliament, is to be impriſoned, or reſtrained without Order from the Houſe, unleſs it be for Treaſon, Felony, or refuſing to give Security for the Peace. Elſing's *Method of holding Par-*

Impriſonment of a Temporal Lord in Parliament time.

Parliaments, c. 7. pag. 178. *Edit.* 1660. Baker in vitâ, *Car.* I. *fol.* 468. *Edit.* 1660. The Earl of *Arundel*'s Caſe. This Prehemi-nence appertains to our Biſhops as well as to our Temporal Lords of Parliament.

PRIVILEGE XIII.

Interpreters of Acts during Parliament.

The Houſe of Lords are the Interpreters of Acts of Parliament, in Times of Parliament.

OR,

It belongs to the Houſe of Peers, by the ancient Laws, and Conſtitutions of this Kingdom, to interpret Acts of Parliament, in Time of Parliament, in any Cauſe that ſhall be brought before them. Dr. Nalſon's *Collections*, 2 *Vol. fol.* 625. Our Spiritual Lords of Parliament have their Share in the interpreting Statutes in Parliament Time.

PRIVILEGE XIV.

Writs of Error.

*If Writs of Error be brought in Parliament upon Judgments given in the King's Bench, the Lords of the Higher * Houſe alone, without the Commons, are to examine, and amend the Errors,* Co. 4. Inſt. 21. *Finch*'s Law, *lib.* 4. *c.* 36. *pag.* 483. Filmer's *Patriarcha, pag.* 140. 141. *Edit.* 1680.

A Note upon this PRIVILEGE.

The Lords finding themſelves extremely preſſed by the bringing Writs of Error upon Judgments into their Houſe, whereby the publick Affairs were much retarded, made this Order, *June, Anno* 1641.

Order of the Lords about Writs of Error.

"Ordered, That ſuch Perſons that bring in Writs of Error into "this Houſe upon a Judgment given in a Court of Juſtice, and if "it appear that there is no juſt Cauſe of Error in the ſaid Judgment, "but merely for Delay of Juſtice and Execution, that then ſuch "Coſts is to be given againſt the Parties, that bring the Writ of "Error, as the Houſe ſhall think fit to give in that Caſe: And that "the Record ſhall be remitted, whence it came, that the Defendant "may take out Execution." *Dr. Nalſon*'s, 2 *Vol. fol.* 272. *vide* the Manner how a Writ of Error is brought into the Lords Houſe, and how there amended. *Nalſon*'s *Collections*, 1 *Vol.* 1651. *Co.* 4. *Inſt. fol.* 21. *Finch*'s *Law, lib.* 4. *cap.* 47. *pag.* 482. 489.

* Under the Lords of the Higher Houſe, are comprehended the Biſhops.

PRI-

PRIVILEGE XV.

Lords of Parliament are properly De magno Concilio Regis.

The Monarch, King, or Queen of England, *is armed with divers Councils, whereof one is called,* Magnum Concilium Regis, *which is always applied to the Upper Houſe of Parliament, and ſometimes, out of Parliament to the Peers of the Realm, who have been ſummoned, alone to give their Sovereign Advice, in Matters propounded to them. Co. Litt. fol.* 110. *a. Elſing, c.* 1. *pag.*51. *&* 52. *Co.* 3. *Inſt. fol.* 125. 27. *Aug.* 5. *H.* 4. *in the Exchange between the King and E. of* Northumberland, *in Turre, Co.* 4. *Inſt.* 65. *Note, the Parliament is always called,* Commune Concilium Regis.

PRIVILEGE XVI.

No Supplicavit, &c. *can be granted againſt our Nobility.*

Noblemen, Peers of the Realm, and Lords of Parliament, are not to be arreſted by any Warrant of any Juſtice of Peace, or for the good Behaviour, nor by a Supplicavit *out of the* High Court of Chancery, *or from the* King's Bench; for ſuch an Opinion our Law conceived of the peaceable Diſpoſition of Noblemen, that it hath been thought enough, to take their Promiſe upon Honour, in that Behalf. *Lambert's Juſtice of Peace, lib.* 2. *c.* 2. 24. *E.* 3. 33. *Subpœna Fitzh.* 20. *Camden's Britannia* 169. *Engl. Edit.* 1610. *Dodridge's Treatiſe of Nobility, f.* 139. *&* 140. *Edit.* 1658.

A Note upon this PRIVILEGE.

A Lord ordered to find Sureties for the Peace; the Parliament but adjourned.

On Articles of Peace, one *Coleman* demanded, that the Lord *Gerrard* might find Sureties, which the Court granted, albeit he was a Peer, and the Parliament but adjourned, ſo that by this Precedent, a Sitting Peer may be bound to the good Behaviour, 2 *Keble* 435. *Nu.* 74.

PRIVILEGE XVII.

Expences of Knights.

Lords of Parliament are not to contribute to the Expences of the Knights of the Shire, that come to Parliament, 28. *E.* 3. *N.* 23. *Cotton* 11. *H.* 4. 2. *B. Crompton's Courts, fol.* 17. *B.* 18. *a.*

PRIVILEGE XVIII.

In Offices of Truſt, their Right of appointing Deputies.

In all Places, or Offices of Truſt, committed to Peers and Lords of Parliament, they are allowed to make Deputies, by reaſon of the Neceſſity, ſuppoſed in the Law, of their Attendance on the Perſon of their Sovereign, both to aſſiſt him with their Counſel, for the Commonwealth, and alſo to keep him and the Realm in Safety, by their Proweſs and Valour: But otherwiſe the Law is, if an Office, or Place of Truſt, be granted to a common Perſon, as a Stewardſhip or Parkerſhip;

for he cannot exerciſe the ſame by Deputy, unleſs the Grant be ſo made, *Co. lib.* 9. *fol.* 49. *The Earl of* Shrewſbury's *Caſe. Perkins, Sect.* 99. *&* 100. *Terms of Law* 117. *B. Tit.* Deputy.

PRIVILEGE XIX.

Suppreſſing Riots, Routs, or Unlawful Aſſemblies.

In the Statute made in 2. *of H.* V. *c.* 8. *Authority is given to the Sheriffs, and other the King's Juſtices, for the better ſuppreſſing of Riots and Routs,* &c. *to raiſe* Poſſe Comitatus, *the Power of the County; yet may not the Sheriff, upon ſuch Authority, command the Perſon of any Nobleman, and Lord of Parliament, to attend that Service. Doderidge in his Treatiſe of the Nobility.*

PRIVILEGE XX.

Challenge none of Peers upon a Jury.

Though the Law alloweth a common Perſon, that is arraigned for Treaſon, or Felony, in favour of Life, to challenge thirty-five of his Jury, without ſhewing Cauſe, and others by ſhewing Cauſe; yet when any Subject, that is a Lord of Parliament, and a Peer of the Realm, is to be tried, either for Felony or Treaſon, he ſhall not challenge any of his Peers at all, nor put any of them to their Oath, the Law preſuming, that they being all Peers of the Realm, and judging upon their Honour, cannot be guilty of Falſhood, Favour, or Malice. Co. Lit. 156. *B.* & 294. *a. Dr. Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation,* 2. *Part, fol.* 179. *Baker in vitâ E.* 6. *fol.* 330. *Edit.* 1660. *Hayward's E.* 6. *fol.* 136, & 294. *Camden's Eliz. Anno* 1601. 543. *Engl. Edit.* 1635. *Baker in vitâ Eliz. f.* 415. *Co.* 3. *Inſt. f.* 27. *Moor's Reports, fol.* 622. *N.* 849. *The Caſe of the Earls of* Eſſex *and* Southampton.

PRIVILEGE XXI.

Aliens or Strangers born.

By the Statute of 32. *H* 8. *cap.* 16. *It is ordained, that the Subjects of the Realm, ſhall not keep in their Families, or Houſe, above the Number of four Strangers born: But by a Proviſo in that Act, every Lord of Parliament hath his Privilege allowed to him, to keep in his Family the Number of ſix Strangers born, any Thing in that Act to the contrary notwithſtanding.* The Biſhops, as Lords of Parliament, may lay Claim to the ſame Privilege.

PRIVILEGE XXII.

A Letter in lieu of a Sub-pœna.

Noblemen, Barons of the Realm, being the Defendants in Chancery, *inſtead of a Subpœna, have a Letter directed to them from the* Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper *of their Appearance, at a Day therein prefixed. Crompton's Courts, fol.* 33. *B. Dodridge's Treatiſe of the Nobility,*

bility, 140. *Edit.* 1658. No doubt, but a Biſhop is to have a Letter, inſtead of a *Subpœna*.

Notes upon this PRIVILEGE.

1. If a Peer appears not on the Letter directed to him, no Attachment ſhall be taken forth againſt him: For in the fourteenth Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Order, and Rule was declared in the Parliament Chamber, and ſo to be enroll'd in the Parliament, that an Attachment is not to be awarded by common Law, Cuſtom, or Precedent. *Dyer* 315. *a.* & *Crompton's Courts*, *fol.* 33. *B.*

Though a Lord appears not in Chancery upon a Letter, yet no Attachment ſhall be taken forth againſt him.

2. Mr. Juſtice *Ventris* tells us, that if a Bill in Chancery be exhibited againſt a Peer, the Practice, or Courſe is, firſt, for my Lord Keeper to write a Letter to him; and if he doth not anſwer, then a *Subpœna*, and then an Order, to ſhew Cauſe, why a Sequeſtration ſhould not go forth; and if he ſtill ſtands out, then a Sequeſtration; for there can be no Proceſs of Contempt againſt his Perſon, 2 *Vent. fol.* 34.

The Practice when a Bill is exhibited againſt a Peer, and the Peer does not anſwer upon a Letter.

3. If a Dutcheſs, or Counteſs, or the Wife of a Lord of Parliament, after the Death of their Huſbands, be impleaded in Chancery, the Plaintiff ſhall not ſue a *Subpœna* againſt them; but the Chancellor or Keeper ſhall write to them, as the Uſe is, and hath been to their Huſbands. *Crompton's Courts*, *fol.* 33. *B.*

A Letter from the Chancellor to the Wife of a Peer, inſtead of a Subpœna, *as the Uſe is to a Peer deceaſed.*

4. If a Dutcheſs, or Counteſs, or the Wife of a Lord of Parliament, (having gained their Titles by Marriage only) marry, after the Death of their Huſbands, thoſe that are under the Degree of Nobility, and they are impleaded in *Chancery*, not a Letter, but the *Common Subpœna* ſhall iſſue forth againſt them, and their Wives, without mentioning in the Writ their Titles of Honour, which they had before; for thoſe they have loſt, by marrying Common Perſons, *Crompton*, *fol.* 33. *B. Tit.* Star-Chamber. The Womans Lawyer, *lib.* 3. *ſect.* 5. *pag.* 125, & 126. Owen's *Reports*, *fol.* 81, 82. Dutcheſs of *Suffolk's* Caſe, *Co. Litt. fol.* 16. *B.* Dyer, 79.

If the Wife of a Lord of Parliament (She having gained her Title by Marriage only) after the Death of her Huſband, marry one under the Degree of Nobility, and impleaded in Chancery, *She ſhall not have a Letter, but the Common* Subpœna.

PRIVILEGE XXIII.

By the Statute of 2 Hen. V. *It is enacted, That the Juſtices of Peace in every County, named of the* Quorum, *muſt be reſident in the Shires wherein they are Juſtices: But there is a* Proviſo *in that Law, by which the Lords, and Peers of Parliament named in ſuch Commiſſion, are excepted*, 2 Hen. V. *Parl.* 2. *cap.* 1. Spiritual Lords of Parliament that are in ſuch Commiſſions, are excepted as well as the Temporal Lords.

Quorum *Juſtices.*

PRIVILEGE XXIV.

Trial by Battle. *Againſt a Peer of the Realm bringing an Appeal, the Defendant ſhall not wage Battle, much leſs againſt the King, either upon an Indictment, or Appeal.* Finch's Law, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 37. *pag.* 423. Diſcourſe of the Cuſtoms of *London*, *fol.* 13. *Stamford*'s Pleas of the Crown, *fol.* 108.

PRIVILEGE XXV.

Statutes of Bankrupts. *No Noblemen, that have Stocks in the* Eaſt-India *or* Guinea *Company, are to be taken or reputed Merchants, within any of the Statutes of Bankrupts,* 14 Car. II. *c.* 24.

PRIVILEGE XXVI.

Clergy Benefit. *Temporal Lords of the Parliament in all Caſes, where Clergy lieth at the Common Law, or is reſtrained by Statute, ſhall upon their Prayer be adjudged as a Clerk Convict, though they cannot read,* 1 E. VI. *cap.* 12. Finch's Law, *lib.* 4. *c.* 45. *pag.* 466. Syderfin, 1. *part. fol.* 277. Stamford's *Pleas of the Crown, lib.* 2. *c.* 43. *fol.* 129. *B.* Levinz, 1 *part. fol.* 180.

Note on this PRIVILEGE, taken from Judge *Dodridge*'s *Treatiſe of Nobility.*

In what Caſes Lords have the Privilege of their Clergy, where Commons have not. 1. By the aforeſaid Statute, a Lord of Parliament ſhall have the *Privilege* of his Clergy, where a common Perſon ſhall not, *viz.* For the Breaking of a Houſe by Day or Night; for Robbing any in the Highway, and in all other Caſes, excepted in the Statute of 1 *E.* VI. *c.* 12. ſaving in wilful Murther, and Poiſoning,

A Lord ſhall not have the Benefit of 1 Ed. VI. *unleſs he require it.* 2. In all other Caſes, wherein Clergy is taken away by any Statute made ſince the ſaid Act of 1 *Ed.* VI. He is in the ſame Degree, that a common and inferior Perſon is, but the Court will not give him the Benefit of this ſame Statute, if he do not require it.

A Lord of Parliament, in Caſe of Confeſſion upon Arraignment, or Abjuration, or Outlawry for Felony, he may have the Benefit of Clergy, ſince the Statute of 18 Eliz. *c.* 18. 3. If the Lord of Parliament doth confeſs his Offence upon his Arraignment, or doth abjure, or is outlawed for Felony, it ſeems that in thoſe Caſes he may have the Benefit of this Statute, *viz.* his Clergy; for that by the Statute of 18 *Eliz. cap.* 18. he, nor any other, need to make his Purgation, but ſhall be forthwith delivered out of Priſon by the Juſtices.

PRI-

PRIVILEGE XXVII.

In Treaſon, it hath been an ancient Uſe and Favour from the Kings and Queens of this Realm, to pardon the Execution of Hanging, Drawing, and Quartering of Peers, and to make Warrant for their Beheading, Lord *Bacon*'s Caſes of Treaſon, *chap.* 2. *pag.* 82; annex'd to Sir *Robert Holbourn*'s Learned Readings, *pr.* 1681. *Co. lib.* 12. *fol.* 130.

Capitis Amputatio; Decollation or Beheading.

Notes upon this PRIVILEGE.

1. When a Nobleman is attaint of Treaſon, and hath paſſed on him, the Judgment in Caſe of High Treaſon, *viz.* of Drawing, Hanging and Quartering, the Courſe is, That the *Sovereign* makes his Letters Patents directed to the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, reciting the Attainder; *Yet we minding to diſpenſe with that Manner of Execution of Judgment, in reſpect that the ſaid* A. B. *is a Nobleman, do therefore by theſe Preſents remit, and releaſe the ſaid* A. B. *of, and from ſuch Execution of Judgment, and inſtead thereof, our Pleaſure is, to have the Head of the ſaid* A. B. *cut off,* &c. *as in ſuch Caſes has been uſed, touching or concerning Noblemen: and by the ſame do require the Lord Chancellor, or,* &c. *to make two Writs under the Great Seal, one to the Lieutenant to deliver the ſaid Priſoner, and the other to the Sheriff of* London, *to receive, and execute the ſaid Priſoner,* &c. Co. Lib. fol. 130. Edit. 1677.

The Courſe what, when the Sovereign is minded to diſpenſe with, and remit the Manner of the Execution of Judgment in Treaſon, *and only to have the Head cut off.*

2. It has been ſaid, and it paſſes for a Maxim in Law, That tho' in Judgments of Treaſon the King can order the Execution to be by cutting off the Head, ſince it being a Part of the Sentence, that the Head ſhall be ſever'd from the Body, the King may in that Caſe remit all the other Parts of the Sentence except that; yet in Felonies the Sentence muſt be executed in the Way preſcribed by Law; and that if the King ſhould order Beheading inſtead of Hanging, it would be Murder in the Sheriff, and thoſe that execute it: But this ſeems to be taken up without good Grounds, and againſt clear Precedents; for in the Reign of *E.* VI. the Duke of *Somerſet*, though condemned for Felony, yet was beheaded. And in the Reign of King *Charles* the Firſt, the Lord *Audley* being likewiſe condemned for Felony, all the Judges delivered their Opinion, That the King might change the Execution from Hanging to Beheading, which was done, and was not afterwards queſtion'd. So in 32 *H.* VIII. the Lord *Hungerford* of *Heitſbury*, was attainted of Buggery, and had Judgment to be hanged by the Neck, until he was dead; and yet was beheaded on *Tower-Hill.* By which Inſtances it is evident, that it is in the King's Power to change the Execution from Hanging to Decollation, or Beheading. But we find in Hiſtory, that ſome Lords have not met with the uſual Privilege belonging to the Nobility; for *Thomas Fines*, Lord *Dacres* of the South, *in Anno* 33 *H.* VIII. was attainted of Murder,

Whether Execution ought to be always according to the Judgment.

Examples of Lords that were condemned for Felony, and yet have been Beheaded.

Examples of Lords that have been condemned for Felony, have been hang'd.

Murder, and had Judgment to be hanged by the Neck, until he was dead, and according to the Judgment was hanged at *Tyburn*; and ſo the Lord *Sturton* in 3, & 4. *Ph. & Mar.* was attainted of Murder, and had Judgment to be hang'd until dead, and according to that Sentence, he was hang'd. *Co. Inſt.* 52, & 211. Dr. *Burnet*'s Hiſtory of the Reformation, *part* 2. *lib.* 2. *pag.* 350.

PRIVILEGE XXVIII.

Appellation of Couſin.

It is a Preheminence incident to an Earl, or other of Degree above him, for our Monarchs, Kings, and Queens of England, *to ſalute him, by the Name of their Couſin, although peradventure he be of no Conſanguinity to our Sovereign Princes.* Camden's Eliz. *Anno* 1567. *pag.* 84. Engliſh Edition, 1635. Dodridge's Treatiſe of the Nobility, *pag.* 35. *Tit.* Earls. *Co. lib.* 9. *fol.* 49. *a.* The Earl of *Shrewſbury*'s Caſe.

A Note on this PRIVILEGE.

The Reaſon why Earls and other Degrees above them, have been, and are ſaluted with the Name of Couſin, by the Kings of England.

The Title of Earl was the moſt eminent, and ſupreme Dignity, before the Conqueſt, until 11 *E.* III. where the *Black Prince* was created D. of *Cornwal*; and thoſe, who of ancient Times, were created Earls, were of the *Blood Royal:* And even to this Day, the King in all his Appellations, doth ſtile them, *per Nomen Chariſſimi Conſanguinei Noſtri.*

PRIVILEGE XXIX.

The Searching of the Dwelling Houſe of a Peer, where he or his Wife are reſident.

No Dwelling Houſe of any Peer of this Realm, whilſt he, or his Wife be there reſident, ſhall be ſearched, but by immediate Warrant from the King, under his Sign Manual, or in the Preſence of the Lieutenant of the County, or one of the Deputy Lieutenants, or two Juſtices of the Peace, whereof one to be of the Quorum. 16 Car. II. *cap.* 4.

A Biſhop is a Peer of the Realm, and therefore he muſt have the ſame Privilege.

PRIVILEGE XXX.

Search for Arms.

By the 13, & 14. *Car.* II. *c.* 3. it is provided, *That no Dwelling Houſe of any Peer of this Realm, is to be ſearched for Arms, but by immediate Warrant from the King, under his Sign Manual, and in the Preſence of the Lieutenant, or one Deputy Lieutenant of the County.*

A Lord Spiritual is privileged by the ſame Proviſo, as well as a Lord Temporal.

PRI-

PRIVILEGE XXXI.

The House of a Peer, cannot, in the Case of prohibited Books, of Conventicles, &c. be entered by Officers of Justice, without a Warrant under the King's own Hand, and the Hands of six of his Privy Council, whereof four to be Peers of the Realm. 13, & 14. *Car.* II. *c.* 33. *Search for prohibited Books, Conventicles, &c.*

A Bishop, as a Peer of the Realm, ought to have the Privilege, given by that Act.

PRIVILEGE XXXII.

No Peer of this Realm, ought to be tax'd, or assessed towards the Standing Militia, but by six or more of themselves. 13, & 14. *Car.* II. *cap.* 3. *Assessment towards the standing* Militia.

The Bishops, as Lords of Parliament, ought, in the same Manner, to be tax'd, as Noblemen are.

PRIVILEGE XXXIII.

In the 21st Year of King Edward *the Third, a Proclamation issued, that no Person should bear any Arms within* London, *and the Suburbs, or in any Place, between the said City, and Palace of* Westminster, *except such of the King's People, as he shall appoint, to keep the King's Peace, and the King's Ministers, according to the Statute of* Northampton; *yet Earls and Barons may wear their Swords, except in the King's Presence, and Place of Council.* 21 *E.* III. *n.* 1. *Cotton.* *Wearing of Swords.*

PRIVILEGE XXXIV.

If the King, upon the Creation of any Peer of the Realm, Duke, Marquess, Earl, Viscount, or Baron, do (as the Manner is) by his Letters Patents, give unto such new created Nobleman, an Annuity or Rent, for the Support of his Degree, which they call Creation Money, this is so annex'd unto the Dignity, that by no Grant, Assurance, or any Manner of Alienation, it can be given from the same, but is still incident, and a Support of the same Creation. Dyer, fol. 2. *Creation Money.*

PRIVILEGE XXXV.

The Supreme Legislator of this Nation, is so tender of the Honour, Credit, Reputation, and Persons of the Nobility, that there is a Law, purposely framed, (namely, 2 *R.* II. *c.* 5.) *to obviate, withstand, or hinder all Offence, by false Reports, or Lies, whereby any Scandal to their noble Persons may arise; or Debate, and Discord, between them and* Scandalum Magnatum, *or Injury done to the Name and Honour of a Nobleman.*

and common Perſons; and becauſe it is to defend them, is is called Scandalum Magnatum. *Cowel's Interpreter* verbo, Scandalum Magnatum. *Expoſition of Terms of the Law, f.* 269. *a. and Minſhieu,* 647. An Action *de Scandalis Magnatum,* lies as well in the Caſe of a Spiritual as a Temporal Lord of Parliament.

Notes upon this PRIVILEGE.

For ſcandalous Words a Peer of the Realm may have his Action, and recover Damages.

1. Beſides the Penalties aſſign'd to be inflicted upon Tranſgreſſors, by the Acts of *Weſtm.* 1. *c.* 33. 2 *R.* II. *c.* 5, & 12. *R.* II. *c.* 11. every Nobleman and Peer of the Realm, againſt whom any ſcandalous Words, falſe News, or Lies be ſpoken, may proſecute againſt the Offender, an Action, *de Scandalis Magnatum,* and recover Damages againſt him.

Scandalous Words written to another, concerning a Peer of the Realm, whether an Action de Scandalis Magnatum *will lie.*

2. If a Man do write unto another ſcandalous Words, and Reports, touching a Nobleman, and this Letter be ſigned with his Seal, and ſubſcribed with his Name; yet upon this Letter, ſhewed upon Evidence, the Nobleman may recover Damages, in an Action, *de Scandalis Magnatum,* whereof you may ſee two Precedents in *Crompton's Juſtice of Peace,* 85.

Whether Counteſſes, Baroneſſes, &c. *can maintain an Action upon the Statute* de Scandalis Magnatum.

3. The Opinion of ſome Men hath been, that a Counteſs, Baroneſs, or other Woman of great Eſtate, cannot maintain an Action, *de Scandalis Magnatum,* becauſe the Statute of 2 *R.* II. *c.* 5. ſpeaks but of Prelates, Dukes, Earls, Barons, *&c.* by which Words they conceive the Meaning of the Makers of that Statute, was only to provide in that caſe for Lords, and not for Women of Honour. *Crompton's Juſtice of Peace,* 45. *B. Dodridge's Nobility, pag.* 167. *Tit.* Noblewomen, *Dr. Chamberlain's Angliæ Notitia, pag.* 358. 1 *part, Edit.* 15*th,* 1684.

A Diverſity taken by the Lawyers, between an Action of Scandalum Magnatum, *and a common Action.*

4. There is a Difference taken, between an Action on the Statute of *Scandalum Magnatum,* and a Common Action: The Words in one Caſe ſhall be taken *in mitiori ſenſu*; and in the other, in the worſe Senſe againſt the Speaker, that the Honour of ſuch great Perſons may be preſerved, 1 *Vent. fol.* 60. *Earl of* Peterborough's *Caſe.* 1 *Mod.* 232.

A Writ of Error lies not upon a Judgment, on an Action of the Statute of 2 Ric. II.

The Earl of *Stamford* brought an Action on the Statute of 2 *R.* II. *de Scandalis Magnatum,* and had Judgment: And the Defendant brought a Writ of Error, returnable in the Exchequer Chamber; and it was moved, that this Writ of Error ſhall not be allowed, becauſe the Statutes do not extend to this Action; and of this Opinion was all the Court; and they ſaid, that ſo it was adjudged in *Nevil,* and *South's* Caſe, and in the Lord *Sayes's* Caſe. *Syderfin,* 1 *part,* 143. *E. of* Stamford, *v. Needham.*

PRI-

PRIVILEGE XXVI.

At the Common Law, it was lawful for any Nobleman, or ignoble, to retain as many Chaplains as he would, for their Inſtruction in Religion; but by a Statute made 21 *H.* VIII. *c.* 13. *A Reſtraint was made, and a certain Number only allowed to the Nobility, and ſuch Chaplains, for their Attendance have Immunities, as by the Statute at large may appear,* viz. *Every Duke may qualify ſix Chaplains, every Marqueſs and Earl, five a Piece, every Viſcount four, and every Baron three.*

Retainer of Chaplains.

Every Archbiſhop, and Biſhop, are allowed a certain Number of Chaplains, who for Attendance have Immunities as other Chaplains have, an Archbiſhop may have ſix Chaplains; and a Biſhop four Chaplains.

Notes upon this PRIVILEGE.

1. If a Baron is to be created an Earl, *&c.* yet within the Act 21 *H.* VIII. he can have but only ſo many Chaplains as an Earl might have, for although he have divers Dignities, yet he is ſtill but the ſelf ſame Perſon, to whom the Attendance, and Service ſhould be done, *& ſic de ſimilibus. Co. lib.* 4. *fol.* 118. Acton's Caſe.

A Baron created an Earl, &c. ſhall have but only ſo many Chaplains as an Earl, &c. might have.

2. If an Earl, or Baron, retaineth a Chaplain, and before his Advancement he be attainted of Treaſon, there the Retainer is determined, and after the Attainder ſuch Chaplain cannot take a ſecond Benefice; for though his Lord be ſtill living according to Nature, yet after the Attainder, he is a dead Perſon in Law, and therefore out of the Caſe to have Privilege for himſelf, or for his Chaplains. *Expoſition of Terms of the Law, fol.* 57. *a, b. Tit.* Chapleine. *Co. lib.* 4. Acton's *Caſe.*

An Earl retaining a Chaplain and before Advancement, that Peer is Attainted *of Treaſon, the Retainer is determined.*

3. If a Baron have Three Chaplains, and every one of them have two Benefices, and after the Baron dies, yet they ſhall enjoy thoſe Benefices with Cure, which were lawfully ſettled in them before; but in this Caſe, though the ſaid Chaplain be Reſident upon one of his Benefices, yet now he is become puniſhable for being Non reſident upon the other. *Co. lib.* 4. *fol.* 119. Acton's *Caſe.*

A Baron has Three Chaplains, each of which has two Benefices, and then the Baron dies, yet they ſhall keep thoſe Benefices with Cure.

4. A Baron, or others of Degree of Honour, retains ſuch Number of Chaplains as are allowed by the Statute, and after, upon Requeſt, the ſaid Noble Perſon doth retain more Chaplains; in this Caſe they, who are firſt retained, ſhall only have Privilege; *Nam qui prior eſt tempore, potior eſt jure.* Co. lib. 4. fol. 90. *Drurie's* Caſe.

If Peers of the Realm do retain as many Chaplains as are allowed by the Statute, and then upon Requeſt retain more, they that are firſt retained ſhall only have Privilege.

A Nobleman retaining Chaplains above Number, whether upon the dying of any of his first Chaplains, the next retained shall succeed.

5. If a Nobleman do retain Chaplains (above the Number) at several Times, if any of his First Chaplains die, the next that was then retained, shall not succeed, for his first Retainers is void; and therefore in this Case, it doth behove him, to have a new Retaining after the Death of the Predecessor, and before his Advancement. *Co. lib.* 4. *fol.* 90. Drury's *Case.*

A Lord, that is to have but Three Chaplains, retains Six, and all Six presented to six several Pluralities, the Three that are first advanced, are only warranted by the Statute.

6. If a Lord, who is not allow'd but Three Chaplains, retain Six by his Letters Testimonial, and all Six are presented to six several Pluralities; the Three, who are first promoted, are warranted by the Statute, and yet the Retainer was not according to the Statute, but *in æquali jure melior est Conditio possidentis.* Dyer, 312.

A Nobleman retaining as many Chaplains as he ought, afterward upon Dislike, dischargeth some of them, he cannot retain others, by it to give Privilege to them during the Lives of them so retained.

7. If a Nobleman retain such a Number of Chaplains, as is by Law allowed him, but afterward upon some Dislike, or other Cause, do discharge some of them from their Attendance, or Service; the Lord in this Case cannot retain others, thereby to give them Privilege, during the Life of them so retained, and discharged: and the Reason thereof is, because the First Chaplains were lawfully retained, and by Virtue thereof during their Lives might purchase Dispensations, to have Advantage, according to the Statute; and therefore if the Discharge of their Service and Attendance might give a Liberty to the Lord, to retain others, by such Means the Lord might advance Chaplains without Number, by which the Statute should be defrauded, and the said Statute must be construed strictly against Non-residents and Pluralities, as a Thing prejudicial to the Service of God, and the ordinary Instruction of God's People. *Co. lib.* 4. *fol.* 90. Drury's *Case.*

If a Baroness Widow retains one or two Chaplains according to the Statute, the Chaplains, as long as the Retainer is in Force, and the Baroness continueth a Baroness, may well take two Benefices. There is a Difference taken betwixt a Noble Woman by Marriage, and one that is Noble by Descent, as to the Point of Retaining Chaplains.

8. The Wife of a Baron, during the Coverture, cannot retain a Chaplain, yet when a Baroness Widow retains One or Two, according to the *Proviso* of the Statute of 21 *H.* VIII. the Retainer is the principal Matter, and as long as the Retainer is in Force, and the Baroness continueth a Baroness, the Chaplains may well take Two Benefices, by the express Letter of the Statute; for it sufficeth, if at the Time of the Retainer the Baroness were a Widow: And herein this Rule is to be observed of a Woman, that attaineth Nobility by Marriage, as by Marriage of a Duke, Earl, or Baron, *&c.* For in such Case, if she afterward marry under the Degree of Nobility, by such Marriage with one, that is not noble, she loseth her Dignity, whereunto she had attained by Marriage, and after such later Marriage, the Power to retain a Chaplain is determined: But otherwise it is, where a Woman is noble by Descent; for there her Retainer before,

or after the Marriage with one that is not noble, ſhall be in force, and is not countermanded by the Marriage, nor determined by her taking of a Huſband under the Degree of Nobility. *Co. lib.* 4. *fol.* 118. *B.* Acton's *Caſe.*

PRIVILEGE XXXVII.

The Appellation, or Title of Lord, is due, and given to all that are Temporal Barons, and Peers of the Realm. The Biſhops have their Title of Lord, as well as the Nobility. *Title of Lord.*

Notes on this PRIVILEGE.

1. Mr. *Camden* ſays, That in the *Saxon* Gloſſary of *Alfricus*, among the Vocables, or Terms of Honour, the Word *Dominus* is tranſlated *Laford*, which we have contracted ſhort into Lord. *His* Britannia, *fol.* 168. *Tit.* Barons. *From whence the Word is derived.*

2. The Title of Lord, is given only of Courteſy to all the Sons of *Dukes* and *Marqueſſes*, and to all the eldeſt Sons of *Earls*, and to none under; but they are not ſo ſtiled in Legal Proceedings, or in the King's Courts of Juſtice. *Br. Treaſon* 2 *Co.* 3. *Inſt. f.* 30. *Title of Lord to what Perſons given but by Courteſy.*

PRIVILEGE XXXVIII.

No Demeſn, or proper Cart, for the neceſſary Uſe of our greater Nobility, as Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, Viſcounts and Barons, all Lords of Parliament, for, and about the Demeſn Lands of any of them, ought to be taken for the King's Carriage; but they are exempted by the ancient Law of England *from any ſuch Carriage.* Co. 2. Inſt. 35. Average, *or Exemption of Carts from the King's Carriage.*

The Carts of Biſhops are as well exempted from the King's Carriage, as thoſe of the Nobility Lords of Parliament are.

PRIVILEGE XXXIX.

The Baronage of England *did affirm, That their Sovereign Lord the King, ought not to marry, without their Conſent.* Buck's Hiſtory of *R.* III. *pag.* 118. *Edit.* 1647. *Marriage of the King ought to be with the Conſent of the Peers.*

PRIVILEGE XL.

It is a Privilege, appertaining to the Temporal Peerage of the Realm, to have Wine Cuſtom free, as a Tun of Wine to every Earl, and to the reſt proportionably, &c. Wine Cuſtom free.

This Exemption belongs as well to the Spiritual Lords, as to the Temporal Peers of the Realm.

PRIVILEGE XLI.

Amerciaments.

In all Caſes upon Non-ſuits or other Judgments, Earls and Barons ſhall not be amerced, but by their Peers, Lords of Parliament. And after the Manner of their Offence. Magna Charta, *c.* 14.

Notes on this PRIVILEGE.

The Amerciament of Noblemen, how reduced to a Certainty.

1. Altho' the Statute of *Magna Charta*, be in the Negative, *viz. Non niſi ſecundum modum delicti*, yet long Uſage hath reduced the Amerciament of the Nobility to a Certainty, namely, a *Duke* and *Marqueſs*, 10 *l.* an *Earl*, *Viſcount*, and *Baron*, 5*l*. *Co.* 2. *Inſt. fol.* 28. Finch's *Law*, *lib.* 3. *c.* 1. *p.* 184. Saunders *Reports*, *f.* 227. Noel, *v.* Nalſon.

Amerciaments of the Nobility, are now afferred by the Barons of the Exchequer, and not per Pares, *and why.*

2. By the ſame Statute it appeareth, that ſuch Amerciaments ſhould be afferred *per pares ſuos.* But for that it were troubleſome to aſſemble Barons, or Peers of the Realm for ſo ſmall a Matter, ſuch Amerciaments in Times paſt hath been afferred by the Barons of the Exchequer, *Bracton lib.* 3. *Tract.* 2. de Corona, *cap.* 1. *fol.* 116. *B. Co. lib.* 8. *fol.* 38. Grieſley's *Caſe.*

A Peer of the Realm, and a common Perſon joyning in an Action, if Non-ſuited, they are to be ſeverally amerced.

3. If a Nobleman, and a common Perſon, join in an Action, and become Non-ſuit, they ſhall be ſeverally amerced, *viz.* the Nobleman at 100*s.* and the common Perſon according to the Statute: * Therefore when a Nobleman is Plaintiff, it is Policy rather to diſcontinue the Action, than to be Non-ſuited, *Co.* 2. *Inſt.* 28.

PRIVILEGE XLII.

Houſe of Peers the Supreme Court of Judicature.

The Peers of the Realm, during the Time of Parliament, are the ſupreme Court of Judicature in this Nation, not only to judge, whether Matters, preſented to them by the Commons, be fit, or requiſite for the King to paſs into Laws, but alſo of Writs of Error, (as has been ſaid before,) and of Matters of Fact, either not determinable in other Courts, or elſe when, though they are determinable, yet in regard of Nicety, or ſpecial Matter, they cannot well diſcern, or judge. Mr. *Roger Coke*, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 3. *of the Municipal Laws of* England, *pag.* 121. *Edit.* 1662. The Biſhops, being Peers of the Realm, and Lords of Parliament, do rightfully claim, to be Partners in the ſupreme Judicature, with the Temporal Lords.

* A Nobleman being Plaintiff, it is better to diſcontinue the Action, than meet with a Nonſuit.

PRIVILEGE XLIII.

The Members of the Houſe of Commons are always to ſtand bare-headed, when they repair to the Lords Houſe, upon the firſt Day of the Parliament, upon Conferences, upon paſſing Bills, upon Meſſages, or upon any other Occaſion; whereas it is a Privilege of the Lords, as well Spiritual as Temporal, always to ſit covered. Mr. Prin *in his Preface to* Cotton's *Tower Records.*

The Sitting of the Lords covered.

PRIVILEGE XLIV.

Noblemen, Barons of Parliament, being ſent for by the King's Writ, or Letter, or by his Meſſenger, to come to Court, or to Parliament, or to appear before the Council Board, or to his Court of Chancery, may, both coming and returning by the King's Forreſt, or Park, kill one or two Deer. Charta de Foreſtâ, *cap.* 11. Crompton's Courts, *fol.* 167. *B. Co.* 4. *Inſt. fol.* 308. The Lords Spiritual alſo have the Liberty to hunt in the King's Foreſts or Parks, going from, or coming to the King, upon his Order.

Hunting in the King's Foreſt.

Notes upon this PRIVILEGE.

1. The Statute of *Charta de Foreſtâ, c.* 11. doth ſpeak only of Earls and Barons, but if a Duke, Marqueſs, or Viſcount, which are Lords of Parliament, be coming towards the King, by his Commandment, they alſo ought to have the Benefit of this Chapter or Article. *Crompton's Courts, fol.* 167. *B. Co.* 3. *Inſt. fol.* 308.

Though the Title and Degree of Duke, Marqueſs and Viſcount, were not when the Statute was made, yet they are within that, and do enjoy the Privilege of Hunting in Foreſts.

2. If the King of *Scots*, or Prince of *Wales*, do come to the King, by his Commandment, to do their Homage, or other ſuch Things, which a Subject ought to do, he ſhall have the Benefit of this Article. *Crompton's Courts, fol.* 167. *B.*

King of Scots, *and Prince of* Wales, *are to have Privilege of Hunting.*

3. The eldeſt Son of a Duke is an Earl, and the eldeſt Son of an Earl is a Baron, and every Son of a Duke or Marqueſs, is a Lord: But it ſeemeth, that they cannot take the Benefit of this Statute; for they are not Peers of the Realm, and Lords of Parliament. *Crompton's Courts, fol.* 167. *B.*

The Eldeſt Son of a Duke, Marqueſs, or Earl, cannot claim the Privilege.

4. If a Lady, which is married, come through the Foreſt, ſhe ſhall not take any Thing: But a Dutcheſs, or Counteſs, ſhall have the Advantage, during the Time that ſhe is unmarried. *Crompton's Courts, fol.* 167. *B.*

A Dutcheſs, or a Counteſs, whilſt unmarried, may hunt.

5. If an Earl, or Lord of *Ireland*, or of *Scotland*, come to the King, by his Commandment, he cannot have the Benefit of this Statute; for 'tis not underſtood, but to the Lords of *England*, or Prince of *Wales*, &c.

Earls, or Lords of Ireland, *or* Scotland, *enjoy not this Privilege.*

6. If

A Scire Facias *going forth againſt a Lord,* &c. *to appear before the Juſtices of Common Pleas, or Barons of Exchequer, ſuch a Peer cannot have the Benefit of the Statute.*

6. If a *Scire facias* go forth againſt a Lord, *&c.* to appear before the Juſtices of the Common Pleas, or before the Barons of the Exchequer, and he comes upon that, he ſhall not have the Benefit of this Statute, for he doth not come unto the King, and the Words be, *Veniens ad nos:* And all the Proceſs made out of the Chancery, and King's Bench, are, *Quod ſit coram Nobis.* *Manwood's Foreſt Laws, cap.* 181. *Crompton's Courts,* 167. *B.*

The Privilege of Hunting belongs to ſuch Lords who come to viſit the King upon the Death of his Predeceſſor.

7. The Lords, which come to viſit the King, after the Death of his Predeceſſor, (though not ſent for) ſhall have the Privilege of Hunting in the King's Foreſt. *Crompton, fol.* 168. *a.*

To the King's Parks and Chaces, the Privilege of Hunting doth extend.

8. The Statute aforeſaid doth give Licence to kill, or hunt in the King's Parks, and Chaces, tho' the Letter of the Statute be, *Tranſientes per Foreſtam noſtram,* paſſing by our Foreſt. *Crompton's Courts, fol.* 168. *a. Co.* 4. *Inſt. f.* 308.

PRIVILEGE XLV.

Trial per Pares *in Criminal Caſes.*

A Temporal Lord of Parliament, ſhall not be tried in Criminal Cauſes, viz. *Treaſon, Felony, or Miſpriſion of them, but by thoſe who are noble, and Peers of the Realm. Co. lib.* 12. *fol.* 95. *Counteſs of* Shrewſbury's *Caſe. Br. Trials,* 103, *&* 142. *Corone* 153, *& Jurors* 48. 10. *E.* IV. 6. *Camden's Britannia, fol.* 169. *Stamford's Pleas of Crown, lib.* 3. *c.* 1. *Co. lib.* 9. 30. *B. Caſe of the Abbot of* Strata Marcella. *Co.* 2. *Inſt. fol.* 48. Magna Charta, *cap.* 29. *Co. lib.* 12. *fol.* 92. *The Lord* Vaux's *Caſe, Finch's Laws, lib.* 4. *c.* 36. *pag.* 412. *Co.* 3. *Inſt. fol.* 89.

Notes on this PRIVILEGE.

The Antiquity of this Kind of Trial per Pares.

1. The Antiquity of this Kind of Trial, by the Opinion of ſeveral Authors, is grounded from the Statute of *Magna Charta, cap.* 29. beginning thus, *Nullus liber homo,* &c. *nec ſuper eum ibimus, nec ſuper eum mittemus, niſi per legale Judicium parium ſuorum:* But other Writers take it to be more antient, than the Time of *H.* III. as brought into the Realm with the Conqueror, being anſwerable to the *Norman* and *French* Laws, and agreeable to the Cuſtoms Feudal, where almoſt all the Controverſies, ariſing between the Sovereign and his Vaſſal, are tried *per Judicium parium ſuorum.*

A Peer ſtanding mute on Arraignment of Treaſon, Judgment is to be given as a Traitor convicted: But upon Arraignment of Felony, he may be mute.

If a Peer of the Realm, upon his Arraignment of Treaſon, do ſtand mute, or will not anſwer directly, Judgment ſhall be given againſt him, as a Traitor convicted; and he ſhall not be preſſed to Death; and thereby ſave the Forfeiture of his Lands; for Treaſon is out of the Statute of *Weſtm.* 1. *c.* 12. 15. *E.* 4. 33. *Dyer,* 205, *&* 300. *Co.* 2. *Inſt. fol.* 177. *of W.* I. *c.* 12.. But if he be arraign'd upon an Indictment of Felony, he may be mute.

3. Every

3. Every Lord of Parliament, who hath Voice in Parliament, and called thereunto by the King's Writ, ſhall not be tried by his Peers, but only ſuch as ſit there, *Ratione Nobilitatis*, as Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, Viſcounts, or Barons, and not ſuch as are Lords of Parliament, by reaſon of their Baronies, which they hold in the Right of the Church, as Archbiſhops and Biſhops; but they ſhall be tried by the Countrey, that is, by Freeholders; for that they are not of the Degree of Nobility. *Co.* 3. *Inſt. fol.* 30. *Stamford's Pleas of the Crown, lib.* 3. *c.* 62. *fol.* 153. *Crompton's Courts, fol.* 12. *B. Br. Trials* 142. *in fine.*

Temporal Lords of Parliament ſhall only be tried by their Peers.

4. Tho' Noblemen, Lords of Parliament, are not to be tried but by their own Peers, yet this only takes Place in Caſes of Treaſon, Felony, or Miſpriſion of them, at the Suit of the King, by way of Indictment: But otherwiſe it is in the Caſe of Appeals, at the Suit of the Party: And therefore, when a Peer of the Realm is arraigned in an Appeal of Felony, he ſhall not have the Privilege to be try'd by his Peers, Lords of Parliament, as he ſhould have in the Caſe of an Indictment, but he ſhall undergo the ordinary Trial of Twelve Men, Freeholders. *Stamford, lib.* 3. *c.* 1. *Br. Trials* 142, *& Jurors* 48. *in fine.* 10 *E.* IV. 6. 13. *H.* VIII. 11, 12. *Br. Tit.* Treaſon, 29, 33. *Holbourn's Reading's Lecture, pag.* 68. *pr.* 1681. *Br.* Corone 153. *Co.* 3. *Inſt.* 30. *&* 2. *Inſt.* 49.

Trial de Peer del Realm arraign ſur Indictment & appeal diverſity.

5. In the Caſe of a *Premunire*, though it be at the King's Suit, a Nobleman ſhall not be tried by his Peers, Lords of Parliament, but by a common Jury of Freeholders, *Co. lib.* 12. *fol.* 92. The Lord *Vaux*'s Caſe. *Bulſtrod*, 1. *part.* 198, 199. *Co.* 3. *Inſt.* 30.

In the Caſe of a Premunire, *a Peer ſhall not be tried by his Peers but by a Common Jury.*

6. If a Nobleman be indicted and cannot be found, Proceſs of Outlawry ſhall be awarded againſt him, *per Legem Terræ*, and ſhall be Outlaw'd, *per judicium Coronatorum*, but he ſhall be tried, *per judicium Parium ſuorum*, when he appears, and pleads not Guilty, and puts himſelf upon his Peers. *Co.* 2. *Inſt.* 42. *&* 3. *Inſt.* 31, Stamf. *Pl. Cor.* 130.

In Criminal Matters, a Nobleman may be Outlaw'd, if he cannot be found.

7. Albeit a Man be noble, and yet no Lord of Parliament of *England* (as if he be a Nobleman of *Scotland*, of *Ireland*, or of *France*, *&c.*) he muſt be tried by Knights, Eſquires, or others of the Commons. *Co. lib.* 3. *fol.* 30. *Co.* 2. *Inſt.* 48. *Co. lib.* 9. The Lord *Sanchar*'s Caſe.

A Nobleman of a foreign Country ſhall not be tried per Pares, *but by a common Jury.*

8. If the eldeſt Son of a Duke, Marqueſs, Earl, *&c.* be arraign'd for Treaſon, or Felony, he is to be tried by a common Jury. *Co.* 3. *Inſt.* 30. Crompton's *Courts, fol.* 19. *a. b.* 38 *H.* VIII. Treaſon, *Br.* 2. The Caſe of *Henry Howard*, Earl of *Surrey*, Son and Heir of the Duke of *Norfolk*.

Eldeſt Son of a Duke, Earl, &c. cannot be tried by Peers of a Realm.

9. Dutcheſſes,

The Tryal of the Wives of Lords of Parliament, muſt be in Caſes of Treaſon or Felony, as Peers of the Realm.

9. Dutcheſſes, Marchioneſſes, Counteſſes, *&c.* ſole, or married, are to be tried in Caſes of Felony, or Treaſon, as Peers of the Realm. *Stat. of* 20 H. VI. *c.* 9. *Co. lib.* 6. Counteſs of *Rutland*'s *Caſe.* Crompton's *Courts, fol.* 18. *B.* Stamford, 153. Crompton's *Courts, fol.* 33. *B.*

A Lord of Parliament of Ireland, *committing Treaſon in* Ireland, *cannot be tried in* England.

10. If a Peer, a Lord of Parliament of *Ireland*, commit Treaſon in *Ireland*, he cannot be tried in *England* by the *Statute* of 26 H. VIII. *c.* 2. *&* 5, *&* 6. E. VI. *c.* 11. For he is not a Subject of *England* but of *Ireland*, and the Trial in *Ireland* is by Parliament and not *per pares.* Dyer, 260. *B.*

In Treaſon or Felony, the Trial of a Peer muſt be by ſpecial Commiſſion before a Lord Steward.

11. In Treaſon or Felony, a Trial of a Peer of the Kingdom is to be by ſpecial Commiſſion before the Lord High Steward; and thoſe that paſs upon him, to be none but Peers: The Proceeding is with great Solemnity, the Lord Steward ſitting under a Cloth of Eſtate, with a white Rod of Juſtice in his Hand, and the Peers may confer together, but are not any Ways ſhut up: and are demanded by the Lord Steward their Voices one by one, and the Plurality of Voices carries it. Lord *Bacon*'s Caſes of Treaſon, *cap.* 2. *Vide* more of the grand Solemnity of the Trial of a Peer in *Crompton*'s *Courts, fol.* 82. *a.* 13. H. VIII. 1 Stamford, 152. 1. H. IV. 1. and in Sir *Thomas Jones*'s Reports, *f.* 51, *&* 55. *Signior Caſe.*

A Lord of Parliament muſt plead his Pardon in the King's Bench.

12. If a Nobleman be indicted in the *King's Bench*, or, the Indictment removed thither, he may plead his Pardon there before the Judges of the *King's Bench*, and they have Power to allow it; but he cannot confeſs the Indictment, or plead *Not Guilty* before thoſe Judges, but before the Lord Steward. *Rolls* 1. *part.* 297. *Roy, v. Signior Norris. Co.* 2. *Inſt. fol.* 49.

Upon a Peer's pleading Not Guilty, he cannot wave his Plea, and claim his Privilege.

13. If a Peer of the Realm plead *Not Guilty*, to an Indictment, he ſhall not wave his Plea, and claim his Privilege, to be tried by his Peers. *Daliſon's Reports, fol.* 16.

A ſpecial Verdict muſt not be allowed on a Peer's Trial.

14. No ſpecial Verdict can be given in a Trial *per Pares.* Hutton's *Reports*, 116. The Lord *Audley*'s Caſe.

Upon the Arraignment of a Peer, the Judges are covered.

15. At the Arraignment of the Lord *Audley*, the Judges Aſſiſtant ſat with their Heads covered, as the ancient Uſe hath been. *Hutton's Reports*, 116, 117. Lord *Audley*'s Caſe.

16. At

16. At the Trial of the Earl of *Strafford* in Parliament Time, the Lords of the Upper Houſe ſate Covered, the Members of the Lower Uncovered. *Nalſon's Collection*, 2 *Vol. fol.* 37.

At a Peer's Trial in Parliament, the Lords ſit covered, and the Commons not ſo.

17. At the Entrance of the Lieutenant of the Tower, with his Priſoner the Lord *Strafford*, the Porter of the Hall, whoſe Office it is, enquired of Mr. *Maxwell*, *Whether the Ax ſhould be carried before him, or no?* Who anſwered, *That the King had expreſly forbidden it:* Nor was it ever the Cuſtom to uſe that Ceremony, but only when the Party accuſed was to be put upon his Jury. Dr. *Nalſon's Collection*, 2. *Vol. fol.* 37.

The Ax not to be carried before the Priſoner a Peer, but only when put upon his Jury.

18. *Waterhouſe*, Clerk of the Crown, ſaid, that upon the Arraignment of the Lord *Dacres* of the North, in the Time of *Hen.* VIII. all the Juſtices of *England* reſolved three Points:

1. *That no certain Number of Peers is requiſite, if they be above Twelve, but leſs than Twelve they may not be.*

No certain Number requiſite if above Twelve.

2. *If the Peers are Twelve, and they differ in their Verdict; there ought to be Twelve at leaſt to agree to find the Lord guilty, or otherwiſe he ſhall not be guilty, altho' that the greater Number of the Peers empannel'd find him guilty.*

Twelve at leaſt to agree in finding a Peer Guilty.

3. *That the Lord Steward cannot adjourn his Commiſſion, but is to diſſolve it; yet a Precedent there was, in the Time of* H. VIII. *that he adjourn'd his Commiſſion to the next Day only, and then diſſolv'd it.* Moor's *Reports*, 622. *m.* 844. *Vide Co.* 3. *Inſt.* 31.

Whether the Lord Steward hac vice *may adjourn his Commiſſion.*

19. In every Caſe of Treaſon or Felony newly made by Statute Law, the Lords of Parliament ſhall have their Trials by their Peers, notwithſtanding that the Statute provides not for it by expreſs Words, ſo that the *Proviſo* inſerted for their Trials in ſuch Caſes is ſaid by *Stamford* to be needleſs, *Stamford*, 153. and the Trial *per pares* is given by *Magna Charta*, *cap.* 29. *Idem* 152. Crompton's *Courts*, *fol.* 19. *B.* And Sir *Edward Coke* tells us, That if he be Nobleman, and Lord of Parliament, he ſhall be tried by his Peers, albeit there be no Proviſion for it; for of Common Right, in caſe of Treaſon, Felony, and Miſpriſion of Treaſon or Felony, he is to be tried by his Peers. His Comment on 1 *Jac. c.* 11. againſt Poligamy. But maugre what the prementioned Lawyers have written, the Reader may find a *Proviſo* inſerted in many Acts of Parliament (by our Legiſlators, for the ſurer Preſervation, and Continuance of this Privilege) namely; 33 H. VIII. *c.* 12, & 23. 35 *H.* VIII. *c.* 2. 1 *E.* VI. *c.* 12. 13 *Eliz. c.* 2. 1 *Eliz. c.* 1, & 2. 5 *Eliz. c.* 1. 23 *Eliz. c.* 1. 18 *Eliz. c.* 1. 23 *Eliz.* 1. 1 *Jac.* I. *c.* 1. & 12. 3 *Jac.* I. *c.* 4. 13 *Car.*

In all Caſes of Treaſon or Felony, made de novo, *by Statute, a Lord is to have his Trial* per Pares, *though no Proviſion be in the Statute.* *Co.* 3. *Inſt.* 89.

Notwithſtanding Proviſo's *have been inſerted.*

Car. II. *c.* 1. 13 *Car.* II. *c.* 6. 12 *Car.* II. *c.* 9. 13 *Car.* II. *c.* 18. 16 *Car.* II. *c.* 4.

How many Ways a Peer in Criminal Matters may be proceeded againſt.

20. It was reſolved by the Judges in the Parliament holden the 2 *Car.* I. upon Conference concerning the Lord *Digby*, That when any Peer ſhall be proceeded againſt for Treaſon, that ought to be by Indictment, and that being done, then the King is to appoint a Peer to be Steward for the Time, and to proceed to arraign him, or otherwiſe to tranſmit this Indictment by *Certiorari*, to the Parliament, and there to proceed, or otherwiſe to prefer a Bill in the Parliament, which ought to be paſſed by both Houſes, and it is an Attainder by Parliament, and ſo it was done, 5 *R.* II. 54. Hutton's *Reports*, 131. Lord *Digby*'s Caſe.

The Earl of Clarendon's *Words, touching the grand Privilege of the Lords, of being tried, in Capital Caſes, by their Peers.*

21. And laſt Note, relating to the Privilege of *Trial per Pares*, ſhall be borrowed of that moſt Noble Peer, and Lord of Parliament, the late Earl of *Clarendon*; who, in his Survey of the *Leviathan*, expreſſeth himſelf in theſe very Words: "I am glad (ſays his Lordſhip) "that Mr. *Hobbes* is pleaſed with any Part of the Adminiſtration of "Juſtice in his own Country; and he might have obſerved that great "Privilege of the Lords in *England*, of being tried in all Capital "Crimes by their Peers, by Men of their own Quality and Condi-"tion, to be a greater Privilege than the Nobility of any Nation in "*Europe* enjoy. The Grandees of *Spain*, and the Dukes and Peers, "and Mareſchals of *France*, in thoſe Tranſgreſſions undergo the ſame "Forms of Juſtice, and are tried by the ſame Judges, as the meaneſt "Peaſant is, for the like or the ſame Crime: And though he calls "it, and ſays, it hath ever been acknowledged as a Privilege of Fa-"vour, yet they look upon it as a Privilege of Right, of which they "cannot be deprived by the Word, and Authority of the King. "And it may be, he would be hardly able to bring this Privilege "under his Original Inſtitution of Government; ſince probably Men "being then all equal, they would never have conſented to ſuch a "Difference, rather than Equality in the Form of Juſtice that was "to be exerciſed towards them; and he values it too lightly, "who thinks it can be taken from them, by any Arbitrary Power. His *Survey of the Leviathan*, *cap.* 23. *pag.* 104, & 105. *Edit.* 1676. Oxon.

PRIVILEGE XLVI. and Laſt.

Verdict given upon Honour only.

In Trial of a Peer, the Lords of Parliament ſhall not ſwear, but they give their Judgment, Super Fidem, & Ligeantiam Domino Regi debitam; *ſo that their Faith and Allegiance ſtands in Equipage with an Oath, and in the Caſe of a common Peer on in Trial of Life.* Co. lib. 12. 95. *Counteſs of* Shrewſbury's *Caſe*, Camden's *Britannia*, *p.* 169. *Engl. Edit.* 1610. *Co.* 2. *Inſt.* 49, & 3. *Inſt.* 29. Crompton's *Courts*, *fol.* 13. *a.* 1 H. IV. 1. Stamford 152. Blount verbo *Tryal.*

Notes

Notes upon this PRIVILEGE.

1. The Reaſon, (ſaith a very learned Lawyer) why Peers of the Realm, are to proceed without Corporal Oath, is, becauſe the Law ſuppoſeth them of ſuch Integrity, as they will do for Juſtice, that others are compell'd to by their Oaths. *Lord* Coventry *in his Speech to the Peers, at the Arraignment of* Mervin *Lord* Audley, *Earl of* Caſtlehaven.

The Reaſons why Lords of Parliament ſhall give their Verdict not upon Oath, but upon Honour.

H. L. *Hiſtory of* Charles I. *pag.* 120.

2. Concerning this Privilege of giving a Verdict upon Honour, and not upon Oath, another Lawyer ſpeaks thus; "You ſee the great "Regard the Law hath to the Word of a Peer of the Realm, when "he ſpeaketh upon his Honour; even in a Caſe concerning the Life "of Man, and that of a Peer; and therefore ought they much more "to keep their Words, and Promiſes in ſmaller Matters, when they "engage their Honour for a faſt Cauſe, or Conſideration." *Crompton's Courts, fol.* 13. *a.*

What great Regard the Law has to a Peer's Word.

3. Though upon the Trial of a Peer, the Lords of Parliament ſhall not ſwear, yet it hath been adjudged, that they muſt anſwer upon Oath, and not upon Honour only, in all Courts as Defendants, as it appears in the Earl of *Lincoln*'s Caſe; wherein it was moved, whereas Sir *Henry Fines*, Knight, had exhibited his Bill in the Star-Chamber, againſt the Earl of *Lincoln*, for divers Riots and Miſdemeanors, and the Earl of *Lincoln* had taken Commiſſion forth, to put in his Anſwer upon Oath in the Country, and he offered before them his Anſwer upon his Honour, but would not put it in upon his Oath, becauſe he was a Peer of the Realm; which Matter being now reported by the Commiſſioners, it was now moved by the King's Sollicitor, to have the Reſolution of the Judges: And it was held by all the Juſtices of both Benches, and all the Barons of the Exchequer (in the Preſence of a very great Aſſembly, of the Lords, and divers others of the Privy Council in the Star-Chamber?) that the Lords, in Caſes Criminal, (eſpecially where the King is Party) ought to put in their Anſwer upon Oath; and in all Caſes, where they are to be Witneſſes betwixt Party and Party, they ought to be ſworn: The Lord Keeper ſaid, *Quod in Judicio, non creditur niſi Juratis*, and that he cauſed Precedents to be ſearched and had found divers, ſince the firſt of Queen *Eliz.* wherein Peers of the Realm being impleaded in Chancery, or Star-Chamber, or Court of Wards, have been always ſworn: And he ſaid, when a Peer affirms any Thing, which is not true, upon his Honour, there is not any Remedy; but if he affirms that which is falſe, upon his Oath, there is Remedy, by the Statute of 5 *Eliz. c.* 9. *againſt Perjury*; wherefore they all reſolv'd, that the Earl of *Lincoln* ought to be ſworn; and of the ſame Opinion were all the Lords and Counſellors, which they delivered *Seriatim*, *nullo Contradicente*, becauſe it is

A Peer of the Realm ſhall anſwer in the Star-Chamber upon Oath.

Juramentum Purgationis, and not *Promiſſionis:* And Princes are ſworn to all their Leagues and Confederacies, which is called *Juramentum Confirmationis*, neither is it any Diminution to the ſaid Earl's Honour, to be ſworn about that, which he would not, ſhould be put upon his Honour. *Cro. Car.* 64. *Hutton's Reports*, 87, *and* Sir *William Jones's Reports*, 152. *The Earl of* Lincoln's *Caſe in the Star-Chamber.* Since this Reſolution of all the Juſtices, which was given, *Anno* 2 *Car.* 1626. the Lords, *Anno* 1628. in their Houſe, did declare, *That the Nobility of this Kingdom, and Lords of the Houſe of Parliament, are, of antient Right, to anſwer in all Cauſes as Defendants, upon Proteſtation of Honour only, and not upon the Common Oath.* And in the Year 1640, the *Earl-Marſhall* reports the Opinion of the Committee, to whom the Conſideration of the Proteſtation of the Peers of this Realm upon *Honour*, was referred, upon ſome Doubts that had ariſen, in a former Debate of the Houſe of Peers, upon a former Order to that Purpoſe, as follows:

Sir William Jones's *Reports*, 154. *E. of* Lincoln *his Caſe.*

Thurſday, Dec. 31. 1640. *Order about Peers making Proteſtation upon Honour, not upon Oath.*

> Our Opinions are clear, and that, upon hearing divers learned Men, of both Laws, ſpeak, *That our Anſwers upon Honour only, can be no Impediment to the Common Juſtice of the Kingdom, but a juſt Preſervation of our ancient Liberties; and therefore we offer it as our unanimous Opinions, that our former Order may ſtand in full Force, which is entred in* hæc Verba.

1. *Vol. of Dr.* Nalſon's *Collection*, pag. 703.

> " Ordered upon the Queſtion, *Nemine Contradicente*, that the No-
> " bility of this Kingdom, and Lords of the Upper Houſe of Parlia-
> " liament, are, of Antient Right, to anſwer in all Courts, as De-
> " fendants, upon Proteſtation of Honour only, and not upon the com-
> " mon Oath: And that the ſaid Order, and this Explanation, doth
> " extend to all Anſwers, and Examinations upon Interrogatories in
> " all Cauſes, as well Criminal as Civil, and in all Courts and Com-
> " miſſions whatſoever; and alſo the Perſons of the *Widows Dowagers*
> " of the Temporal Peers of this Land; and that the Lord Keeper
> " of the Great Seal of *England*, for the Time being, or the Speaker of
> " the Lords Houſe for the Time being, do forthwith give Notice of
> " it, together with this Explanation, to all the Courts of Juſtice, and
> " the Judges, Clerks and Regiſters of them, by cauſing our Former
> " Order, with this Explanation, to be Recorded in all Courts, and
> " that all Orders, Conſtitutions or Cuſtoms, entered or practiſed to
> " the contrary whereſoever, be Aboliſhed, and declared Void; and
> " the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, for the Time being, or the
> " Commiſſioners for the Great Seal, out of Parliament Time, ſhall
> " ſee all Practices to the contrary hereafter to be puniſhed, with
> " exemplary Severity, to deter others from the like Attempts.

I ſhall

I ſhall cloſe all, with what Dr. *Chamberlain* has ſaid, touching the Lords Proteſtation of Honour, in all Judicial Proceedings: His Words are theſe,

Though neither Civil Law, nor Common Law, allow any other Teſtimony to be Valid, but what is given upon Oath; yet the Teſtimony of a Peer of England, *given in, upon his Honour, without any Oath, is eſteemed Valid: And they were wont to be Examined upon their Allegiance, and the Loyalty of their Chivalry, and to put in their Anſwer to a Bill,* ſuper Honorem, * *without taking an Oath: Though of Later Times, that Privilege, by the Negligence of ſome Lords, hath been infringed ſometimes.* His Tract, Intituled, *Angliæ Notitia, or, The Preſent State of* England, 1. *part, pag.* 301, & 302. *Edit.* 15th. *pr. An.* 1684.

A POSTSCRIPT, *in Defence of the Rights and Privileges, of the Spiritual Lords of Parliament.*

MAſter *Camden* (in his *Britannia, pag.* 107. *Engl. Edit.* 1670.) telleth us, *that unto the Biſhops, by Right and Cuſtom it appertaineth, as to Peers of the Kingdom, to be with the reſt of the Peers perſonally preſent at all Parliaments whatſoever, there to conſult, to handle, to ordain, decree, and determine, in regard of the Baronies, which they hold of the King*; and that ever ſince the Conqueſt, they have enjoyed all the Immunities, that the Barons of the Kingdom did, *ſave only they were not to be judged by their Peers*; Of which *Salvo*, or Exception, hear what another Author, Dr *Chamberlain*, ſaith in his *Preſent State of* England:

" As for the common Aſſertion (ſays he) *That no Lords of Parliament are* " *to be tried by their Peers, but ſuch as ſit there, Ratione Nobilitatis*; it is " not only falſe, but frivolous in the Judgment of very many judicious " Men, and indeed, how abſurd and unreaſonable muſt it needs be, (let all " Men judge) that an Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who is acknowledged to be " *primus par Regni*, ſhould be tried by a common Jury of Freeholders, " when as the meaneſt Lay-baron, though created but yeſterday, may not " be tried by any under Barons.

* If this Privilege of anſwering Bills, *ſuper Honorem tantùm*, doth belong to Noblemen, as Peers and Lords of Parliament, why ſhould it not be incident to the Biſhops, who are both Peers of the Realm, and Lords of Parliament.

The

The MITRE *and the* CROWN; *or, a real Diſtinction between Them. In a Letter to a Reverend Member of the* CONVOCATION. 1711.

By Dr. ATTERBURY.

Reverend Sir,

THE Queſtion is not, Whether the *Supreme Civil Magiſtrate* has Political Power and the high Honour to be *(a) Protector* and *Defender* of the Body of Chriſt, the *Church*; within his Dominions.

Nor, Whether he be *utriuſque Tabulæ Cuſtos politicus*, *(b)* Keeper of both Tables of the Law, and ſo oblig'd *Politically* to take care of religious Perſons and Affairs, and to procure Eccleſiaſtical Perſons to execute Cenſures?

Nor, *(c)* Whether he has an accumulative Civil Power to call *Synods* or *Convocations* of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, to conſult, and deciſively to conclude about *purely Spiritual* Church-Matters?

Nor, Whether he has a Judgment of Diſcretion in ſuch Matters, in reference to his own Approbation, *ſubſequently* to the Judgment and Decrees of the conſtituted Church?

Nor, Whether he has Power to ratify within his own Dominions, the Decrees of Synods or Convocations by his Civil Sanction?

Nor, Whether he has Power to deny his Civil Ratification of them, tho' very good in themſelves?

Nor, Whether the Liberty of exerciſing the Epiſcopal and Sacerdotal Functions, in a *peaceable undiſturb'd Manner*, be from him?

Nor, Whether Foreign Juriſdictions and Appeals claim'd by Popes, or that may be afterwards unjuſtly claim'd by any other Foreigners, be by the Supreme Civil Magiſtrate juſtly and neceſſarily barr'd and excluded?

Nor, Whether our Kings and Queens, as ſuch, be *Supreme over all Perſons Eccleſiaſtical*, as well as Civil in their own Dominions; *in all Temporal and Civil Matters?*

Nor, Whether the Regal Supremacy extend itſelf not only to all Perſons, but alſo to *all Cauſes*, as well *Eccleſiaſtical*, as Temporal, *in a purely Civil Political Way?*

Nor, Whether it be unlawful for Subjects, of what Order, Rank or Degree ſoever, Clergy or Laity, to take Arms *(d) upon any Pretence whatſoever*, againſt their Sovereign King or Queen? *All theſe Things*, Sir, *are heartily and readily granted?*

But, *Sir*, the Queſtion, I humbly conceive, is, Whether the *Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*, that is, the *Key of Doctrine*, by which God's Mercies and

(a) 2 *Chron.* xxix. 4—11.
(b) *Iſa.* xlix. 23.
(c) *Deut.* xvii. 18, 19, 20. 1 *Tim.* ii. 2.
(d) 14 Car. II.

Judgments

Judgments are *authoritatively* declar'd and denounc'd; and the *Key of Diſcipline*, by which all Perſons are *authoritatively* and miniſterially either admitted to, or rejected from the Privileges of Church-Communion, and their Sins are bound or loos'd: *Or, in other Words*, Whether the Key of *Order*, and the Key of *Juriſdiction*, or any one Act or Branch of the ſame, was originally given by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt to the Supreme Civil Magiſtrate, *as ſuch*, or, as he is a Civil Magiſtrate? Or, did Chriſt originally give theſe Keys to his *Apoſtles* and their *Succeſſors?*

Or thus, Whether the Supreme Civil Magiſtrate, *as ſuch*, is inveſted with a Power from Jeſus Chriſt, *juridically* to remit or retain Sins, *authoritatively* to diſpenſe the Word, Sacraments, or Cenſures of the Church, or *any one of them?* Whether Chriſt has inſtall'd him in the Stewardly Office of bearing the *Keys*, which conſiſts in governing the Spiritual Houſhold by Diſcipline, as well as feeding the ſame by Doctrine? Or whether the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors were inſtall'd in this Office, and inveſted with this Power?

This, *Sir*, I humbly conceive, is the Caſe, the *Root of the Matter*; and if it appear, that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt never conferr'd this Power, nor *any one* Branch of it upon the ſupreme Civil Magiſtrate, *as ſuch*; but on the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors; I cannot by any Scriptural Direction, nor otherwiſe ſee, how ſuch a *Civil Magiſtrate* has this Eccleſiaſtical Power *virtually*, that is, how he can convey this Power or any *Branch* of it, to others: For, *Nemo dat quod non habet*, no Perſon can transfer that Power to another, to which he has no Right himſelf: How can one give, what he in no reſpect has? Nor can I apprehend, with Submiſſion to better Judgments, that *Biſhops* and *Prieſts*, in diſpenſing Church Cenſures, act in the Name and by the Authority of the *Civil Magiſtrate*, as *his Delegates*; but in the Name of, and immediate Subjection to, and Dependence upon Jeſus Chriſt. For,

If we view the *Holy Scriptures*, it clearly appears, that the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, or the Power of governing and feeding his Church, was expreſly given not to Civil Magiſtrates, but to the Apoſtles: (e) *as my Father hath ſent me*, ſays Chriſt, *even ſo ſend I you.* [my Apoſtles] *And when he ſaid this, he breath'd upon them* [the Apoſtles] *and ſaith unto them, receive ye the* Holy Ghoſt. *Whoſeſoever Sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whoſeſoever Sins ye retain, they are retain'd.* And Chriſt ſpeaking unto St. *Peter*, confeſſing in the Name of the reſt, ſays, (f) *I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatſoever thou ſhalt bind on Earth, ſhall be bound in Heaven: Whatſoever thou ſhalt looſe on Earth, ſhall be looſed in Heaven.* And again, (g) *Jeſus came and ſpake unto them, ſaying, All Power is given unto me in Heaven and in Earth; go ye therefore, and* make Diſciples of *all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt: Teaching them to obſerve all Things whatſoever I have commanded you: And lo, I am with you alway, even unto the End of the World.* Amen. Let the *Kings* of the Earth produce ſuch a Commiſſion, if they can?

(e) St. *John* xx. 21, 22, 23.
(f) St. *Matt.* xvi. 29.
(g) St. *Matth.* xxviii. 18, 19, 20. Μαθητεύσατε, &c.

Biſhops

Biſhops and *Prieſts* are in Holy Scripture call'd *(h)* Watchmen over Souls, *(i)* Overſeers or Inſpectors of the Flock, *(k)* Paſtors or Shepherds, *(l)* Ambaſſadors in Chriſt's Stead, *(m)* Spiritual Fathers in Chriſt: Which Eccleſiaſtick Characters the Scriptures apply not to Kings or Queens. Nor does St. *Paul* in his Epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, which contain a Form of Church Diſcipline, take any Notice of the Qualifications of a *King* or *Queen*, tho' he expreſſes the Qualifications of *Biſhops* and *Deacons*; and tho' he takes Occaſion to ſpeak of Principalities and Powers, and to require all due Subjection to them: And yet if *Civil Magiſtrates* had been deſign'd for firſt Subjects, and Fountains of Church-Power on Earth, and *Biſhops* and *Prieſts* but their Delegates, executing or ſuſpending Church Cenſures at the *Civil Magiſtrate's* Pleaſure, then would the Qualifications of Chriſtian *Kings* and *Queens* have been mentioned, rather than the Qualifications of *Biſhops*; and the Epiſtles and the Precepts therein would have been directed to *Emperors* and *Kings* when they became Chriſtian, rather than to *Timothy* and *Titus:* But St. *Paul* knew his Lord's Mind better, nor does he ever mention Magiſtrates, *as ſuch*, in the Roll of *(n)* Eccleſiaſtical Officers. Let them ſhew it who can?

But, *Sir*, beſides the Foundation which our preſent Argument has in the Holy Scriptures, it alſo ſhews itſelf evidently by the *Light of Reaſon*, and of *uncontroverted Hiſtory*. The aboveſaid Power of the Keys, as already explain'd, was not, could not be given to the Supreme Civil Magiſtrate, *quatenus*, or as he is the Civil Magiſtrate, becauſe then it would follow, that Chriſt had given ſuch Power to all Magiſtrates, whether Heathen or Chriſtian: For *a quatenus ad omne valet ſequela.* If a Man, *quatenus*, or as he is a Man, be a rational Creature; it inconteſtably follows, that *every Man* is a rational Creature: So if the Civil Magiſtrate, *quatenus*, or as he is a Civil Magiſtrate, was originally inveſted by Jeſus Chriſt with the Power of the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, then it would evidently follow, that every Civil Magiſtrate was Originally veſted with the ſame Power; but that's irrational and abſurd: For, 1*ſt*, As to *Heathen Magiſtrates*, how could they be Chriſtian Church-Governors, who were not, nor would be Church-Members, but profeſs'd Perſecutors of the Church? And 2*dly*, As to *Chriſtian Civil Magiſtrates*, there were none in our Saviour's Time, and a Non-entity or Nothing could have no Office nor Power beſtow'd upon it. Yea the Church for the firſt three Hundred Years and upwards, as is evident from undoubted Hiſtory, was without Chriſtian Supreme Civil Magiſtrates, and when without them, and before its Incorporation with the State, was yet perfect *in ſuo genere*, both *in eſſe & operari*; in Being, and in all Church Operations; was exhorted, comforted, cenſur'd, eſtabliſh'd in the Faith, encreas'd in Numbers, govern'd and fed by, and ſpiritually flouriſh'd under her genuine Eccleſiaſtic Officers, the Biſhops, the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles, whom Chriſt had veſted with the Power of the Keys: From all which, *Sir*, it appears,

(*h*) *Heb.* xiii. 17.
(*i*) *Acts* xx. 28.
(*k*) *Epheſ.* iv. 11.
(*l*) 2 *Cor.* v. 20.
(*m*) 1 *Theſſ.* ii. 11. 1 *Cor.* iv. 15.
(*n*) *Eph.* iv. 10, 11, 12. 1 *Cor.* xii. 28, *&c. Rom.* xii. 6, 7, 8.

that

that the Civil Magiſtrate, *as ſuch*, is not ſo entruſted with the Government of the Church, as that Biſhops and Prieſts in diſcharging their *purely Spiritual* Functions, are his Vicegerents or Delegates, and that there is a real Diſtinction between the *Mitre* and the *Crown*, the *Biſhop* and the *King*, for *thoſe Things or Perſons are really diſtinct, of which, one can exiſt without the other.*

If, *Sir*, it be ſuggeſted, that our Lord and Saviour intended the *Emperors*, *Kiugs* and *Queens* of the Earth, *when they became Chriſtian*, ſhould have the Power of the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, the Power of the Spiritual Cenſures of the Church, and that the *Biſhops* and *Prieſts* in their *purely Spiritual* Acts, Cenſures, *&c.* ſhould be dependent upon them, as *their Proxies* or Subſtitutes, acting or not acting at their Command.

I proteſt, *Sir*, I cannot have any ſatisfactory View of ſuch a Notion, by any Light either of *Holy Scripture*, of *ſound Reaſon*, or of *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*: And unleſs it can be plainly ſhewn, when, and wherein Chriſt voided the *Church's Charter*, reſum'd the Eccleſiaſtic Powers, originally granted to his *Apoſtles* and *their Succeſſors*; and transferr'd them upon the *Emperors*, *Kings*, and *Queens* of the Earth; I ſhall find myſelf oblig'd to think quite the *Reverſe* to the foreſaid Suggeſtion.

In revolving the Scriptures, I can ſee no Precepts, Directions, nor Exhortations relating to a *Chriſtian King*'s either having or exerciſing ſuch ſpiritual Church Power, by executing ſpiritual Cenſures, either *Perſonally*, or by *Vicegerents*. Spiritual Government is neceſſary for the Church, as it is a Spiritual Society: Without a Governor, there can be no Government: 'Tis acknowledg'd that the *King* or *Queen* is the *Supreme Civil Governor* of the Church as well as of the State; but if he be alſo the rightful Spiritual Church-Governor, 'tis ſtrange that the Scriptures are ſo profoundly ſilent about ſuch an Eſſential: And indeed ſuch as maintain the Chriſtian King to be *de jure* the Spiritual Governor of the Church, Perſonally or by Proxy; ſeem to put a mighty Slur upon the Perfection of the Scriptures, for theſe take no Notice of him *as ſuch*: But on the contrary, ever ſince God ſeparated the Sacerdotal and Regal Offices, the Holy Scriptures do, in all Tranſactions between God and Man in ſacred Affairs, always mention *Biſhops*, *Preſbyters*, and *Deacons*, as the Tranſactors, Mediators and Managers; ſpeaking to, and acting with the People, in God's Name, and with God, in the Name of the People. In theſe ſacred Repoſitories of Truth, we find, that the Chriſtian *Biſhops* and *Preſbyters*, or *Prieſts*, are call'd Chriſt's (*o*) Ambaſſadors and Miniſters, and conſequently not the King's; Chriſt's (*p*) Gifts to the Church, and not the King's, ordain'd (*q*) by Apoſtles, Vicegerents to God the Son; not by Kings, Vicegerents to God the Father; nor by Commiſſion from them: They (*r*) baptize in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt, and not in the King's; they (*s*) excommunicate in Chriſt's Name, not in the King's: *Titus*, (*t*) and not the Chriſtian King, is bid to reject a Man that is an Heretick. Hence 'tis evident from the ſacred

(*o*) 2 *Cor.* v. 20. 1 *Cor.* iv. 1. 2.
(*p*) *Eph.* iv. 8, 10, 11.
(*q*) *Acts* vi. 3, 4. Ch. xiv. 23. Ch. xx. 28.
(*r*) *Matth.* xxviii. 18, 19.
(*s*) 1 *Cor.* v. 4, 5.
(*t*) *Tit.* iii. 10.

Writings, that not Chriſtian Kings, *as ſuch*, but Chriſtian Biſhops, and Prieſts *as ſuch*, have, and are without Let or Impediment to execute the Power of the Keys, the Power of ſpiritual Cenſures.

If the general Notices of *Reaſon* be conſulted upon this Point, it is, *Sir*, I humbly conceive, a clear Maxim of Reaſon, which univerſally obtains among all well ordered Societies, that *different Faculties, Offices and Callings ſhould not be mix'd and confounded.* Though one and the ſame Perſon may be ſkill'd in various Affairs, yet one Office, one Calling is not *Formally* another: Nor is a Maſter in one Faculty or Art, *as ſuch*, to ſet himſelf up as Judge in another. The ableſt Phyſician, as ſuch, is no competent Judge of Controverſies between Lawyers, Muſicians or Painters, as ſuch. *Fabri fabrilia tractent.* One ſhould not thruſt his Sickle into another's Field.

The *King* or *Queen* has ſupreme irreſiſtible Power over Phyſicians, Lawyers, Muſicians, Painters, and all other Perſons in his or her Dominions, and has Power to puniſh them for Male Practice, or Breach of Promiſe and Compact: But is he, as King, *formally* a Phyſician, or Painter? Or is his Judgment *as King*, the Supreme Rule in ſuch Caſes? Don't all allow, that the Faculty or *Chiefs* of the incorporated Company, are the proper Judges in their reſpective Sciences and Arts?

So the *King* or *Queen* has ſupreme irreſiſtible Power over the Perſons of all Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, in his or her Dominions: But is he, as King, *formally* a Biſhop, Prieſt, or Deacon? Or is his Judgment, *as King*, to be the ſupreme Standard and Rule to determine them in their *purely ſpiritual* Acts, Cenſures, *&c.*

If it be ſaid, that the *King* or *Queen*, as a Chriſtian, has an Intereſt in Church-Faith and Practice, and therefore ſhould be a deciſive Judge in ſuch Matters as Spiritual Cenſures, *&c.* 'Tis eaſily reply'd, that he is a Judge with reſpect to his own private Opinion, which if it approve not the Epiſcopal Spiritual Cenſure, he leaves it to operate in a *purely Spiritual Way*, and aſſiſts it not with his ſecular Power: But if any Chriſtian King ſhould put in Claim for being a Spiritual Judge Paramount, then muſt he claim this Right, either 1. as he is a Chriſtian, or 2. as it is a *Jure Divino* Right inherent in the Crown. If he claims it, *as a Chriſtian*, then, by the ſame Argument, *all Chriſtians* muſt be ſuch publick Judges; for each of them has an Intereſt in Church Faith and Practice. But this is too groſs to be admitted. If he claims it as being a *Jure Divino Right inherent in the Crown*, then, by the ſame Argument *(for Dominion is not founded in Grace)* it will follow, that *all Popiſh Emperors* and *Kings*, who have had, or ſtill have a Right to their Crowns, likewiſe had, and have a *Jure Divino* Right to be ſpiritual Judges Paramount, to manage Cenſures, and make what Laws they think fit for the Church, as well as the State: Or otherwiſe, no Chriſtian Prince whoſoever can form any juſt Pretence of being ſuch a ſpiritual Judge, *jure Coronæ*, by Right of his Crown.

But ſuch a Notion cannot, ought not to be granted: Had King *James* II. whom all of us reckon'd our rightful Prince before the Revolution, had he, I ſay, the Power of the Keys? Had he a Right to be ſupreme Judge in Spirituals,

Spirituals, and to over-rule the Biſhops in the Management of *purely* Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, *Jure Coronæ*, by Right of his Crown? Will Proteſtants affirm, that a Popiſh Prince had Power to make what Conſtitutions he thought fit for the Church of *England?* Or that any Proteſtant Prince has ſuch Power? *(u)* "Were this ſingle Doctrine true, ſays the Reverend and Learned Dr. *Francis Atterbury*, *Prolocutor of the preſent Convocation*, viz. "That the Prince has but Power to alter the Reſolutions of a Convocation "of the Clergy according to his *own Liking*, before he gives his Authority to "them —— then, the late King [*James*] might have gone a great way to-"wards ſubverting our Religion, without breaking in upon the Conſtitution, "or doing any thing illegal. He might have aſſembled the Clergy, and "commmanded their Judgment upon ſuch and ſuch Points; and then al-"ter'd their Reſolutions to his *own Liking*; and ſo have ſet up rank Popery "under the Countenance of a Proteſtant Convocation. Such, *Sir*, is the Conſequence of this Doctrine; and, indeed, I am humbly of Opinion, that if ſuch Notions of the Spiritual Power of Princes, *by Right of their Civil Sovereignty*, had not been inſtill'd into that unfortunate King, he would never have attempted upon the Eſtabliſh'd Church as he did; and conſequently a vaſt Expence of Blood and Treaſure might have been ſav'd. In fine, *Sir*, if the Offices of *Kings* and *Biſhops* be mix'd and confounded, may not all others, in Proceſs of Time, plead the ſame Liberty of Confuſion, until none know his proper Sphere for Action, and all become Exorbitant and Wild.

If in the next Place, *Sir*, we advance to a View of Hiſtory, 'tis plain, that in the three firſt Centuries, there were no Chriſtian Emperors nor Kings.

Conſtantine the Great, the firſt Chriſtian Emperor, beſpeaks the firſt Council of *Nice*, thus, *(x)* "God hath made you Prieſts, and hath given you "Power to judge me, and therefore it is in you to judge me righteouſly; "but you cannot be judged by any Men. It is God only can judge you — "You are as Gods to me, *&c.* that is, *in purely Spiritual Affairs.*

The Emperor *Valentinian*, upon the Vacancy of the See of *Milan*, ſent for the Biſhops of the Province, and addreſs'd them thus: *(y)* "Ye know very "well from the Scriptures, what kind of Man he ought to be, who is worthy "of the High Prieſthood, that he ſhould be a Perſon who ought to inſtruct "his Subjects not only by his Words, but by his Works ——Wherefore now "do ye place ſuch an one in the Biſhop's Chair, that we who adminiſter the "Empire, may with all Sincerity bow down our Head to him, and receive "his Reprehenſions as ſpiritual Medicines.

The Emperor *Marcian* coming in Perſon at the paſſing the Definitions of the great Council of *Chalcedon*, ſays in his Speech to them, *(z)* "That he "came not to make Demonſtration of his own Power therein; but to give "greater Firmneſs to what they had done in the Exerciſe of theirs; ratifying "the ſame by Secular Penalties.

(u) The Rights, Powers and Privileges of an Engliſh *Convocation.* London, *Printed* 1700. Pref. *p.* 5, 6.

(x) Ruffin. l. 1. c. 2.

(y) Theodor. Eccl. Hiſt. l. 4. c. 6.

(z) Concil. Chalced. part. 2. Act. 4. p. 345. Tom. 3. *Concil.* Ed. Bin. & p. 361. ibid.

Writings, that not Chriſtian Kings, *as ſuch*, but Chriſtian Biſhops, and Prieſts *as ſuch*, have, and are without Let or Impediment to execute the Power of the Keys, the Power of ſpiritual Cenſures.

If the general Notices of *Reaſon* be conſulted upon this Point, it is, *Sir*, I humbly conceive, a clear Maxim of Reaſon, which univerſally obtains among all well ordered Societies, that *different Faculties, Offices and Callings ſhould not be mix'd and confounded.* Though one and the ſame Perſon may be ſkill'd in various Affairs, yet one Office, one Calling is not *Formally* another: Nor is a Maſter in one Faculty or Art, *as ſuch*, to ſet himſelf up as Judge in another. The ableſt Phyſician, as ſuch, is no competent Judge of Controverſies between Lawyers, Muſicians or Painters, as ſuch. *Fabri fabrilia tractent.* One ſhould not thruſt his Sickle into another's Field.

The *King* or *Queen* has ſupreme irreſiſtible Power over Phyſicians, Lawyers, Muſicians, Painters, and all other Perſons in his or her Dominions, and has Power to puniſh them for Male Practice, or Breach of Promiſe and Compact: But is he, as King, *formally* a Phyſician, or Painter? Or is his Judgment *as King*, the Supreme Rule in ſuch Caſes? Don't all allow, that the Faculty or *Chiefs* of the incorporated Company, are the proper Judges in their reſpective Sciences and Arts?

So the *King* or *Queen* has ſupreme irreſiſtible Power over the Perſons of all Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, in his or her Dominions: But is he, as King, *formally* a Biſhop, Prieſt, or Deacon? Or is his Judgment, *as King*, to be the ſupreme Standard and Rule to determine them in their *purely ſpiritual* Acts, Cenſures, *&c.*

If it be ſaid, that the *King* or *Queen*, as a Chriſtian, has an Intereſt in Church-Faith and Practice, and therefore ſhould be a deciſive Judge in ſuch Matters as Spiritual Cenſures, *&c.* 'Tis eaſily reply'd, that he is a Judge with reſpect to his own private Opinion, which if it approve not the Epiſcopal Spiritual Cenſure, he leaves it to operate in a *purely Spiritual Way*, and aſſiſts it not with his ſecular Power: But if any Chriſtian King ſhould put in Claim for being a Spiritual Judge Paramount, then muſt he claim this Right, either 1. as he is a Chriſtian, or 2. as it is a *Jure Divino* Right inherent in the Crown. If he claims it, *as a Chriſtian*, then, by the ſame Argument, *all Chriſtians* muſt be ſuch publick Judges; for each of them has an Intereſt in Church Faith and Practice. But this is too groſs to be admitted. If he claims it as being a *Jure Divino Right inherent in the Crown*, then, by the ſame Argument *(for Dominion is not founded in Grace)* it will follow, that *all Popiſh Emperors* and *Kings*, who have had, or ſtill have a Right to their Crowns, likewiſe had, and have a *Jure Divino* Right to be ſpiritual Judges Paramount, to manage Cenſures, and make what Laws they think fit for the Church, as well as the State: Or otherwiſe, no Chriſtian Prince whoſoever can form any juſt Pretence of being ſuch a ſpiritual Judge, *jure Coronæ*, by Right of his Crown.

But ſuch a Notion cannot, ought not to be granted: Had King *James* II. whom all of us reckon'd our rightful Prince before the Revolution, had he, I ſay, the Power of the Keys? Had he a Right to be ſupreme Judge in Spirituals,

Spirituals, and to over-rule the Biſhops in the Management of *purely* Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, *Jure Coronæ*, by Right of his Crown? Will Proteſtants affirm, that a Popiſh Prince had Power to make what Conſtitutions he thought fit for the Church of *England?* Or that any Proteſtant Prince has ſuch Power? *(u)* "Were this ſingle Doctrine true, ſays the Reverend and Learned Dr. *Francis Atterbury*, *Prolocutor of the preſent Convocation*, viz. "That the Prince has but Power to alter the Reſolutions of a Convocation "of the Clergy according to his *own Liking*, before he gives his Authority to "them —— then, the late King [*James*] might have gone a great way to-"wards ſubverting our Religion, without breaking in upon the Conſtitution, "or doing any thing illegal. He might have aſſembled the Clergy, and "commmanded their Judgment upon ſuch and ſuch Points; and then al-"ter'd their Reſolutions to his *own Liking*; and ſo have ſet up rank Popery "under the Countenance of a Proteſtant Convocation. Such, *Sir*, is the Conſequence of this Doctrine; and, indeed, I am humbly of Opinion, that if ſuch Notions of the Spiritual Power of Princes, *by Right of their Civil Sovereignty*, had not been inſtill'd into that unfortunate King, he would never have attempted upon the Eſtabliſh'd Church as he did; and conſequently a vaſt Expence of Blood and Treaſure might have been ſav'd. In fine, *Sir*, if the Offices of *Kings* and *Biſhops* be mix'd and confounded, may not all others, in Proceſs of Time, plead the ſame Liberty of Confuſion, until none know his proper Sphere for Action, and all become Exorbitant and Wild.

If in the next Place, *Sir*, we advance to a View of Hiſtory, 'tis plain, that in the three firſt Centuries, there were no Chriſtian Emperors nor Kings.

Conſtantine the Great, the firſt Chriſtian Emperor, beſpeaks the firſt Council of *Nice*, thus, *(x)* "God hath made you Prieſts, and hath given you "Power to judge me, and therefore it is in you to judge me righteouſly; "but you cannot be judged by any Men. It is God only can judge you — "You are as Gods to me, *&c.* that is, *in purely Spiritual Affairs.*

The Emperor *Valentinian*, upon the Vacancy of the See of *Milan*, ſent for the Biſhops of the Province, and addreſs'd them thus: *(y)* "Ye know very "well from the Scriptures, what kind of Man he ought to be, who is worthy "of the High Prieſthood, that he ſhould be a Perſon who ought to inſtruct "his Subjects not only by his Words, but by his Works ——Wherefore now "do ye place ſuch an one in the Biſhop's Chair, that we who adminiſter the "Empire, may with all Sincerity bow down our Head to him, and receive "his Reprehenſions as ſpiritual Medicines.

The Emperor *Marcian* coming in Perſon at the paſſing the Definitions of the great Council of *Chalcedon*, ſays in his Speech to them, *(z)* "That he "came not to make Demonſtration of his own Power therein; but to give "greater Firmneſs to what they had done in the Exerciſe of theirs; ratifying "the ſame by Secular Penalties.

(u) The Rights, Powers and Privileges of an Engliſh *Convocation.* London, *Printed* 1700. Pref. *p.* 5, 6.

(x) Ruffin. l. 1. c. 2.

(y) Theodor. Eccl. Hiſt. l. 4. c. 6.

(z) Concil. Chalced. part. 2. Act. 4. p. 345. Tom. 3. *Concil.* Ed. Bin. & p. 361. ibid.

The Emperor *Baſilius* ſaid, *(a)* " That it in no wiſe belong'd to a Lay-
" man to meddle with Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, nor to reſiſt the whole Church
" and an Œcumenical Council: For the Cognizance and Diſcuſſion of ſuch
" Matters belongs, *ſays he*, to Patriarchs, Biſhops and Prieſts, to whom God
" hath given the Power of Binding and Looſing.

I will not, *Sir*, multiply Teſtimonies: And thoſe mentioned are ſo plain, that there's no Need either of Comment or Application. Only I cannot omit reminding you of the Book of Common-Prayer, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and the Form and Manner of making, ordaining, and conſecrating Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons: All which are confirm'd by the Act of Parliament for Uniformity, and do expreſly teach a real Diſtinction between the Sacerdotal and Regal Powers; and that Biſhops and Prieſts, in their *purely Spiritual* Offices and Adminiſtrations, are not the King's or Queen's, but Chriſt's Delegates and Subſtitutes: There they are enjoin'd to baptize Perſons, to ordain Prieſts and Deacons, and to abſolve Penitents, not in the Name of, or by an intrinſick Power deriv'd from, the King or Queen; but in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt. And I doubt not, *Sir*, but every true Church-man interprets whatever Act relates to the Regal Supremacy, in a Senſe fully agreeable to the aforeſaid Books, confirm'd by the *Act for Uniformity:* For he would have too mean and cheap an Opinion of the Collective Wiſdom of the Nation, who ſhould imagine, that it would compile any Acts, but ſuch as agree with the Divine Law, ſuch as peaceably accord with each other, and leave entirely with the Church her inherent, inſeperable and unalienable *purely Spiritual Rights*, her Power of binding and looſing, *&c.* which Chriſt left with her, as requiſite to ſecure her from the *Gates of Hell prevailing againſt her.*

The Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of *Sarum*, has clearly inform'd us, *(b)* that the Regal Supremacy, as qualify'd and explain'd by our Kings and Queens, pretends not to the Sovereign Diſpoſal of the Power of the Keys, nor does it ſwallow up the Spiritual Rights of the Biſhops, but ſuppoſes them veſted therewith by Jeſus Chriſt. When I advance to the darling Objection fram'd by the Admirers of that Book falſely entitul'd, *The Rights of the Chriſtian Church*, &c. His Lordſhip's expreſs Words, which I now want Room to tranſcribe, will afford an excellent and pertinent Anſwer. 'Tis ſuch Men, *Sir*, as are ſpirited with the Notions of that ill Book, who would be making our *Kings* and *Queens* as *Popes* to the Church, Devourers of her inherent Spiritual Rights, that ſo they may with the leſs Difficulty go on to perſuade Mankind, that Kings and Queens are the Creatures, the Servants and Truſtees of the People, who, in Virtue of their Natural Rights, may make, and unmake them; retain, or reſiſt and turn them off, as the Fancy takes. 'Tis ſuch Men, *Sir*, whoſe Conviction I aim at; and, for their fur-

(a) Beveregi Συνοδικὸν. Tom. II. p. 109, 110. cited by the Reverend Dr. *George Hickes* in his Prefatory Diſcourſe in *Anſwer to the Rights*, &c. p. 113, 114.

(b) Reflections on the Relation of the Engliſh *Reformation.* Printed at *Amſterdam* for *J. S.* 1688. when the Popiſh Controverſy was on foot, and he was in *Holland*, p. 18, 19, 20, 23, 28, 54, 92.

ther

ther Satisfaction, I beg Leave to conclude with a ſhort View of the Crown, and the Mitre, as ſhining in their diſtinct Orbs.

The CROWN.

1. The Original of Regal Power is from God the Creator and Governour of the World, and ſo belongs to all Mankind, Heathen or Chriſtian. *Rom.* xiii. 1, 2, 4.

2. All the Kingdoms and States of the World are not homogeneous, *that is*, are not of the ſame Name and Nature, but have different Civil Rights, Privileges, Laws and Conſtitutions, different Modes of Government, different Rewards and Puniſhments: are Independent on each other, not Politically united into one Body, not Incorporated into one whole Catholick Kingdom.

3. The Kingdoms and States of the World, collectively conſider'd, are not Chriſt's Body: Nor are any particular Kingdoms of the World *as ſuch*, far leſs unbelieving Empires and Kingdoms, Members of his Body.

4. The Civil Magiſtrate's Kingdom is of this World, and he uſes only the Temporal Sword to correct or defend his Subjects: *Rom.* xiii. 4.

5. Kings, by virtue of their Office, *muſt* bear the Temporal Sword, *muſt* be Strikers of ſtubborn and evil Doers.

6. The Civil Magiſtrate's Laws, Ordinances and Cenſures, are for thoſe *Without*, as well as for thoſe *Within* the Pale of the Church; for *Jews* and *Turks*, as well as *Chriſtians*.

The MITRE.

1. The Original of the Eccleſiaſtick Epiſcopal Power is from Chriſt the Mediator, and Head of the Church, and ſo belongs properly to the Church, *Iſa.* ix. 6. St. *Matth.* xxviii. 18, 19. 2 *Cor.* x. 8. *Eph.* i. 22. *Col.* i. 18.

2. All the Parts of the Catholick Church are homogeneous, *that is*, of the ſame Name, ſpiritual Nature and Conſtitution with one another, and with the whole: Having the ſame Prieſthood, Faith and Baptiſm, the ſame Fundamental Laws and Diſcipline, the ſame Privileges and Rights, the ſame Rewards and Puniſhments, incorporated and united into one Body, one whole Catholick Church; the Care of which was committed jointly as well as ſeverally, in whole as well as in part, to the Apoſtles, and their Succeſſors.

3. The whole Church collectively conſider'd, is call'd the Body of Chriſt, 1 *Cor.* xii. 27. *Col.* i. 18, 24. as particular Churches are Members of that Body.

4. Chriſt's Kingdom the Church is not of this World, St. *John* xviii. 36. and ſhe uſes only the Spiritual Sword, 2 *Cor.* x. 4.

5. Biſhops, by virtue of their Office, muſt be no ſuch Sword-Bearers, no ſuch Strikers: They have no Arms, but Spiritual Cenſures, Prayers and Tears, 1 *Tim.* iii. 3. *Tit.* i. 7.

6. The Churches Laws, Canons and Cenſures, are *not* for thoſe that are *Without*, but for thoſe that are *Within* the Pale of the Church.

7. The

The CROWN.

7. The King, *as ſuch*, forbids Diſobedience, only under the Penalty of his temporal Puniſhment, according to his Laws that are mutable.

8. Kings exerciſe all Authority in their own Name, throughout their Dominions.

9. The Sentence of any King or State has no Effect out of their own Dominions.

10. The Regal Power oft-times puniſhes known Penitents.

11. The Regal Power may be in a Child, or in a Woman.

The MITRE.

7. The Biſhop forbids Diſobedience under the Penalty of Eternal Puniſhment, according to the immutable Laws of Chriſt.

8. Biſhops exerciſe all their Authority in the Name of Chriſt, St. *Matth.* xxviii. 19. *Acts* iv. 17. 1 *Cor.* v. 4.

9. The Cenſure of every Biſhop is valid, and has its Effect, not only in his own Dioceſe, but alſo through the whole Catholick Church.

10. The Eccleſiaſtical Power puniſhes none that ſhew themſelves duly Penitent.

11. The Epiſcopal Sacerdotal Power cannot be in a Child, for he cannot govern his own Houſe, much leſs the Church of God, 1 *Tim.* iii. 5. nor in a Woman, for Women are not permitted to ſpeak Authoritatively in the Church, 1 *Cor.* xiv. 34.

In fine, *Sir*, I dare not preſume once to imagine, that any of Your Sacred Order can find Fault with aſſerting the Inherent Spiritual Rights of the Church. But if unhappily any ſuch be found, I humbly deſire you to call to Mind what the Reverend and Learned Dr. *Francis Atterbury*, Prolocutor of the preſent Convocation, pronounces concerning them: (c) "Thoſe Divines, "ſays the Doctor, who read Leſſons to Princes, how to ſtrain their Eccle- "ſiaſtical Power to the utmoſt without exceeding it, and oppreſs their Clergy "legally, *are not ſurely the beſt Men of their Order.* They are *Church-* "*Empſons* and *Dudleys*, and uſually find the Fate of ſuch wretched Inſtru- "ments, to be deteſted by the one Side, and at laſt abandon'd by the other.

I am, with profound Submiſſion and Reſpect,

Reverend Sir,

Your Humble Servant, &c.

(c) *The Rights, Powers, and Privileges of an* Engliſh *Convocation, ſtated and vindicated*, &c. *Printed* 1700. Preface, *p.* 11.

A Continuation of the MITRE *and the* CROWN; *or, a real Diſtinction between them. In a Second Letter to a Reverend Member of the* CONVOCATION. 1712.

By the Author of the FIRST LETTER.

Reverend Sir,

I Have in my *firſt Letter*, as plainly and briefly as I could, ſtated the Queſtion about the Subjects of the Power of the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; or the Perſons on whom our bleſſed Saviour beſtow'd that purely ſpiritual Power, juridically to remit or retain Sins, authoritatively to diſpenſe the Word, Sacraments and Cenſures of the Church. And by Direction of the ſacred Oracles, of conſentient Church-Hiſtory and right Reaſon, found myſelf oblig'd to aſſert, that not Emperors, Kings and Queens, *as ſuch*, whether Heathen or Chriſtian; but the *Holy Apoſtles*, and their Succeſſors to the End of the World, were originally veſted by our *Lord Jeſus* with this Power: That they execute the ſame, not in the Name, and by the Authority of the ſecular Sovereign, as his Creatures or Delegates, but in the Name of, and immediate Subjection to, and Dependence upon *Jeſus Chriſt*.

Hence, *Sir*, I concluded, that there is *a real Diſtinction between the Mitre and the Crown*, between Church and State, between the Biſhop and the King, the Sacerdotal and Regal Powers.

But, *Sir*, I will not repeat; I rather beg Leave to refer you to the Letter itſelf, which I can ſcarcely abridge; where I think the Point is doctrinally eſtabliſh'd, ſo that the Proof of it needs not be reſum'd.

All then that remains, *Sir*, is to ſecure this *weighty Truth* againſt thoſe *Objections* and *Cavils*, wherewith, as I have obſerv'd, *ill Men* ſeek to perplex it; and to diſperſe thoſe Miſts which they raiſe, thoſe Clouds which they gather, in order to eclipſe and obſcure, and, *if poſſible*, to aboliſh it.

I heartily wiſh, *Sir*, there were no Occaſion to proceed farther into the Merits of this Cauſe: And I cannot but think, that it would be as eaſy for the Biſhops and Clergy in Convocation, by an *authoritative Eccleſiaſtick Cenſure*, to blaſt the ill Principles of the Oppoſers of this Doctrine, without farther Debate; as it is for me to aſſign the *main Reaſon* of their oppoſing it.

The Reaſon, *Sir*, is obvious: They deny the Independence of the Church, *in its purely ſpirituals*, upon the State; they throw the divine Commiſſion of Biſhops at the Feet of ſecular Princes, they do thus *wholly* ſubject the *Mitre* to the *Crown*, with *a manifeſt Deſign to exalt themſelves upon the Ruins of both.*

The Authors of that *very ill Book*, falſly entituled, *The Rights of the Chriſtian*

ſtian Church, ſufficiently diſcovers this, by telling the World, that "*(a)* The "*Church of England*, as to its Polity and Diſcipline, is a perfect Creature of "the Civil Power, *(b)* That *all Spiritual Power* is veſted in the *King*; and "that whatever the Biſhops or other Eccleſiaſticks have, is *deriv'd from him.* Mighty kind-hearted! Whence is it, *Sir*, that they are ſo profuſe in their Gifts to Kings? *There's (c) a Snake in the Graſs.* Their Gifts are extremely dear. They pretend to make a *Preſent* of a Spiritual *Supra-Papal* Power to our Kings and Queens, but upon expreſs Condition that our Kings or Queens ſhall own themſelves to be the precarious Creatures and Servants of the People: For the ſame *Author of the Rights*, &c. boldly ſays, *(d)* that "*All the Power* "*the Magiſtrate can claim—is immediately from the People.* And they know well enough, that if they can but once perſuade the World, that the *People* have a Right to confer both *Spiritual and Temporal Power*; they have a Right to reſume it to themſelves, the [*odious pretended*] *Original of it:* The Iſſue of which would be a direful Cry about our Streets of *No Mitre, no Crown.*

But, *Sir*, thoſe Levellers, thoſe *Doctors of Reſiſtance*, not being able to bring about ſuch an Anarchical Reſumption directly and at once, as they did in Forty-one, do labour their Point another Way: They, as the *Author of the Book of the Rights*, do artfully teach the ſecular Princes to invade the Hierarchical Powers, to execute the Epiſcopal Commiſſion, and to degrade the *Biſhops* almoſt into *Cyphers* and *Nullities.*

Hence thoſe *Principles of Church Unity* in their ſeveral Dioceſes, whoſe Office it is, *under Chriſt*, to be Diffuſers and Supporters of *Loyal Religion*, are by theſe Arts either tempted to a *ſecular Spirit*, the better to ſecure their Eccleſiaſtical Tenures, which the *Author of the Rights*, in his *Dutch Way of Management*, teaches to be dependent on the State; or elſe, ineffectually ſtriving againſt theſe Artifices, they are fatally diſcourag'd, Diſcipline *in its juſt Extent* is render'd impracticable, or is much relax'd; hence many are tempted not only unjuſtly to contemn *their Perſons*, but alſo their *moſt ſacred Office*; and thus Mens Minds being initiated in Schiſm, and diſengag'd from the Laws of Chriſt, are wofully prepar'd to entertain all the Seeds of Faction, which thoſe Reſiſters of Authority are always ſowing.

In a Word, *Sir*, the great Reaſon of their attempting by all Means to weaken the *Mitre*, is that they may the more ſucceſsfully attack the *Crown*; and in the End, glut their *unbounded Ambition* and *Covetouſneſs* with the Spoils of both.

Tho', *Sir*, our Governors are well aware of this *ill Set of Men*, and a ſteady regular Conduct ſufficiently appears againſt their bad Deſigns; yet are they ſo far from being out of Countenance, that ſhort of all Modeſty, as well as beſides all Reaſon, they continue the old Oppoſition, both from *Pulpit* and *Preſs*, and how many other Ways I know not.

(*a*) *Rights*, &c. *Part* 1. *Ed.* 2. London *Printed* 1706. Pref. *p.* 4.
(*b*) *Ibid.* Pref. *p.* 35, 36.
(*c*) *Timeo Danaos, & dona ferentes.*
(*d*) *Rights*, &c. *p.* 2.

I have

I have often humbly wiſh'd, *Sir*, with an awful Submiſſion; that the *Mitre*, ſo nearly reſembling *cloven Tongues*, may at laſt ſhew its piercing Efficacy in this Caſe, that *Aaron*'s *Rod* may be lifted up, that the *Paſtoral Staff* may interpoſe to ward off the pernicious Inſolence, and that the *ſpiritual Sword* may ſhew its Edge and its Uſe on this Occaſion: *Soft Reproofs* do but tempt their Diſdain, and cheriſh their Preſumption; *this* would reclaim or ſilence them, or at leaſt effectually prevent the open ſpreading of the Infection; for it would be impious not to believe, that *Our Lord Jeſus* would bleſs his own appointed Cenſures, and ſupport the ſacred Perſons of his Vicegerents, in the due and faithful Execution of the divine Commiſſion.

In the mean Time, *Sir*, it may not be amiſs to conſider the moſt *popular Objections*, by which they attempt to demoliſh the *Epiſcopal Thrones*; which I ſhall do, as briefly as the Caſe will bear: And I hope, *thro' God's Bleſſing*, to work in them ſome Degree of Conviction, unleſs they have unalterably reſolv'd never to be convinc'd.

It is *objected*, that the ſupreme Civil Magiſtrate is a Perſon appointed to edify the Church, he being confeſſedly *utriuſque Tabulæ Cuſtos & Vindex*, Keeper and Defender of both Tables of the Law, which relate to ſpiritual as well as ſecular Matters: Hence it follows, ſay the Objectors, there is no ſuch Independence of the Mitre upon the Crown in ſpiritual Matters, as is originally claim'd; no ſuch Diſtinction as is aſſerted.

Anſwer. 1. The ſupreme Civil Magiſtrate, King or Queen, is not *abſolutely neceſſary* to edify the Church, as *Biſhops* and *Prieſts* are, *without whom* Chriſt has no viſible Kingdom on Earth; and *with whom* Chriſt had an external viſible Kingdom Three Hundred Years and upwards, before the Church came to have the Favour of the ſecular Powers. 'Tis readily own'd, that without the Aſſiſtance of a Chriſtian Civil Magiſtrate; the Edification of the Church might formerly have been, and may now be *externally ſlower and leſs vigorous*: But no Privation or intrinſecal eſſential Defect in the Church was then, or could be now, tho' the World were not bleſs'd, *which God forbid*, with any Chriſtian King or Queen.

2. The ſupreme Civil Magiſtrate is a Means to edify the Church, not by any elicite intrinſecal Acts, not by any formerly ſpiritual Eccleſiaſtical Acts done by himſelf, *as King*, or by his Delegates; but by imperated commanded Acts extrinſecally, requiring the Biſhops to do their Duty, and *removendo prohibens*, by his Civil Sword, driving away wolviſh Hereticks and Schiſmaticks from his Subjects.

Hence, *Sir*, 'tis evident, that there is as great a Difference between the *Biſhop's* and the *King's* being a Means to edify the Church, as there is between edifying it by elicite intrinſecal Acts, and edifying it only by imperated extrinſecal Acts: Yea, as vaſt a Difference as there is between an abſolutely neceſſary Means, and no abſolutely neceſſary Means; or if you pleaſe, *Sir*, as there is between a Means to the very *Eſſe* or Being, and a Means only to the *bene Eſſe* or Well-being of the Church. But as to this laſt Diſtinction, *Sir*, I doubt not, but that to prevent any unwary Reader's perverting it, you will allow the following Reſtriction, That the Chriſtian Church had both a *Spiritual Being*

and *Well-being*, ſeveral Centuries before there was any ſupreme Chriſtian Civil Magiſtrate, to guard it with his ſecular Power. This is unconteſtable Fact. I beg Leave, *Sir*, for farther Illuſtration, to obſerve

3. That the ſupreme Civil Magiſtrate is ſuch a Means for curing Souls, as he is for Bodies, when he provides bodily Phyſicians that can perform Cures, tho' he be no Phyſician himſelf: Thus is he a Means of edifying the Church *materialiter*, (as the Schools love to ſpeak) but not *formaliter*, as Biſhops and Prieſts are. And if you pleaſe, *Sir*, I'll turn the Tables, and put the Point in another View, thus: Phyſicians, Printers and Sailors, in their *lower*, as well as Kings or Queens in their *higher Spheres of Activity*, may contribute their reſpective Powers to ſuch Things as do *materially*, tho' not *formally* promote a ſupernatural End, and edify the Church: Printers may print and publiſh the Holy Volume; Phyſicians may preſerve or reſtore the Health of Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons; Sailors may tranſport them to remote Countries, in order to convert or confirm Souls. And the King or Queen may command them to do all theſe Things, and may politically enable and encourage, and upon Neglect puniſh them, as he is *utriuſque Tabulæ Cuſtos & Vindex politicus*, Keeper and Civil Defender of both Tables of the Law; yet as none will ſay, that thoſe Artiſts are Eccleſiaſtical Officers, or do *formally* edify the Church; ſo none can rightly ſay the ſame of Kings or Queens, *as ſuch:* For tho' all their Powers, *in this Caſe*, be *objectively*, or in regard of the Object, and *extrinſecally* eccleſiaſtick and ſpiritual; yet the Powers of the Artiſts are formally and intrinſecally *Mechanical*, and the Power of the King or Queen is formally, and in itſelf, and intrinſecally *Political* and *Civil*; and ſo neither of the ſaid Powers can be denominated *formally Spiritual:* For you very well know, *Sir*, that Powers have their Specification, Nature and Name, not from their *material*, but their *formal Objects*. So that this Objection vaniſhes. But, *Sir*, the Enemies of the *Mitral Powers* advance with much Aſſurance, and think to conquer them with their own Weapons, by turning the 37th Article of the Church of *England* into an

Objection. The Jewiſh Civil Magiſtrates, *ſay they*, were ſupreme Eccleſiaſtical Rulers and Judges, and were veſted with a Power to command the Prieſts in Spirituals. Now 'tis plain, *ſay they*, that the 37th Article declares our Kings and Queens to have ſuch Prerogative as hath been given always to all godly Princes, in Holy Scriptures, by God himſelf: Hence *they infer*, that according to the aboveſaid Article, our Sovereign Kings and Queens have the ſame Power ſtill, and conſequently that the *Mitre* is not independent of the *Crown* in Spirituals.

Anſwer. 1. Suppoſing the Jewiſh Kings had been ſupreme in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, as is objected, it is incumbent upon our Opponents to prove, which is not yet done, that they were *ſuch*, by vertue of their Civil Supremacy; before it can be juſtly attempted to make our Chriſtian Kings, *as ſuch*, Eccleſiaſtical Potentates, *after the Jewiſh Example.*

2. Arguments drawn from ſome extraordinary Acts of ſome Kings, as *David*, *Solomon*, *Hezekiah*, *Jehoſhaphat*; with a Deſign to contract the Hierarchical Powers, by extending the *Regal*, are cautiouſly excluded by the 37th Article

Article. For it ſays, that ONLY ſuch Prerogative as was ALWAYS given to ALL godly Princes, is attributed to our Kings and Queens; *viz.* ſuch as are mention'd in the Beginning of my firſt Letter. And 'tis evident, *Sir*, that the following Words of the Article, which are exegetical of the former, do fix this Regal Prerogative in a political ruling Power *over all Perſons, Eccleſiaſtical as well as Temporal*, in reſtraining them with the Civil Sword when they are ſtubborn Evil-doers. And *this* deſignedly, *in juſt Oppoſition to the former Papal Exemptions of the Clergy* from the Civil Juriſdiction of our Kings.

3. 'Tis falſe in Fact, that the godly Jewiſh Kings were ſupreme Eccleſiaſtical Adminiſtrators and Judges: For

It was not the *King's*, but *(e)* the *Prieſt's Office*, to bleſs in the Name of the Lord; and conſequently to judge who were fit Objects of the Sacerdotal Benediction.

It was not the *King's (f)* but the *Prieſt's Office* to ſacrifice and burn Incenſe: Hence King *Uzziah*, for uſurping this Peculiarity of the Prieſtly Office, was branded with *Leproſy* by God, and thruſt out from the Congregation by the Prieſts, and died under the *viſible Mark* of divine Vengeance.

It was not the *King's*, but the *Prieſt's Office*, *(g)* to judge of the clean and the unclean.

The *Prieſts* and *Levites* were ſeperated *(h)* to bear the Ark of the Covenant, and not the *King*.

The *Prieſts* and *Levites (i)* were ſet apart for the Service of the Tabernacle, and not the *King*.

The *Prieſt's Lips*, *(k)* and not the *King's*, were appointed to preſerve ſpiritual Knowledge.

In View of this Diſtinction between the Sacerdotal and Regal Offices, under the Moſaick Œconomy; 'tis very probable that the King was anointed with a ſort of Oyl inferior to that wherewith the Prieſt was anointed: For the *Prieſts* that had the holy Oyl upon their Heads, might not *(l)* lament for the Dead; but Kings might, as *David* did for *(m) Abner* and for *Abſalom*. If this be but a Conjecture, yet

'Tis certain, that their *Civil* and *Eccleſiaſtick Judicatures* and *Judges* were *diſtinct* and different. *Jehoſhaphat (n) ſet Judges in the Land throughout all the fenced Cities of Judah, City by City:* therefore alſo at *Jeruſalem* the chief fenced City. *Moreover, (o) in Jeruſalem did Jehoſhaphat ſet of the Levites and Prieſts*, &c. and ſaid, *Behold, (p) Amariah the Chief Prieſt is over you in all Matters of the Lord, and Zebediah the Son of Iſhmael, the Ruler of the Houſe of Judah, for all the King's Matters.* Here's a moſt clear Diſtinction: For

1. The Civil Judicature was not confin'd to one Place, but was in every

(e) Deut. xxi. 5. and Ch. x. 8.
(f) 2 *Chron.* xxvi. 16, 17, 18, &c.
(g) Levit. x. 10. Ch. xiii. 3, 4, &c. 23.
(h) Num. xvi. 9. *Joſh.* iii. 8. 1 *Kings* viii. 3. 2 *Chron.* v. 7.
(i) Num. xviii. 3, 4, &c. 23.
(k) Mal. ii. 7.
(l) Levit. xxi. 10.
(m) 2 *Sam.* iii. 31. Ch. xviii. 33.
(n) 2 *Chron.* xix. 5.
(o) Verſe 8.
(p) Verſe 11.

fenc'd City; whereas the Eccleſiaſtical Judicature was tied to *Jeruſalem*, *(q) the Place that the Lord did chuſe.*

2. The Judicature at *Jeruſalem*, in the 8th *Verſe*, is uſher'd in with a *Moreover*, which wou'd have been needleſs, if it had not been *Eccleſiaſtical*, and different from the former in the 5th *Verſe*.

3. The Civil Judicature in the 5th *Verſe*, are call'd *Judges*, who could not be *Eccleſiaſticks*, becauſe he ſpeaks of them *Verſe* 8.

4. The Objects of theſe two Judicatories are very different: The Object *of the one*, is all the King's Matters; *of the other*, all the Lord's Matters, *Verſe* 13.

5. There were two different *Preſidents: Amariah* over the Judges in all the Lord's Matters; *Zebediah* over the Judges in all the King's Matters.

If, *Sir*, it be ſuggeſted, that tho' theſe two Judicatures were diſtinct, yet they were the mere Creatures of King *Jehoſhaphat:* He appointed, charg'd, and commanded them.

I reply, 1, That theſe were *no new Judicatories* erected, but *old ones* reſtor'd by him; bearing Date from the Time that God ſeparated the Sacerdotal from the Regal Office, and ſettled the Prieſthood in the Houſe of *Aaron*, in the Tribe of *Levi:* after which, Kings might not execute the Sacerdotal Function. 2. The Jewiſh Kings commanding the Prieſts to do their Duty, was no more a Proof of their *Spiritual Sovereignty*, than the Prophets and Prieſts *(r)* charging, rebuking and threatning the Kings, was a Demonſtration of their *Civil Sovereignty*. 3. The King's Power of commanding, *as King*, muſt be commenſurable to his Power of puniſhing the Tranſgreſſors of his Command; which, ever ſince *the aforeſaid Date*, was, and ſtill is only externally. 4. Tho' Kings or Queens formerly had, and ſtill have a Right to command Biſhops and Prieſts *accumulatively*; that is to do their Duty, to fulfil God's Will in the Adminiſtration of his Spiritual Kingdom: Yet they have no Right to command them *privatively*, *that is*, they have no Right to command them to betray their Spiritual Privileges, and ſurrender them to their King.

Objection. (s) "Two ſuch Powers ruling the Body Politick, is as abſurd as "to ſuppoſe *two Souls* independent of one another, to govern the Body Na- "tural. *Two Heads to the ſame Body*, whether Natural or Political, can "ſerve to no other Uſe, than to make *a Monſter* of it.

Anſwer. Theſe Gentlemen are not aſham'd to beg, when they cannot prove their Point. They ſuppoſe the Church and State to be *one and the ſame Body* or Society; whereas they are *two very diſtinct ones* in their Original, in their Nature and Conſtitution, in the Ends they aim at, and in the different Means by which they purſue their ſeveral Ends; as is already declar'd by way of *Antitheſis* in the End of the *firſt Letter*. So that the *Monſter* diſappears, when we ſhew *two formally diſtinct Bodies* or Societies, to fix the *two Heads* upon.

(q) Deut. xvii. 8.
(r) 2 *Sam.* xii. 8 — 12. *Iſa.* xxx. 33. *Jer.* xxii. 23, &c.
(s) Rights of the Chriſtian Church, &c. *Part* 1. *Ed.* 2. p. 35.

The

The ſame Company of Men conſider'd *as Citizens*, are a Civil Society ſubject to the King or Queen, who is to them, *under God*, the Head, Principle and Source of all political *State-Unity*, Government and Influences: But the ſame Men conſider'd *as Chriſtians*, are a Church Society, ſubject to their Biſhop, who is to them *under Chriſt*, the Head, Principle and Source of all ſpiritual *Church-Unity*, Government and Influences.

I hope then, *Sir*, it is beyond Doubt, that the ſame Number of Men may be form'd into two formally diſtinct Societies, of different Natures and Denominations, under their diſtinct Heads, or influencing Governours: They are the ſame Men, the ſame Company of Men, *quatenus Men*, but the different inſtituted *Habitudes* and *Relations* they ſtand in to the Sacerdotal and Regal Sovereigns, in their vaſtly different Affairs ſpiritual and ſecular; do juſtly entitle them *ſingly* and *jointly* to different Characters and Denominations. Yea, *Sir*, in *purely Temporals*, the ſame Number of Men may be of two different Societies or Companies, as of the *South Sea-Company*, and of the *Eaſt-India-Company*, which have diſtinct Charters and Governours, independent of each other.

Obj. " There cannot, there ought not to be two ſuch independent Powers " in the ſame Nation; becauſe they are apt to claſh and interfere about the " ſame Things, to iſſue forth contrary Commands to the ſame Perſons, or " enjoin them different Things at the ſame Time. And *(t)* can it be ſup- " pos'd, *ſay they*, that God, who is the God of Order, and not of Confu- " ſion, would ever involve us in ſuch inextricable Difficulties.

Anſ. 1. The *Commiſſions* of the Biſhop and the King or Queen, are ſo different in kind, and for ſo different Ends and Purpoſes, that they can never claſh: They are like two parallel Lines that can never meet to croſs each other; and conſequently, if theſe Hierarchical and Secular Potentates did act within the Bounds of their proper reſpective Commiſſions, they could never joſtle, thwart or interfere with each other; nor could the People be harraſs'd with contrary Injunctions: Then would the Prieſts *(u) put the People in mind to be ſubject to Principalities and Powers*, to obey Magiſtrates; then would Kings *(x)* be *nurſing Fathers*, and Queens *nurſing Mothers* to the Church.

2. If both *Church and State Magiſtrates* firmly believ'd, that neither of them receives his Commiſſion and Authority from the other, but both from a Power that is ſuperior to them both, who is Almighty to avenge himſelf on thoſe who will not be determin'd by his Orders; then would they view their reſpective Commiſſions oftner, and be *afraid to exceed*; then would neither of them be as *a Bundle of Briars* to one another, or to the People under them; then would ſuch awful Impreſſions be made on each of them, as no haughty Ambition, pretended Reſerves, or temporizing Salvoes, could ever eraſe.

3. Suppoſe, that in ſuch an independent Conſtitution of Church and State, the Eccleſiaſtical and Secular Princes ſhould tranſgreſs the Limits ſet them, and ſtretch their Line beyond its Meaſure, as has been, and may ſtill be done;

(t) Rights, &c. p. 35. *(u) Tit.* iii. 1. *(x) Iſai.* xlix. 23.

yet

yet this is no Argument againſt *Fact*, that they are not ſo conſtituted: Nor is it a Proof, that ſuch a Conſtitution ſhould be ſapp'd and blown up. The independent Conſtitution is not in Fault, but only ſuch Governors or others, that *break in upon it*. Admit then the objected Inconveniences and Difficulties, *there's a Remedy*.

If Biſhops or Prieſts, *as ſuch*, uſurp any Branch of the Regal Power, or Temporal Juriſdiction; the King or Queen may, and ought to puniſh him to the ſame Degree, *at leaſt*, as he wou'd any other Subject, for the like Offence.

If ſecular Princes, *as ſuch*, take upon themſelves to execute the Prieſtly Office, or any Branch of it, in Proportion to what *(y) Saul*, *(z) Uzziah* or *(a) Jeroboam* did, or otherwiſe *in the like Caſes*; then I ſay, *(b)* as a *Right Reverend and Learned Prelate* ſolemnly preach'd before the Queen ſome time ago: "There would be a Nullity in every Thing that the Prince did of this "kind, and the Prieſt's Duty in this Caſe, would be, to remonſtrate to the "Prince in the moſt decent and reſpectful Terms, the Unlawfulneſs of ſuch "an Attempt; nay, and to withſtand him too, with ſuch a ſort of Force, "as the moſt dutiful Son might uſe to reſtrain and hold back his Father from "running into a Fire, or falling into a Pit: As the Prieſts of the Temple "did, *(c) when their King went into the Temple of the Lord, to burn Incenſe "upon the Altar of Incenſe*; *they went in after him*, ſays the Text, *and with-"ſtood Uzziah the King, and ſaid unto him, it appertaineth not unto thee to "burn Incenſe unto the Lord, but to the Prieſts the Sons of Aaron, that are con-"ſecrated to burn Incenſe: Go out of the Sanctuary, for thou haſt treſpaſſed, "neither ſhall it be for thine Honour from the Lord God.*

If, *Sir*, the temporal Sovereign ſhews himſelf *inflexible*, and will not be reſtrain'd by ſuch Remonſtrances, but continues his Encroachments; and even proceeds from bad to worſe, until he becomes *an Original* in ſuch ſacrilegious Impieties: Tho' his Subjects, *of what Rank or Quality ſoever*, cannot upon pain of Damnation commence any hoſtile Reſiſtance againſt him, or politically puniſh him; yet the Great God, King of Kings, *to whom alone he ſtands accountable*, will not fail to vindicate the Honour of his own Inſtitutions, at the great Day of final Deciſion, if not before, as in the Caſe of King *Uzziah*.

If the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Governors be ſuppos'd to command *contrary* or *different Things*, and ſo to lay the *ſame Perſons*, ſubject to both theſe Powers, under contrary or different Obligations: Certainly, *Sir*, in ſuch a Caſe, one of them is in the Wrong, and abuſes his Power. But is it reaſonable, from a juſt Diſlike of the *Abuſe*, to infer an equal Diſlike of the *right Uſe?* The Subject's Duty is plain, without caſting off either his Eccleſiaſtical or Civil Governour. The Head-ach may be cur'd without cutting off the Head: For

(y) 1 *Sam.* xiii. 9.
(z) 2 *Chron.* xxvi. 16.
(a) 1 *Kings* xii. 31. and xiii. 33.
(b) Biſhop of *Exon*'s Sermon before the Queen at St. *James*'s, *March* 8, 1708, on *Rom.* xiii. 4. *p.* 13. 8vo, and publiſhed by Her Majeſty's ſpecial Command.
(c) 2 *Chron.* xxvi. 16, 17, 18.

If

If the *Matter* about which they give out ſuch croſs Orders, be order'd and determin'd by the *Divine Law*, either directly, or by right Conſequence: Then ſuch Direction is to be *peaceably* obſerv'd, whoſoever he be that oppoſes it.

If the *Matter* about which they are ſuppos'd to iſſue forth ſuch croſs Orders, be *indifferent in itſelf*, which does no otherwiſe oblige, but as it is commanded by a lawful Authority, that has Power to determine us in ſuch Circumſtances; then it either relates to *Civil* Affairs, or to *Eccleſiaſtical.*

If this *indifferent Matter* relates to *Civil Affairs*, then I humbly conceive, that the Biſhops and Paſtors of the Church, *as ſuch*, would be altogether in the Wrong, to countermand their Prince's Injunctions: And he might by *Secular Force* oblige them to deſiſt, puniſhing them as Uſurpers of Civil Authority.

If ſuch *indifferent Matters* relate to *Eccleſiaſtical Affairs*, which the Hierarchical Powers judge to be needful for the better and more regular Adminiſtration of the holy Offices, and the external Polity of the Church: Then, a *good King* or *Queen* in any Country, whoſe Underſtanding has been duely inform'd by his ſpiritual Inſtructors, will not attempt to thwart the *ſacred College* in ſuch Matters; but will rather, as he is politically concern'd in them, ratify them by his Civil Sanction. But if the ſupreme Civil Magiſtrate, in whoſe Breaſt are the *Arcana Imperii*, thinks fit to *adviſe*, or politically to *command* his governing Clergy to alter, or to add to, or diminiſh from ſuch indifferent Matters, as being moſt conducive to the *publick Peace*; then the Loyal Clergy throughout the World know it to be their Duty, *as* to *ſuffer* under, rather than to *rebel* againſt their King commanding *ſinful Things*; *ſo* to obey him in all Things lawful and *not contrary to the Divine Law*, as things in their own Nature indifferent are acknowledg'd to be.

Objection. St. *Paul* appeal'd from the Church to the State, from the *High-Prieſt*'s Tribunal to *Cæſar*'s: Which clearly ſhews, *ſay they*, that in St. *Paul*'s Judgment, the *Mitre* ſhould depend upon the *Crown.*

Anſwer. St. *Paul* appeal'd not from an Eccleſiaſtical Tribunal to *(d) Cæſar*'s in proper Church Matters. The *Jews* had combin'd *(e)* to murder him; but being *(f)* happily diſappointed, they purſu'd his Life in the *Roman Courts*; and knowing well enough that the *Roman Deputies* reckon'd not any Accuſation relating to the Jewiſh Religion, to be a Matter worthy *(g)* of *Death* or *Bonds*; they therefore principally charge him with *(h) Sedition*, a capital Crime, nor doubting thus to work their Point. But the *Jews* not being able to prove their Charge againſt him, *(i)* either before *Fœlix* Governor of *Ceſarea*, or *(k)* before *Portius Feſtus* who ſucceeded him; and yet St. *Paul* obſerving the Partiality of *Feſtus*, that he was deliberating to throw *(l)* him into the

(d) Acts xxv. 11.
(e) Acts xxiii. 12.—xxv. 3.
(f) Acts xxiii. 23, 24.
(g) Acts xviii. 14, 15, 16. and Ch. xxiii. 29.
(h) Acts xxiv. 5.
(i) Ibid. ver. 12, 13, 18.
(k) Ch. xxv. 7.
(l) Ch. xxv. 9. compar'd with ver. 2, 3.

Snares

Snares of thoſe Men who thirſted after his Blood; he appeal'd from the partial *Feſtus* to *Cæſar*, from an inferior to a ſuperior Civil Judge, as is *(m)* manifeſt; and not from an Eccleſiaſtical to a Civil Judge. And indeed, *Sir*, t'oſe who ſay, St. *Paul* appeal'd to an Heathen Emperor in Cauſes formally Eccleſiaſtical, muſt have a very *mean*, or a very *malicious Opinion* of him, in endeavouring to brand him with ſuch a *ridiculous Action*, as referring his *Chriſtian Faith* to the Deciſion of an *infidel Prince*; or appealing from the Church to one without the Church, in Matters properly and formally religious.

If, Sir, the Caſe be put in Chriſtian Countries, our *Adverſaries Scheme* does quite ſubvert the Notion and Nature of an *Appeal:* For an *Appeal* is always from an inferior to a ſuperior Judge, *in eadem ſerie*, in the ſame Nature and Kind of Judicatures, and not in different.

If it be ſuppos'd, that one is highly injur'd by the Church Governors; and Relief be aſk'd. I conceive, *Sir*, that we ought to diſtinguiſh between a *Complaint* and an *Appeal*, and ſay, that if the Church Governors ſhould at any Time ſo proceed againſt common Juſtice, as to cenſure a Perſon unheard, or before Conviction, either by Confeſſion, or by ſufficient Witneſſes; which yet by the Way, I think is a *very uncharitable invidious Suppoſition:* And if this Perſon be affected in his *Civil Rights*, by Intervention of the ſecular Laws, then the injur'd Perſon may complain to the ſecular Prince; who in view of reſcuing his Subject from *temporal Difficulties*, may effectually oblige the Eccleſiaſtical Judges to *re-conſider the Caſe*.

Objection. The Independence of the Church upon the State in its pure Spirituals, is an *odious Preſbyterian Doctrine*; and therefore away with it. At this Rate ſpeaks a modern *(n)* Author.

In *anſwering this terrible Charge:* I will 1. ſhew, that ſuppoſing it were maintain'd by the *Preſbyterians*, it is not therefore merely upon that account to be rejected. 2. That there is a great Difference between the *Preſbyterians* and us, as to this Doctrine: And 3. That there is a greater, yea a *thorough Diſagreement*, in the *Application* of it.

1. Tho' the Point in hand were a Favourite of the *Preſbyterians*, we muſt not *eo nomine*, only for that Reaſon, caſhier it. There are few or no Sects ſo abandon'd to Error, as not to retain ſome Truths, which we ought not to diſcard or reverſe. He muſt be a very *Infidel*, that would deny the ever-glorious Doctrine of the *Trinity* in *Unity*, becauſe the *Preſbyterians* embrace it.

And here, for Information's Sake; I beg Leave, Sir, to propound a few Queries.

Qu. 1. Setting aſide the new Word Tranſubſtantiation, and the groſs Corporal Preſence being excluded. I aſk, Whether the Clergy ought to ſtrike this Expreſſion out of our Catechiſm: *The Body and Blood of Chriſt which are* verily and indeed *taken and receiv'd by* the Faithful *in the Lord's Supper?* Be-

(m) Ibid. ver. 10, 11.

(n) New High Church turn'd old Preſbyterian. *Utrum horum. London*, printed 1709. *p.* 6.

cauſe

cauſe Mr. *Calvin*, the Father of the *Preſbyterians*, moſt deliberately *(o)* affirms, " That the *true ſubſtantial* Body and Blood of Chriſt is exhibited to, and re-" ceiv'd by the Faithful, in the Lord's Supper: That they receive it not by " Imagination only, or by mental Underſtanding; but do enjoy it *really* and " *indeed*, &c. That *(p)* that Body and Blood of Chriſt, *in which he fulfill'd* " *all Obedience* to procure Righteouſneſs for us, *is truly given to us*; whereby " firſt we ſhould become one Body with him, and then being Partakers " of his *Subſtance*; may feel his Power in communicating all his Benefits.

Muſt we be oblig'd, *Sir*, to ſay, that in this Point of the *Real Preſence* there is more than a *Modal Difference*, or more than a Difference as to the Manner of its being there, between us and our Adverſaries; becauſe the ſame *Calvin* ſays, that *(q) there is no more?*

Muſt we expunge the aboveſaid Sentence out of our Catechiſm, becauſe a *Scotch (r) Preſbyterian Catechiſm*, which I had the Honour to ſee in *the Honourable* Mr. *Archibald Campbell*'s curious Library, teaches as follows? I will not deviate from the Original ſo much, as to alter the Spelling. *The Rubrick or Title runs thus,*

Chriſtis naturall bodie is receaued.

" *Queſtion.* Then we receaue onlie the tokens, and not his bodie?
" *Anſwer.* We receave his very ſubſtantial bodie and bloode.
" *Qu.* How can that be prouen?
" *An.* By the trueth of his Wordes, and Sacrament.
" *Qu.* Declare that by the Sacrament.
" *An.* As that naturall ſubſtance of the Elementis is giuen, even ſo the " naturall Subſtance of CHRISTIS bodie.
" *Qu.* But his naturall bodie is in heauen.
" *An.* No dout, but yet we receaue it in Earth.
" *Qu.* How can that be?
" *An.* By the wonderfull working of the holie Spirit.

Qu. 2. Mr. *Richard Baxter* ſays, *(s)* " *What* Objective Preſence to the " Senſes, Eyes and Ears, of thoſe that heard Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and

(o) Cæterum his abſurditatibus ſublatis, quicquid ad exprimendam veram ſubſtantialemque *Corporis ac Sanguinis Domini communicationem, quæ ſub ſacris Cœnæ Symbolis fidelibus exhibetur, facere poteſt; libenter recipio: atque ita ut non Imaginatione duntaxat aut mentis Intelligentia percipere, ſed ut* re ipſa *frui in alimentum vitæ æternæ intelligantur.* Calv. Inſtitut. *l.* 4. *c.* 17. § 19.

(p) Dico igitur, in Cœnæ Myſterio per Symbola panis & vini, Chriſtum vere nobis exhiberi, adeoque Corpus & Sanguinem ejus, in quibus omnem Obedientiam pro comparanda nobis juſtitia adimplevit: quo ſcilicet primum in unum Corpus cum ipſo coaleſcamus; deinde participes Subſtantiæ *ejus facti, in bonorum omnium communicatione virtutem quoque ſentiamus.* Calv. Inſt. *l.* 4. *c.* 17. § 11.

(q) Ergo tantum de modo *quæſtio eſt.* Ibid. § 31.

(r) A ſhort Summe of the whole Catechiſme, *&c.* gathered by Mr. *Johne Craig*, Miniſter of God's Worde, to the King's M. imprinted at *Edinburgh*, by *Henrie Charteris.* Anno. M.D.LXXXI. *Cum Privilegio Regali.*

(s) Full and eaſy Satisfaction which is the true and ſafe Religion. *London*, printed 1674. *p.* 22.

" ſaw their Miracles, was to the firſt Converts in thoſe Times, *that* partly " *Tradition* is to us, or the neceſſary *Medium.* The Words could not come " down to us, without ſome to deliver them: And we have, *ſays he*, the " *Bible* by *Tradition.*" Now, *Sir*, I deſire to be reſolv'd, whether we are oblig'd to deny all this, only becauſe a *Preſbyterian Rabbi* aſſerts it?

Qu. 3. A Provincial Aſſembly of *Preſbyterian Preachers*, arguing againſt the *Sectarian Congregational Independents*, *(t)* affirms, and *(u)* largely proves, that the *Engliſh* Dioceſan Biſhops and Miniſters are true, and not Antichriſtian. Shall we, *Sir*, deny; becauſe they, *tho' ſelf-condemn'd*, affirm this?

Qu. 4. The ſame *Preſbyterian Provincial Aſſembly* declares to the World, *(w)* that *Popiſh Ordination* and *Baptiſm* are ſound for the Subſtance: *(x)* That the *Miniſtry* paſſing to us *thro' Rome* is as valid as the *Scriptures*, *Sacraments*, or any other *Goſpel Ordinances* which we now enjoy; which, *ſay they*, do all deſcend to us from the *Apoſtles* thro' the *Romiſh Church:* And that the *falſe Worſhip*, *&c. (y)* of the *Church* of *Rome* does not unchurch her.

Now, *Sir*, I deſire to be exactly inform'd, Whether we muſt reject theſe Poſitions, becauſe embrac'd by *Preſbyterians? And then:* Whether rejecting them as falſe, would not ſap the Foundation of the Reformation?

Qu. 5. Whether ought we to deny *the Being* of *(z)* the Holy Catholick Church, and the Neceſſity of the Communion of Saints therein, or the Neceſſity of being in her Boſom in order to obtain Pardon and Salvation, becauſe *Calvin* the Patriarch of the Preſbyterians ſays ſo? And is it, *Sir*, a Preſbyterian Error to affirm that the Church is but *One*, or as *Calvin* ſays, " *(a)* that it [the Church] is call'd Catholick or Univerſal, becauſe we can- " not find two or three Churches, but that Chriſt muſt be torn aſunder, " which is impoſſible?

Qu. 6. Muſt this Aſſertion, " *(b)* We are aſſur'd that Truth ſhall always " abide with us, ſo long as we are kept in the Boſom of the Church, be re- " jected, becauſe *Calvin* held it?" Muſt this Poſition be caſhier'd, that though the Catholick Church, which knows but in part, may err in ſome Things, yet cannot fall into fundamental, mortal and incurable Errors, ſuch as would take away the Name and Nature of a true Church, and deſtroy the Body of Chriſt; ſeeing he has promis'd, that the *(c)* Gates of Hell ſhall not [*ſo*] prevail?

But, 2. There is a great Difference between the *Preſbyterians* and us, as to the Doctrine of Independency in hand; for tho' they deny their Church Power to depend upon Kings, yet, I appeal to their Conſcience, would not

(t) Jus Divin. Miniſt. Evang. part 2. p. 27, 28.
(u) Ibid. p. 30, 31.
(w) Ibid. p. 43. and 41.
(x) Ibid. p. 33.
(y) Ibid. p. 42, 43.
(z) Extra ejus [*Catholicæ Eccleſiæ*] *gremium nulla eſt ſperanda peccatorum remiſſio, nec ulla ſalus.* Calv. Inſtit. *l.* 4. *c.* 1. § 4.

(a) Ideo Catholica dicitur ſeu Univerſalis [*Eccleſia*] *quia non duas aut tres invenire liceat quin diſcerpatur Chriſtus, quod fieri non poteſt.* Ibid. *l.* 4. *c.* 1. § 2.
(b) Accedit, quod Veritatem, dum in Eccleſiæ ſinu continemur, ſemper nobis conſtaturam, ſecuri ſumus. Ibid. § 3.
(c) St. *Matthew* xvi. 18.

they

they have the *Power* and *very Being of Kings* to depend *upon themſelves?* Will they do *any Right*, or take *any Wrong* in this Caſe, when 'tis in their Power to do otherways? *Let former Days anſwer.* Have they not extended their pretended Eccleſiaſtical Power to purely *ſecular Matters*, and taken upon them to ſit as Judges in Point of common *Trade* and *Commerce?* Did they not by an Act of Aſſembly at *Dundee* 1592, *(d)* prohibit the *Scots* trading with any of the *King of Spain*'s Dominions? When the King of *Scotland* commanded his Citizens of *Edinburgh* to treat the Ambaſſadors of the *French* King at a *ſplendid Dinner* 1581, did not they command a *Faſt* on the ſame very Day, *(e)* as the *Author of the Right* tells us, when he perverſly attempts to turn that *groſs Diſloyalty* into an Argument againſt us. Have they not over-rul'd Acts of Parliament *(f)* by Acts of their Aſſembly, and hook'd in every thing under their Cognizance *in Ordine ad Spiritualia?* Don't they add the *Temporal* to their *pretended Spiritual Sword*, and have they not upon Principle fought againſt their King, and at laſt murder'd him, to advance their *new ill-form'd Diſcipline?* Do not their Parliament Sermons in the Years of their *great Rebellion* abundantly declare this? And does not their preſent *dear Doctrine* of Reſiſtance ſhew that they are *no Changelings*, and that their former *bloody Principle* ſcorns a *Revolution?*

On the contrary, *Sir*, our Doctrine is, that Chriſt's Kingdom the *Church* is *(g) not of this World*, and ſo claims not any Power of determining *State-Matters*; it entrenches not in the leaſt upon the Regal Potentates, but ſtrenuouſly maintains, that our Kings and Queens hold their Crowns independent of any but God: Hence is the Motto, DEU ET MON DROIT, *God and my Right:* Hence is DEI GRATIA ſtampt on *our Coin*, as the *Emperors* had upon theirs a Hand coming out of the Clouds, holding a Crown, and placing it on their Heads. I [*not the Clergy, or Laity, or both*] have ſaid, *(h)* Ye are Gods. They are Children not of the *moſt Voices*, but of the *moſt High:* They are the *Lord's Anointed*, and not the *People's*. And, Sir, the Aſſerters of this Doctrine are ſo far from ſupplanting or vexing Kings, that in caſe *they* oppoſe the Clergy in the Diſcharge of their purely ſpiritual Offices, *ſuch Clergy* is taught to uſe no other Arms but *Prayers and Tears*, to attempt no Methods but what are *purely ſpiritual.* They chuſe rather to *ſuffer Wrong*, than to *do it:* They know, that *AS* in ſome Caſes 'tis neceſſary not to obey, *SO* in all Caſes 'tis neceſſary not to reſiſt their King or Queen in an hoſtile Manner, as the *Preſbyterian Doctors of Reſiſtance* have done.

3. Tho' the *Preſbyterians* and we were agreed in this Doctrine of Church Independency, as you ſee, *Sir*, we are not; yet ſtill there's a *thorough Diſagreement* between us, as to the *Application* of the Doctrine.

We ſay, that our *Bleſſed Lord* committed the authoritative Adminiſtration of his Spiritual Kingdom, the Church, to his *Apoſtles* and *their Succeſſors the*

(d) Archbiſhop *Spotſwood*'s Hiſt. *p.* 393. cited by the Author of *Toleration diſcuſs'd*, &c. Printed at *London*, 1670. *p.* 399.

(e) Rights, &c. Part 1. Ed. 2. *p.* 34.

(f) Spotſwood's Hiſt. *p.* 418. cited in *Toleration diſcuſs'd*, p. 321.

(g) St. *John* xviii. 36.

(h) Pſal. lxxxii. 6.

Biſhops, as his Vicegerents unto the End of the World, as appears by *(i)* their Commiſſion.

'Tis certain that the *Apoſtles* exercis'd a Power ſuperior to all the other Officers of the Church; and it were abſurd to imagine, that the Inſtitution of that *Order* of *Perſons*, who were to be Church Governors, and the *general Methods of Government* then ſettled and ordinarily practis'd by the *Apoſtles*, ſhould be only *Local*, *Perſonal*, and *Temporary*, like ſome *Dials* and *Almanacks*, calculated only for ſome ſpecial Meridians: For at this bold rate, audacious Men might diſpute the other Evangelick Inſtitutions out of the Church, and ſay, that they were to continue only for *one Age*.

We have, Sir, as certain an Account of the Succeſſion of this ſupreme Eccleſiaſtical Order of *Biſhops* to the *Apoſtles*, in the greater Churches, as *Jeruſalem*, *Antioch*, *Rome*, and *Alexandria*; and that in the earlieſt Times, in which alone the *Preſbyterians* doubt of it; as we have of the Succeſſion of our *Engliſh Biſhops*, even from the Reformation: Yea, Sir, the Government of the Church by *Biſhops* having *Preſbyters* and *Deacons* Subjects to them, has, in Conſequence of Chriſt's Promiſe, deſcended with the *other Fundamentals* of Chriſtianity, and with the *ſame Evidence* through all Ages, and in all Places, where the Chriſtian Religion has extended itſelf.

On the contrary, *Sir*, the *Preſbyterians* have, in direct Oppoſition, rebell'd againſt, and rejected the ſupreme Eccleſiaſtick Order and Authority of Biſhops, to whom Chriſt committed this independent Church Power: And not only ſo, but have uſurp'd and *ſacrilegiouſly* apply'd it to themſelves; and ſo have as much as in them lies, overthrown the original unalterable Divine Conſtitution of the *Catholick Church*, and effectually thrown themſelves out of it.

Theſe *Preſbyterians*, and the other *Sectarians* ſprang out of their Bowels, though they were exactly right in this Doctrine of the Church's Independency *in Spirituals* upon the Crown, as they are not; yet they would have *no Right* to apply it to themſelves, or to put in a Claim againſt the Encroachments of any ſecular Potentates; becauſe they have neither Succeſſion nor Ordination, neither Biſhops, Prieſts nor Deacons, without which there can be no Church. They have no Portion of Spiritual Power deriv'd to them from *Chriſt*, having cut themſelves off from the rightful Succeſſors of the *Apoſtles*, whom the *bleſſed Jeſus ſent, as his Father ſent him*; and conſequently, they have no Reaſon to expect that *God* ſhould ratify any thing in Heaven which they pretend to act on Earth, in *their uſurp'd Exerciſe* of independent Spiritual Authority.

I am aware, *Sir*, that ſuch Suggeſtions as theſe are call'd very uncharitable, by the Gentlemen of Latitude, who ſeem to have forgot the true Notion of the Church, the *Peculium* and Chriſtian Prieſthood. *What? To unchurch ſuch great Numbers, and involve them in all the dreadful Conſequences! How uncharitable*, ſay they, *beſides the Affront put upon the Secular Potentates that tolerate and countenance them.*

(i) St. *Matt.* xxviii. 18, 19, 20.

But,

But, *Sir*, all this will vaniſh by conſidering, that no Body excludes them from the *Catholick Church*, but themſelves: That 'tis by *their own Act*, in rejecting the Church's Government and Governors by Divine Inſtitution, that they *cut themſelves off from the Church*, and forfeit thoſe ſpiritual Privileges annex'd to its Communion. And, *Sir*, when People openly and avowedly reject an *inſtituted Fundamental* of Church Government, and yet claim *Church Privileges*, and among the reſt, Independency upon the Crown in Spirituals; 'tis no ways uncharitable, openly to tell them of it, *let their Numbers be ever ſo great:* For great Numbers in a groſs fundamental Error, don't extenuate, but aggravate the Fault, and loudly demand us to oppoſe it, *in Charity to their Perſons.*

As to *their Pretence* of our affronting the Secular Potentates, who, *they ſay*, do tolerate and countenance them in their independent Church Power. This, *Sir*, is a *mere Bug-bear:* For thoſe Princes have nothing to fear from Men of *unconditionally Loyal Principles*, without *Reſerves* or *Salvoes.* Beſides, *Sir*, however the Civil Sovereign may permit *Rebels* againſt the *Epiſcopal Order* amongſt us, as God Almighty permits the Devil to run to and fro *in Chains*, to exerciſe the Faith, Patience and Courage of his People; yet it would be impious to ſuppoſe, that any King or Queen who is entirely for Epiſcopal Church Government, ſhould heartily approve a Rebellion againſt it. Hence it is, that the *Act of Exemption* from the Penalties of certain Laws, in Favour of the *Engliſh Diſſenters*, commonly but *improperly* call'd the *Act of Toleration*, looks upon them as no Part of the Catholick Cnurch, in that it expreſly calls *the Orders of their Diſſenting Teachers*, *PRETENDED HOLY ORDERS*; which is to condemn them as effectually, as the State can do in *Church Caſes:* For

'Tis moſt certain, that *pretended* holy Orders are not *true real* Holy Orders, and what is not true real Holy Orders in *England*, cannot be *ſo* in any other Part of the World; and ſuch as have no true real Holy Orders, cannot *Authoritatively adminiſter* the Holy Offices, and there is *no Church State*, where *no due Care* is taken for ſuch Adminiſtrations: And conſequently, *OUR DISSENTERS* having taken *no Care* for better Orders than they had, when the *Act of Exemption* paſs'd in their Favour; are in the declar'd Senſe of that Act, *NO CHURCH:* And ſo have no Power to conduct the purely Spirituals, independently on the Crown; nor ſhould they pretend to it.

If any unwary Members of the Church of *England* do abet the *Preſbyterians Pretenſions* to a Church State, as indeed they boaſt of having many ſuch Friends; I wou'd put a few *Queries* to the Abettors.

Query 1. When did this Preſbyterian Anti Epiſcopal pretended Church commence? In what Age? Whether in the Apoſtles Time, or how long ſince? Let them produce the Originals of ſuch a Church, and the *Epocha* of the Succeſſion of their Miniſters?

Qu. 2 Let them ſhew us, in what Part of the World there was ever any viſible Church of their Anti-prelatick Stamp and Diſcipline, applied to, and diſtinguiſh'd from other Sects of Chriſtians, for the firſt Fourteen Hundred Years after our Saviour?

Qu. 3. If

Qu. 3. If their Church has ſubſiſted all that Time in a *State of Inviſibility*, unknown to all the World beſides themſelves: Let them demonſtrate this unto us? They are under no Perſecution, the Secret may be divulg'd.

Qu. 4. Suppoſing the *Preſbyterians* cou'd demonſtrate this, which is yet impoſſible; how can they reconcile ſuch an *inviſible State* of their Anti-prelatick Church, with our Saviour's Veracity, when he ſaid, *(k) Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the End of the World.* And that *(l)* the Gates of Hell *ſhould never prevail* againſt his Church? How can they reconcile *their inviſible Circumſtances* with our Saviour's ſpeaking of his Church, as *a City ſet (m) on an Hill, that cannot be hid?* And as a Society that ſhould always be apply'd to, ſeen, heard and underſtood? He *(n)* [whoſoever he be, and *at what Time ſoever*,] that will not hear the Church, *let him be unto thee as an Heathen*, &c.

In a Word, *Sir*, if they be *Chriſt's Church*, a Succeſſion of whoſe *Paſtors*, as the *Principle of Unity* to the Church, is *(o)* perpetually guarded by his Promiſe; elſe it had been the moſt precarious uncertain Thing in the World: Then

Qu. 5. Whether the Preſbyterians can deduce the uninterrupted Miſſion and Succeſſion of their Miniſters, from the Apoſtles Times, thro' all Ages, to this very Day?

If, *Sir*, it be impoſſible for them to do this, as certainly it is, then they have *no Biſhop, no Prieſt*; without whom, as *(p)* St. *Ignatius* co-temporary with the *Apoſtles* ſays, there cannot be ſo much as the *Name of a Church*: And if ſo, they have no Right to claim or to exerciſe any *Church* Power; for as St. *Cyprian* ſays of the Schiſmaticks in his Days, *(q)* they ſucceed to no Body, by whom they can derive ſuch a Power, but proceed from themſelves, and are the Original of their own Authority: Which is in effect, to be *lamentably independent upon Chriſt himſelf.*

Thus you ſee, *Sir*, with how little Reaſon 'tis objected to *Epiſcopalians*, that the Independency of the Church, in its purely Spirituals, upon the State, as above explain'd, is a Preſbyterian Doctrine; ſeeing we ſo vaſtly differ from them in the Doctrine itſelf, and *totally* in the Application of it: The Difference, at leaſt, being as great as was between the Royaliſts and the Rebels *in another Caſe*, when the *Rebels* apply'd the Subſtantials of Regal Sovereignty, to that *execrable tyrannical Uſurper* Oliver Cromwell.

But, *Sir*, this is not all: The *Author of the Rights*, &c. purſues this Doctrine with a more terrible

Objection. " The Independence of the Church, in its purely ſpiritual Ad-" miniſtrations, upon the State; is a Popiſh Doctrine;" as that Gentleman ſays expreſly in a great many Places of his Book; or to the ſame Purpoſe.

(*k*) St. *Matth.* xxviii. 20.
(*l*) *Ibid.* xvi. 18.
(*m*) *Ibid.* Ch. v. 14.
(*n*) *Ibid.* Ch. xviii. 17.
(*o*) *Eph.* iv. 8, 11, 12, 13. St. *Mat.* xxviii. 20.
(*p*) Χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται. *Ignat. Ep. ad Tralleſios. Oxon. Edit.* 1708. p. 82.
(*q*) *Succedunt nemini, a ſeipſis orti.*

An-

Answer 1. 'Tis too well known, *Sir*, that the Word *Popery*, which always excites the utmost Resentment of *Englishmen*, has been often cunningly misapply'd to the most primitive Truths, *to serve a turn: (r)* The *Trinity*, *(s) Infant Baptism*, *(t)* the *Immortality of the Soul*, and *(u)* an *ordain'd Ministry* have been, and are still call'd *Popish*, by such as formerly had, and still have a Mind to extirpate these Doctrines.

In the Beginning of the *great Rebellion*, when they were contriving *(w) ROOT AND BRANCH WORK*, *POPERY* was the *Word* perpetually sounded in the People's Ears, to engage them to lay to an *AX*. "*(x)* He, [the venerable *Archbishop Laud*] said the *then* great Speech-maker, pleads fair for a "Patriarchate——He pleads *Popeship* under the Name of a Patriarch: And "I much fear, *said he*, lest the End and Top of his Patriarchal Plea may be "as that of *Cardinal Pope* his Predecessor, who would have two Heads, one, "*Caput Regale*; another, *Caput Sacerdotale:* A droud Parallel, to set up the "*Mitre* as high as the *Crown*." Thus *that Manager*. The Artists in levelling alarum'd the People with a continual Cry of *Popery*, *Popery*; as a sort of Witch-craft, to scare them from every Thing which they were pleas'd to persecute with that *frightful Sound*.

2. Supposing, but not granting, that this Doctrine, as above explain'd, were exactly asserted by the *Romish* Church: I pray, Sir, to be satisfy'd in the following *Queries*.

Qu. 1. Is it reasonable to reject any Doctrine that the *Church of Rome* teaches, *ONLY* because she teaches it, without farther Enquiry into the Merits of the Cause? Must we turn *Infidels*, *in pure Spite* to those of the *Roman* Communion? They maintain the *Apostles Creed*, must we therefore reprobate and discharge it? Are there not, *Sir*, a great many Things that the Papists say and hold, which are *no Superfætations* of *Popery*, but genuine Branches of true Christianity, which may be said *in terminis* by Protestants, and yet they never a whit the worse, but much the better?

Qu. 2. Must we be oblig'd *entirely* to reject the following Points, *without Explication*, because the *Church* of *Rome* literally asserts them, tho' *She* too often adds *erroneous Superstructures* which *we disown*, and *most uncharitably* differs from us as to the Beneficial Application of the uncontroverted Truths; whilst *She*, tho' but an *unsound Part* of the *Catholick Church*, does *most unjustly* call herself the *Whole Catholick Church*, and doctrinally engrosseth the saving Benefits of all reveal'd Truths and Ordinances to herself, *exclusive of us*; which we do not, *exclusive of* her?

(*r*) Mysteries discovered by *Paul Best*. 1647. *p*. 5, 11. cited in a Testimony of the Truths of *Jesus Christ*, &c. Printed 1648. and subscribed by 52 *Presbyterian* Ministers, *p*. 6, 7.

(*s*) Vanity of Childish Baptism. *Part* 2. *p*. 30. Cited Ibid. *p*. 18.

(*t*) Man's Mortality. Printed 1643. *p*. 56. Cited Ibid. *p*. 19, 20.

(*u*) *De Laune's* Plea, *&c.* recommended by *D. Foe*. 1706. *p*. 21, 22.

(*w*) A Collection of Speeches made by Sir *Edward Dering*. *Lond*. Printed 1642. *p*. 73.

(*x*) Ibid. *p*. 8. The Speech was made in the House of Commons. *November* 23, 1640.

I desire

I desire, *Sir*, that to avoid Misunderstanding, as well as to prevent Repetition, you would be pleas'd to keep in Mind the Contents of the second Query, while you read the four immediately following.

Qu. 3. Whether it be a Popish Error to assert an uninterrupted Lineal Succession of Bishops and Priests, *in virtue of our Saviour's* (y) *Promise*, as essentially necessary to his Church; because Papists speak to the same Effect? And hence, Whether the Doctrine of the *perpetual Visibility of the Catholick Church* from its very Beginning to the Consummation of all Things, tho' as to some Parts or particular Members of it, obscured for a Time, be a *Popish Invention*, because the Papists assert the same; tho' they most unjustly apply it *only* to themselves? Was *Bishop Jewel* in the wrong for saying, that "(z) the General or outward Church of God is visible and may be seen." Was Dr. *Ri. Field* infected with Popery, for affirming, that "(a) it cannot "be but they that are the true Church, must, by Profession of the Truth, "make themselves known, in such Sort, that by their Profession and Practice, "they may be discern'd from other Men?" Whether it be not an Impeachment of the Divine Veracity, Power, and Goodness, to say, that the *Catholick Church* mention'd in our Creed, ever was or can be reduc'd to an invisible State, so as not to be seen, heard or publickly understood: Forasmuch as her Sovereign King, her Rock and Protector has, in that as well as other Respects, engag'd his Omnipotence in Opposition *to the Gates* [the utmost Power and Policy] *of Hell*: And in Consequence of that, has, in the Case of Offences, left a perpetual standing Rule, *TELL IT UNTO THE CHURCH*, and if he neglect to *HEAR THE CHURCH*, let him be unto thee as an *Heathen Man* and a *Publican*?

Qu. 4. Whether, *Sir*, we are oblig'd to deny, because *those of the Roman Communion*, tho' by gross Misapplication of it *only* to themselves, do affirm, that the Holy Scriptures are committed only to the one Catholick Church, as (b) Guardian and Keeper of them, and that the Truth is only to be sought and ordinarily found there; all out of her having lost all Right and Claim to those Spiritual Treasures, Privileges and Benefits: Whatever they may pretend to the contrary? Whether, *Sir*, this Article of the Church of *England*, (c) *the Church hath Authority in Controversies of Faith*: Whether the Exposition of the Catholick Church, or Apostolical *Universal Tradition*, as being the best Comment upon the Holy Scriptures, the best Guide in any doubtful Matters, must be arraign'd; because the Papists do *in general Terms* say the like, tho' differing from us *in particular Application*? Whether some Things

(y) *St. Matth.* xxviii. 20.

(z) Defence of the Apology of the Church of *England*, &c. *London*, printed 1571. *p.* 428.

(a) *Lib.* 3. *p.* 19. cited by *Richard Montague* in his *Appello Cæsarem*. A just Appeal from two unjust Informers, *London*, printed 1625. *p.* 137. This Book was approved and licensed by Dr. *Francis White* Dean of *Carlisle*, as agreeable to the Doctrine, Faith and Discipline established in the Church of *England*. *Feb.* 15, 1564. See from *p.* 132, to *p.* 140. of *Montague's Appeal*.

(b) 1 *Tim.* iii. 15. 2 *Tim.* i. 13.

(c) Article 20 of the Church of *England*.

in

in St. *Paul*'s Writings, *(d) hard to be underſtood*, *(e)* " Don't make the early " Hiſtories and Practices of the Church, not only lawful, but neceſſary " Explainers of ſuch Places of Scripture? Whether *(f)* (in the Caſe of *Arius*) " the Biſhop of *Alexandria*'s Queſtion put to the other Biſhops in Synod, " *Which of you ever heard ſuch Things?* was not a proper Method to find " out any Hereſy or novel Doctrine, and to know the Catholick Doctrine " which had been univerſally receiv'd? Whether the univerſal Church in all " Ages, tho' ſhe has no Power to impoſe any new Article of Faith, be not " yet a competent ſufficient Witneſs, what that Doctrine and Faith is, which " was once deliver'd to the Saints?

Qu. 5. Whether, as the preſent Biſhop of *Sarum* ſays, it would not have been *(g)* a ſullen and childiſh Peeviſhneſs to have chang'd the formal Words us'd in the Impoſition of Hands, *receive the Holy Ghoſt*, becauſe it was us'd in the Church of *Rome?*

Qu. 6. Whether we muſt expunge a Collect out of our Liturgy, and renounce the Guardianſhip of Angels *(h) their ſuccouring and defending us on Earth*, their kind and conſtant Care for the Children of God, becauſe thoſe of the *Roman* Communion thankfully acknowledge their Aſſiſtance?

But 2. Our Doctrine concerning the Diſtinction between the *Mitre* and the *Crown*, and the Independence of the Church in its purely Spiritual Adminiſtrations, upon the State, is not the ſame with, but vaſtly different from the *Papal Doctrines* concerning them.

1. The Papal Doctrine about this Point is, that the *Pope* is the *Primary Subject* of purely Spiritual Church Power, yea that the Epiſcopal Power *(i)* is wholly in the Pope, as its Source, ——— who ſhares out to the other Eccleſiaſticks, as his Delegates only, ſuch Degrees of it as he pleaſes to communicate from his pretended Sovereign Plenitude: *Diego Lainez*, General of the *Jeſuits*, openly declar'd this in the Council of *Trent*, in an Oration which he then ſolemnly made againſt the Divine Rights of Biſhops. We ſay on the contrary, that every Biſhop has a Divine Right, that the *College of Biſhops* is the *Subject of the Power of the Keys*, that as the Reverend and Learned Dr. *George Hickes* obſerves, *(k)* " The Care of the Catholick Church was com- " mitted jointly, as well as ſeverally, and in whole, as well as in part, to " the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors the Biſhops. In which the Government " of the Church differs from the Government of the World.

(d) 2 *Pet.* iii. 16.

(e) See Queries to the Preſbyterians of *Scotland*, by a Gentleman of that Country. Printed for *George Strahan* at the *Golden Ball* againſt the *Royal Exchange*, 1702. p. 1.

(f) Ibid. p. 12.

(g) Vindication of the Ordinations of the Church of England, by *Gilbert Burnet* [now Biſhop of *Sarum.*] *London* printed for *E. H.* and *T. H.* for *R. Chiſwel*, at the *Roſe* and *Crown in* St. *Paul*'s Church-yard, 1707. *Pref.*

(h) St. *Michael* and *All Angels.*

(i) Card. *Palavicini*'s Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*, *l.* 8. *c.* 13. and *l.* 4. *c.* 12. cited by the Author of the *New Politick Lights of Modern* Rome's *Church Government. Eng.* Edition, 1678, *p.* 84, 85.

(k) The Chriſtian Prieſthood aſſerted, &c. Edit. 3. 1711. *p.* 211.

2. The *Pope* would have the Clergy independent on the State in Temporal Matters: He exempts the Goods and Perſons of *Clergymen* from the *Civil Juſtice* of the Kingdom, and the Cogniſance of the Civil Judicatures, and ſets up other Tribunals veſted with Power of Life and Death; which is deſtructive to the Rights of Kings. On the contrary, our Church diſclaims all external Force whatſoever; we ſtedfaſtly maintain the King's or Queen's Supremacy over all Perſons Eccleſiaſtical as well as Civil, in all Temporal Civil Affairs: Yea, that the Regal Supremacy extends itſelf not only to all Perſons, but alſo to all Cauſes, as well *Eccleſiaſtical* as Temporal, in a *purely Civil Political Way.*

3. The *Pope* exalts the *Mitre* above the *Crown* in Temporals: He aſſerts, that Kings depend upon him for their Crowns, in that he pretends to exterminate or depoſe them. This depoſing Doctrine was affirm'd by the Council of *Lateran*, *c.* 3. *A. D.* 1215. and was practis'd by ſix Popes ſucceſſively, during what was call'd the Holy League in *France*; of whom every one join'd with the League againſt the King. See the *Caſe of the Regale and of the Pontificate.* We on the contrary, do ſtrenuouſly maintain *Non-reſiſtance*; that it is utterly unlawful, *(l)* "though the King or Queen ſhould turn Apo-" ſtate, Heretick or Tyrant, to lift up any Hand againſt him, except in " Prayer to Heaven.

In a Word, *Sir*, the Independence of the Church, as above explain'd, is ſo far from being a *Papal* Doctrine and Practice, that it is really ſuch an Enemy to the *Pope's Supremacy*, as that undoubtedly *it muſt needs be aboliſh'd wherever our Doctrine takes Place.* The *Partition* of Eccleſiaſtical Power between the *Mitre* and the *Crown*, thoſe Degrees of the Dependence of the Church, in its purely Spirituals, upon the State, which are yet in Uſe, were the Effects of Papal Policy to aggrandize the *See of Rome*, and to uſher in the *Pontificate:* For the *Popes* or Biſhops of *Rome* not being content with that Primacy of Order, which was affix'd to their Sees, *jure Eccleſiaſtico*, graſp'd at a *Supremacy* and *Paramount Principality* of Power; but obſerving, that they could neither obtain or ſupport their encroaching univerſal Super-eminence over all the Biſhops of the World, without the Aſſiſtance of the Kings of the Earth; they confederated with thoſe Kings, and by *Concordats* and Agreements, form'd a *Partition* of the Eccleſiaſtical Powers. They were willing to give ſome Share to the Kings and Secular Princes, that they might ſecure all the reſt to themſelves, and cruſh the inherent governing Rights of the other Biſhops. It was, *Sir*, by ſuch Policy, that the Power of the whole Epiſcopal College was ſwallow'd up by the ſingle See of *Rome*, to the vaſt Prejudice of the antient Ariſtocratical and Collegiate Government of the Catholick Church. There remains, *Sir*, another terrible Thing, which they vehemently urge, as their laſt Struggle for a ſinking Cauſe.

Objection. This Independence of the Church upon the State (as the *Author of the Rights*, &c. frequently urges in his Preface) is contrary to the Laws of

(l) The Reverend Dr. *George Hickes*'s *Prefatory Diſcourſe, in Anſwer to the* Rights, &c. Edit. 3. *p.* 187.

the

the Land, to the *Regal Supremacy* eſtabliſh'd at the Reformation, by Act of Parliament, at the *Requeſt of the Clergy, (m)* as this Author ſays, *and penn'd in the very Words of their Petition.*

Anſwer 1. Suppoſing, but *not granting*, 1. That Acts of Parliament were contrary to this Doctrine, yet if it be, as explain'd in this and my former Letter, agreeable to the *irrepealable Acts of Chriſt* and his Apoſtles, as I firmly believe it is; then there is a very ſafe Queſtion upon ſacred Record in ſuch a Caſe: *Whether (n) it be right in the Sight of God, to hearken unto Men more than unto God?* I hope, *Sir*, you will judge, that if the heavenly and any earthly Throne ſhould *fundamentally* differ in their Commands: *Active Obedience* were due to *God Moſt High*, while you would humbly pay a *Paſſive Submiſſion* to the Secular Powers, and with a great and ſtedfaſt Mind bear the Puniſhments inflicted by them.

2. Suppoſing, *Sir*, that, as the preſent Biſhop of *Sarum* ſays, *(o)* "The "Extreme of raing the Eccleſiaſtical Power too high in the Times of Popery, "had now produc'd another, of depreſſing it too much:" And, *Sir*, ſuppoſing it to be true, as the ſame Biſhop ſays, *(p)* That there is a Defect [of ſome Part of godly Diſcipline] in our Church, which ſhe confeſſes in her Office of Commination, and wiſhes [what is defective] may be reſtor'd. In view of theſe two Quotations I beg Leave, *Sir*, humbly to offer the following Queries.

Qu. 1. Whether it would not be moſt undutiful to imagine, that our ſupreme Civil Governours ſucceſſively, would deliberately and authoritatively command us to bemoan the *Want*, and wiſh the Reſtoration of any Part of Primitive godly Diſcipline, which yet they are unwilling to permit or promote, even though themſelves from Time to Time join in the ſame *lamenting Wiſh?*

Qu. 2. Whether any thing that a Church has diſus'd, and wiſhes to be reſtor'd, can ever take Place in what the Biſhop of *Sarum* calls a depreſs'd State of Eccleſiaſtical Power?

Qu. 3. Whether the Clergy in any Country ought in this ſuppos'd depreſs'd State, (but confeſs'd as ſuch by the Biſhop of *Sarum*) decently to repreſent the Matter to the Secular Powers, and moſt humbly entreat a Redreſs of the Grievance?

Qu. 4. Whether the Biſhops and Clergy, as being *(q)* Inſpectors and Inſtructors of Chriſt's Flock, in which certainly Chriſtian Princes are eminently included, can be *(r)* free from their Blood, if they declare not unto them *(s)* the whole Counſel of God, ſo far as they know it?

Qu. 5. Whether it would not be a moſt impious Reflection upon any

(m) *Rights*, &c. Pref. *p.* xxxvii.
(n) *Acts* iv. 19.
(o) Biſhop *Burnet*'s Hiſtory, *Vol.* 2. *p.* 49, 50. cited by the Reverend Dr. *Francis Atterbury*, Dean of *Chriſt-Church*, and Prolocutor of the preſent Lower Houſe of Convocation, in his *Rights, Powers*, &c. *of an* Engliſh *Convocation*, p. 112.
(p) *A Vindication of the Ordinations of the Church of* England. *London*, Printed 1707. *Pref.*
(q) *Acts* xx. 28.
(r) Verſe 26.
(s) Verſe 27.

Chriſtian ſupreme Civil Magiſtrate in any Country, to ſuppoſe, that being ſufficiently appriz'd of the Merits of the Cauſe, by thoſe who are eſtabliſh'd by the Laws of God and the Land to inſtruct them in all Spirituals; they would continue the leaſt depreſſing Encroachment on the Eccleſiaſtical Powers?

Qu. 6. Suppoſing any Secular Prince Abroad, for there's no fear of it at Home, ſhould oppoſe the Clergy in their humble and juſt Deſires of enjoying the *Jure Divino Extent* of their Eccleſiaſtical Power, in every Branch of its *purely Spirituals*, according to the Scriptures, the Practice of the Primitive Church, and the Rules of Expediency and Reaſon. Whether or not the Right Reverend and Learned Biſhop of *Sarum*'s Determination is fit to be follow'd? "(*t*) The Prelates and other Divines, *ſays the Biſhop*, that compil'd our "Forms of Ordination, did it by virtue of the Authority they had from "Chriſt, as Paſtors of his Church, which did impower them to teach the "People the pure Word of God, and to adminiſter the Sacraments, *and per-* "*form all other holy Functions*, according to the Scripture, the Practice of the "Primitive Church, and the Rules of Expediency and Reaſon;" *And this they ought to have done*, ſays the Right Reverend Biſhop of *Sarum*, *tho' the Civil Power had oppos'd it: In which Caſe, their Duty had been to have ſubmitted to whatever Severities and Perſecutions they might have been put to, for the Name of Chriſt, or the Truth of his Goſpel.* Thus that learned Prelate.

3. This Doctrine of the Independence of the Church, in its purely Spirituals, upon the State; this Definition of the *Mitre* and the *Crown* is not contrary to the *Act of Supremacy*, as it has been, and ſtill is qualify'd and explain'd by *our Kings and Queens*, and in *Convocations* call'd by them, or *Writers* authoriz'd by them.

The Right Reverend Biſhop of *Sarum* excellently inſtructs us in this Point. (*u*) "In King *Henry* the *Eighth*'s Time, ſays the *Biſhop*, the Extent of the "King's Supremacy was defin'd in the *Neceſſary Erudition of a Chriſtian* "*Man*, that was ſet forth as the Standard of the Doctrine of that Time; and "it was upon this that all People were oblig'd to take their Meaſures, and "not upon ſome Expreſſions either in Acts of Parliament, or Acts of the "Convocation, nor upon ſome *Stretches of the King's Juriſdiction*. In this "then it is plainly ſaid, that with Relation to the Clergy, the King is to "*overſee them, and to cauſe that they execute their Paſtoral Office truly and* "*faithfully, and eſpecially in thoſe Points which by Chriſt and his Apoſtles were* "*committed to them:* And to this it is added, *that Biſhops and Prieſts are* "*bound to obey all the King's Laws, not being contrary to the Laws of God.* "So that here is expreſs'd that neceſſary Reſerve upon their Obedience, it

(*t*) *Vindication of the Ordinations of the Church of* England, *&c.* by *Gilbert Burnet. London*, printed 1707. *p.* 53, 54. cited by Dr. *Francis Atterbury*, Prolocutor of the Lower Houſe of Convocation, in his *Rights, Powers*, &c. *of an* Engliſh *Convocation*, &c. *p.* 195.

(*u*) *Reflections on the Relation of the* Engliſh *Reformation*, printed 1688. cited by the Reverend Dr. *George Hickes*, in his *Prefatory Diſcourſe in Anſwer to the* Rights, *&c.* Edit. 3. 1711. *p.* cxlvii, *&c.*

"being

" being provided that they were only bound to obey, *when the Laws were* " *not contrary to the Laws of God.* The other Reſerve is alſo made *of all* " *that Authority which was committed by Chriſt and his Apoſtles to the Biſhops* " *and Prieſts*; and we are not aſham'd to own it freely, that we ſee no other " Reſerves upon our Obedience to the King, beſides theſe: So that theſe " being here ſpecify'd, there was an unexceptionable Declaration made of the " *Extent of the King's Supremacy*; yet becauſe the Term *Head of the Church*, " had ſomething in it that ſeem'd harſh, there was yet a more expreſs Decla- " ration made of this Matter under Queen *Elizabeth*, of which indeed our " Author hath taken Notice; tho' I don't find he takes Notice of the former, " which he ought to have done, if he had intended to have repreſented this " Matterly ſincerely to the World, which I confeſs ſeems not to have trou- " bled him much. The Explanation made by Queen *Elizabeth* is ſo expreſs, " that even our Author cannot find any Advantage againſt the Words them- " ſelves, but acknowledgeth that they are ſuch general Terms, that the Ar- " ticle itſelf may be ſubſcrib'd by all Sides. Since then the declar'd Senſe " of thoſe general and extended Expreſſions that are in ſome Acts of Par- " liament, is ſuch, that there lies no juſt Exception againſt it; and ſince " this Senſe was not only given by Queen *Elizabeth*, who allow'd ſuch as " took the Oath to declare, that they took it *in that Senſe*; but it was after- " ward enacted both in Convocation and in Parliament, and put into the " Body of our Confeſſion of Faith; *this Explanation* muſt be conſider'd as " *the true Meaſure of the King's Supremacy*; and the wide Expreſſions of the " former Laws muſt be underſtood to be reſtrain'd by this, ſince *poſterior* " *Laws derogate from thoſe that were at firſt made.* So that according to all " this, the King's Supremacy doth not *give to our Princes the miniſtring either* " *of God's Word, or of the Sacraments — But that only Prerogative, which we* " *ſee to have been given always to all godly Princes in Holy Scriptures by God* " *himſelf; that is, that they ſhould rule all Eſtates and Degrees committed to* " *their Charge by God, whether they be Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal, and reſtrain* " *with the Civil Sword the Stubborn and the Evil-doers.* This is all that Su- " premacy, *ſays his Lordſhip*, which we are bound in Conſcience to own; " and if *the Letter of the Law, or the Stretches of that in the Adminiſtration* " *of it*, have carried this farther, we are not at all concern'd in it: But in " caſe any ſuch thing were made out, it could amount to no more than this; " that the *Civil Power had made ſome Encroachments on Eccleſiaſtical Autho-* " *rity*; *but the ſubmitting to an Oppreſſion, and the bearing it till ſome better* " *Times may deliver us from it, is no Argument againſt our Church:* On the " contrary, it is a Proof of our Temper and Patience, and of that Reſpect we " pay to that Civil Authority which God hath ſet over us, even when *we* " *think that it paſſeth its Bounds.*

" So that, upon the whole Matter, if the great and unmeaſur'd Extent of " the Papal Authority, made our Princes judge it neceſſary to ſecure them- " ſelves from thoſe Invaſions, *by ſtretching their Juriſdiction* a little too much; " on the other Hand, thoſe who have ſubmitted ſo tamely to the one, have " no Reaſon to reproach us for bearing the other Servitude, even ſuppoſing

" that

" that we granted that to be the Caſe: And if in the Time of our Reforma-
" tion, ſome of our Biſhops or other Writers, have carried the *Royal Supre-*
" *macy too far*, either in Acts of Convocation, or in their Writings; as thoſe
" Things are perſonal Matters, in which we are not at all concern'd, who do
" not pretend to aſſert an Infallibility in our Church, ſo their Exceſs in this
" was a Thing ſo natural, that we have all poſſible Reaſon to excuſe it, or at
" leaſt to cenſure it very gently. For as all Parties and Perſons are carried
" by a Byaſs very common to Mankind, to magnify that Authority which
" favours and ſupports them; ſo the Extremes of the Papal Tyranny, and
" the Eccleſiaſtical Power that had formerly prevail'd, might have carried
" them too far into the oppoſite Extreme, *of raiſing the Civil Power too*
" *high.*

Upon which he argues two Things. 1. " *The Clergy's binding themſelves*
" *never to make any Deciſions in Matters of Faith or Worſhip, till they had firſt*
" *obtain'd the Conſent of the Secular Governor.* 2. *The Clergy's authorizing the*
" *Secular Governor, or thoſe whom he ſhould nominate, to determine thoſe Matters*
" *in their ſtead.*

" It is certain, no Clergy in the World can make any ſuch Deputation; and
" if any have done it, it was a perſonal Act of theirs, which was null of it-
" ſelf, and did not indeed bind thoſe who made it, it being of its own Nature
" unlawful, much leſs can it bind their Succeſſors.

Thus, *Sir*, does this learned Caſuiſt and Prelate, ſo particularly ſkill'd in the Hiſtory of our Reformation, defend the Doctrine in hand againſt the invidious Attempts of all thoſe, who deſtitute of true Argument, would be battering it and its Votaries with the Statutes of *Henry* the *Eighth*, and the Submiſſion of the Clergy then. It is moſt evident then, *Sir*, that in the Days of that King, and afterwards, the *Regal Supremacy* was explain'd into ſuch a ſound equitable Senſe, as is conſiſtent with the ſpiritual Rights of Biſhops and Prieſts; and that Explanation was enacted both in Convocation and in Parliament, and put into the Body of our *(x)* Confeſſion of Faith: And as ſo explain'd, it imports no more than what is moſt readily own'd in my ſtating the Queſtion in the firſt Letter, and ſo leaves the Church in free Poſſeſſion of her Spiritual Powers.

And whereas the *Author of the Rights* ſays, that the Regal Supremacy was enacted at the Requeſt of the Clergy. It is a groſs Miſtake: For as a Reverend and Learned Divine tells us, *(y) The Clergy was then under great*
" *Terror,— a Præmunire hung over them, when they made their Submiſſion,*
" *which was about two Years before it was enacted by Parliament; — they were*
" *drawn into a Compliance with great Difficulty; and threatning Meſſages were*
" *ſent them by the King before they could be brought to it.* There is ſcarce any
" one Thing done in any of *Henry* the *Eighth's* Convocations, of which we

(x) Thirty-ſeventh Article of the Church of *England.*

(y) The Rights, Powers and Privileges of an Engliſh *Convocation*, &c. By the Reverend Dr. *Francis Atterbury*, Dean of *Chriſt's Church*, and Prolocutor of the Convocation. *London* Printed 1700. *p.* 92, 93. *Marg. Vid.* the whole third Chapter.

" have

" have a clearer and fuller Account, than of the Oppoſition which the *Court-*
" *Form of Submiſſion* met with from the Clergy, before they came up to it."
But ſuppoſing the Clergy had ſubmitted without Struggle, I aſk, *Sir*, whether they could alienate from themſelves or their Succeſſors, thoſe ſpiritual Powers wherewith Chriſt had peculiarly veſted them? Are poſitive Divine Inſtitutions alterable either by the *Mitre* or the *Crown*, or both? " If Biſhops, ſays the
" Reverend Dr. *Sherlock*, *(z)* will not exerciſe that Power which Chriſt has
" given them, they are accountable to their Lord for it: But they cannot
" give it away, neither from themſelves, nor from their Succeſſors, for *'tis*
" *theirs only to uſe, not to part with it:* And therefore, *ſays he*, every Biſhop
" may re-aſſume ſuch Rights, tho' a general Council ſhould give them away,
" becauſe *the Grant is void in itſelf.*" Thus does this *Reverend Dean*, in very plain *Engliſh*, teach the Succeſſors of *thoſe Biſhops*, how to comment upon *their involuntary Act of Submiſſion*, and puts them in mind to ſtand upon the original Rights of the Clergy, to recover [*in a decent, orderly and peaceable Way*] their inherent Spiritual Powers, rather than to confirm any Encroachments upon them.

If, *Sir*, the *Author of the Rights*, &c. will ſtill call this ſpiritual Independence of the Clergy, a Violation of the Regal Supremacy, and play the 25 *Henry* VIII. *c.* 19. againſt it without Intermiſſion: I would pray him to conſider, that all this Severity will recoil upon *himſelf* and *his Darling People*, with a redoubl'd Force: And how *pointed* muſt thoſe Arrows be that pierce the *Self-condemn'd*. Does not this Gentleman ſay, that *(a)* " as to theſe [re-
" ligious] Matters, Men are ſtill in a State of Nature, without any Sovereign
" Repreſentative to determine for them, what they ſhall believe and profeſs.
" —That 'tis a grand Miſtake to ſuppoſe the Magiſtrate's Power extends
" to *indifferent Things*. *(b)* That he [the Magiſtrate] is as much oblig'd to
" protect them in the Way *they chuſe* of *worſhipping God, as in any other in-*
" *different Matter!* *(c)* That he ſhould *treat all his Subjects alike*, how much
" ſoever they differ from him, or one another in theſe Matters. And does
" not he tell us that *(d)* the contrary Method ——— forces Men [them-
" ſelves] to defend by *Arms* thoſe *Natural Rights*, of which no humane
" Power can have a Right to deprive them. *(e)* That neither *Prince* nor
" *Prieſt* has any more Power over the *Peaſant* [in Matters of Religion] than
" *he* has over either of them. Thus the *Author of the Rights*. So that if our Laws have a *Laſh* in Readineſs for ſuch as claim an Independence in Spirituals upon the State (as I believe they have not) then woe to that *Gentleman* and his *Peaſants*, who muſt have double Stripes; becauſe they aſſume that Independence to themſelves, and all Hereticks whatſoever, which they deny

(z) Summary of the Controverſies between the Church of England *and the Church of* Rome, *cited in the Caſe of the Regale and Pontificate*, &c. Edit. 2. 1702. Pref. *p.* 32, 33.

(a) Rights of the Chriſtian Church, &c. Edit. 2. *p.* 15.

(b) Ibid. p. 16.

(c) Ibid. p. 17.

(d) Rights of the Chriſtian Church, p. 17.

(e) Ibid. p. 24.

to

to the Clergy, and threaten thoſe Princes with *Arms* who will refuſe it them: Which I am ſure comes within the Laſh of the Law.

Upon the whole, *Sir*, (*f*) " the Royal Supremacy, as the Reverend Dr. " *George Hickes* obſerves, muſt fall down before this Author's *Natural Right*, " as *Dagon* did before the *Ark*; becauſe in Matters of Religion, and the Ad- " miniſtration of it, the Magiſtrate hath no more Power over the meaneſt " Peaſant, than the meaneſt Peaſant hath over him. The 25 *H.* VIII. *c.* 19. " can be no Bar to this *Natural Right* of the *whole Body*, tho' he (*g*) cites it " as a *Bar* to the *Divine Right*, which the *Clergy* claim. The whole Body " will have a Power of Eccleſiaſtical Legiſlature, be they few, or be they " many, be they the *National*, or be they not the *National Church*, inde- " pendent on our Kings and Queens in or out of Parliament; and they muſt " be protected in their Worſhip, their Articles, their Rites and Ceremonies; " or elſe their natural Rights would authorize them, could they believe it, " to call the Magiſtrate to Account for Breach of Truſt, which they repos'd " in him." I pray, *Sir*, which of the two is moſt eligible, that ſecular Potentates ſhould confirm the ſpiritual Independence of the Clergy, who heartily diſclaim all Reſiſtance upon any Pretence or Cauſe whatſoever; or that they ſhould grant an unbounded Independence to the *Author of the Rights* and *his People*, howſoever poiſon'd with the moſt deſtructive Errors on this Side of Atheiſm, when, in the mean Time, he challenges them to a *Field of Blood* in caſe of Refuſal? There is another popular Fallacy which now occurs, and ought not to be omitted.

Objection. (*h*) " What a Folly and Madneſs is it, ſays the *Author of the* " *Rights*, &c. to take the Clergy's Word in things relating to their own " Power and Juriſdiction; and ſuffer 'em to judge in their own Cauſe, and " decide where their own Intereſt is concern'd, as they muſt, if they are Judges " in Matters of Religion? Then to be ſure, their own independent Power " ſhall be a fundamental Article.

Anſwer 1. As to the Intereſt of the Clergy, I need only to call to mind what a *learned and devout Author* ſays upon this Head. That worthy Gentleman puts the Queſtion thus. (*i*) " *But ſince the Intereſt of the Clergy is ſup-* " *ported by what they plead for, does not this make it reaſonable to ſuſpect, that* " *all reveal'd Religion is only Prieſtcraft?* And he gives full Satisfaction to it in the following Anſwer. " *It is very fit, that they who quit all other Methods* " *of procuring of Subſiſtence, ſhould live of that Goſpel they preach*; and tho' Men " may be ſwayed by Intereſt, yet the Truth and Falſhood of Things no " ways depend upon it; and the Meaſures of judging concerning them are " quite of another Nature. *It is ſufficient Evidence* muſt convince a Man that " is impartial, concerning the Truth of what is aſſerted; and it is reaſonable " to ſuppoſe that they who make it their Buſineſs to ſearch into theſe Mat-

(*f*) *Prefatory Diſcourſe in Anſwer to the Rights*, &c. Edit. 3. 1711. *p.* cxli.

(*g*) *Rights*, &c. Pref. *p.* vii.

(*h*) *Rights of the Chriſtian Chnrch*, &c. Edit. 2. *p.* 192.

(*i*) Mr. *Nelſon's Companion for the Feſtivals and Faſts of the Church of* England, &c. Edit. 5. *London* Printed 1708. *p.* 595.

" ters,

" ters, ſhould be beſt acquainted with the Grounds of Conviction. And we " find that our Value for the *Laws* of the *Land* and the Art of *Phyſick*, " is no ways abated by the great Advantages they make, who follow either " of thoſe Profeſſions.

2. Would the *Author of the Rights*, &c. have every one to judge for themſelves with reſpect to the Point in hand, and all other religious Matters, as he tells us that *(k)* " None can make over the Right of judging for himſelf. " *(l)* That every one muſt judge for himſelf of the Forms and Modes of " Worſhip, the *Doctrines*, Rites and Ceremonies of any Church, not only " before he joins himſelf to it, but afterwards? I pray, Sir, if there be not a *moſt accurate Explication and Diſtinction* in this Caſe, which our *Author* has tak'n no Care of, would it not follow from hence, that *Hereſy* and *Schiſm* are but mere *Scare-crows*, ſeeing no body is oblig'd to agree with any one but himſelf? That the Unity of the Church, for which *(m)* our Saviour pray'd ſo earneſtly, is contrary to Religion? That *Korah* and his Company died glorious Martyrs? For they ſincerely follow'd their beſt Judgment. That there may be as many Religions as there are private Men? That there is no fix'd Standard or Meaſure of Truth and Falſhood, of Good and Evil? That the Chriſtian Miniſtry and Prieſthood is uſeleſs and inſignificant? That *Turks* and Infidels are as much in the Right as Chriſtians? For according to their beſt Judgment, theirs is the true Religion. I would not, *Sir*, be miſunderſtood, as if I were making an Offer to take away *Private Judgment* in Matters of Religion, wholly; that's impoſſible to be done: For he that thus denies it, *(n)* does in the very ſame Inſtant confeſs to it, foraſmuch as his Denial of it is an Act of his Judgment. 'Tis only the *wild unconfin'd Private Judgment* of this Author, who will admit no Rule, who would ſtrike out of our Bible, *HEAR THE CHURCH*, who is for giving every one a Power, either to interpret Scripture, or quite to deny it, and annul the Decrees of the Church, that I impugn; allowing in the mean Time the utmoſt Extent of Authority to Private Judgment, that is conſiſtent with lawful publick Authority.

3. The Sacerdotal Potentates pretend not in this Caſe of Spiritual Independence, or any other, to be *ſole Judges* for themſelves. The *Author of the Rights* cannot but know, that they ſubmit to the Scriptures, to the Judgment of the Univerſal Primitive Church, the beſt Expoſitors of the Scriptures, to the Teſtimonies of all Antiquity, even after the Emperors were converted, as concurring in this Point of the ſpiritual Independence of the Church upon the State. It cannot be denied, that the Apoſtles knew our Lord's Mind, and the true Meaning of the Commiſſion he gave them; and it muſt be allow'd, that the firſt Fathers of the Church knew the Mind and Meaning of the Apoſtles in this Point, better than our modern Adverſaries; as he that follows a Man cloſe at the Heels knows his Pace better, than one that is ſome Fur-

(k) Rights, &c. *p.* 14.
(l) Ibid. p. 24.
(m) St. *John* xvii. 21, 22, 23.
(n) Quod negat in actu ſignato, affirmat in actu exercito.

longs off. And this Doctrine, as is clear from Church Records and Hiſtory, has been deriv'd from the Fathers of the firſt, to the Fathers of the ſecond Age; from thoſe of the ſecond, to thoſe of the third; and ſo from Age to Age, to this very Day, by the undoubted Succeſſors of their known Predeceſſors.

If, *Sir*, after all, any ſhould deny a real Diſtinction between the Sacerdotal and Regal Powers, and chuſe rather *totally* to ſubject the *pure Spiritualities*, of the *Mitre* to the *Crown*; I am afraid they have *hidden Motives*, and *ſecret Deſigns*, that are *out of the Reach of Argument*. However it be, I have a few *Queries* for them to anſwer, before I conclude.

Qu. 1. Whether Kings can ſincerely think, that thoſe Biſhops believe themſelves honour'd with a divine Spiritual Commiſſion, who lay down that Commiſſion at their Prince's Feet, entirely ſubjecting it to the Crown?

Qu. 2. Whether to teach Kings or Queens, that they are not, and ought not to be ſubject to Biſhops, in purely Spiritual Affairs, be not at the ſame Time to teach them, that they are *quite out of the Church*, and ought to continue ſo? Whether Kings have any Reaſon to thank thoſe who teach ſuch Doctrine, as excludes them from the Houſhold of Faith?

Qu. 3. Upon the Denial of the Church and State being *two formally diſtinct Societies*, and ſuppoſing them to be *only one Society*; all Spiritual Perſons, *as ſuch*, as well as Temporal, depending upon the King or Queen, and (*o*) "all Spiritual Power, as the *Author of the Rights*, &c. ſays, being "veſted in the King; and whatever the Biſhops or other Eccleſiaſticks have, "being, as *he ſays*, deriv'd from the King: Whether it will not follow, that all the Subjects of the *State* are alſo Subjects of the *Church?* And conſequently, that there can be no ſuch Thing as *Actual Church-Schiſm*, or Rebellion againſt the Biſhop, the Principle of *Church-Unity*; unleſs there be alſo *Actual State-Schiſm*, or Rebellion againſt the King or Queen, the Principle of *State-Unity?* But this is falſe in Fact; for our Diſſenters that don't actually rebel againſt the Queen, are yet juſtly reckon'd Schiſmaticks, or Rebels againſt the Spiritual Potentates the Biſhops.

Qu. 4. Whether aſſerting the Dependence of the Church in its *purely Spirituals* upon the State, as the *Author of the Rights*, &c. does, be not melting the Church down into the State, and publickly owning her to be *at the abſolute Mercy of the Crown?* Whether it be not complimenting away the Liberties which Chriſt has given to his Church, and which even *Magna Charta* authorizes her to keep? Whether it be not to teach Kings to degrade Biſhops into mere Cyphers, whenever they think fit? Whether this Doctrine had any Influence upon aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy in *Scotland?* And whether it makes it not impoſſible for the *Univerſal Epiſcopal Church to ſubſiſt as a Spiritual Society*, if the Kings of the Earth ſhould be pleas'd to perſecute her thoroughly?

Qu. 5. Whether to teach that the *Univerſal Church* is not able to ſubſiſt

(*o*) *Rights*, &c. Edit. 2. Pref. *p.* 35, 36.

under

under a Perſecution, be not as *Fundamental* an *Error*, as the denying any one Article of the Chriſtian Faith?

I have done, *Sir*, when I have told you, that if any Thing here offer'd needs farther Explication, which, for Brevity's Sake is omitted, I refer my ſelf to the *Primitive Church* after *Conſtantine* the *Great*'s Time, as well as before; and to the conſentient Canons, Articles, Liturgy, and other publick Records of the *Church of England:* And am, with a profound Submiſſion and Reſpect,

Reverend Sir,

March 27, 1712.

Your moſt humble Servant, &c.

The Miſerable Caſe of poor Old ENGLAND *fairly ſtated. In a Letter to a Member of the Honourable* Houſe of Commons. *Or, the moſt powerful and convincing Reaſons, why the* E——R, *the* D——CH, *the reſt of the* A——s, *the Late Miniſtry and the Low-Church, are againſt making a General Peace with* FRANCE; *and all their main Objections in Oppoſition to it fairly anſwered.* 1712.

SIR,

SINCE all our main Diſcourſe is for Peace on the one Side, and many are mightily puſhing forward a War on the other; it is high Time to ſay ſomething in Vindication of ſuch true *Engliſh* Patriots as are mighty deſirous of Peace; I mean for the Landed Men, the Men of Subſtance and of Bulk, that are likely at all Times to feel and bear the Burden of an unneceſſary, expenſive, and bloody War.

And to what End is it carried on, is it not merely to gratify the felonious Humours of a Company of Plunderers of the Nation? Do they not at this Day ſtand indebted, at leaſt they have not accounted for Thirty-five Millions of Money, that they have actually received of the Nation? Have they not deducted from the *Iriſh* Army in one Year above One Hundred Thouſand Pounds out of their Pay? And what may they not have cheated the *Engliſh* one of in *Flanders*, *Spain* and *Portugal*.

I ſay, if ſuch were the Methods they took, then 'tis Time to leave off the War; when the Nation has been fleeced ſo finely, and trick'd; certainly when Trading is almoſt ruined, our Merchants undone, and none Inriched by the War but a Parcel of *Jews*, *Dutch*, *French* and *Engliſh* Stock-jobbers,

'tis high Time for *England* to redreſs this National Diſtemper, leſt the People that are almoſt beggar'd, the Soldiers and Seamen that are unpaid, ſhou'd unite and join together, and maurode all ſuch Sharpers, Stock-jobbers and Plunderers of the Nation; who do unite in one Strength, and endeavour to oppoſe and hinder this Kingdom from ſo happy a Bleſſing, as a noble, generous, laſting and glorious Peace; which is for the Benefit and Advantage of *England* in particular, and for the Good of all the C———s, if they'll pleaſe to accept the ſame.

Pray what is the Reaſon the C———s, the late Miniſtry, and the Low-Church, are ſo very hot and violent for carrying on this unneceſſary and expenſive War, I ſay unneceſſary and expenſive to *England*; is it not for their Lucre, Benefit and Advantage? and that 'tis very plain, there are none but raptious Cormorants and Plunderers of the Kingdoms on this Side of the Water that are ſo forward for puſhing it on, and alſo ſuch as draw from hence many vaſt Sums of Money on the other Side, which is to ſcreen themſelves, whilſt we are beggar'd and undone, and ſo by no Means will accept of Peace, tho' it were upon very reaſonable and advantageous Terms.

If the People of *England* are now come to their Senſes, 'tis I believe Time to begin to look about 'em, after the Expence of 123 Millions of Pounds Sterling, the butchering of ſo many Hundred Thouſand Souls, and the vaſt Loſs we have met with in our Shipping, in our Merchant-Men, and in our Trading, ſo that it is now (one wou'd think) high Time to put an End to this expenſive, extravagant and unneceſſary a War, which has not, nor will be of any Advantage to this Kingdom, after the Rate it is now managed; and 'tis too viſible, that our preſent Junto is in a deep Confederacy with potent A——s, as are agreed to drain this Kingdom both of their Men and Money on one Side, that they on the other may the eaſier ruin the Government both in Church and State.

This if I fairly prove, I hope the Honourable Houſe of Commons will take great Care of the main Chance, and by taking away the Effect, the Cauſe of itſelf will ceaſe; which that they may do, ſhall be the conſtant Prayers of him that is,

S I R,

Your very humble Servant,

C. D L.

The Miſerable Caſe of Poor Old ENGLAND *fairly ſtated*, &c.

TO begin then with this miſerable Caſe relating to *England*, I ſhall make it ſo demonſtrable, that it ſhall viſibly appear to be a very ſad one to any unprejudiced Perſon; nay what I treat of, you may find in the very Votes of the Honourable the Houſe of Commons; and it looks as if it ſtood upon Record, that, on the Fifth of *December* 1710, it was then Reſolved, That 40,000 Men, at 4*l. per Menſem*, including 8000 Marines, for 13 Months, ſhou'd be employ'd in the Sea Service for the Year 1711.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Now 40,000 Men, at 4*l.* a Month, comes to *per Annum*	2080,000	0	0
That there be allowed for the Ordinary of the Navy for one Year	120,000	0	0
December 23, Reſolved, That 40,000 Land-Men be to act in Conjunction with the Allies for one Year; and that their Pay be	919,092	3	6
January 4, Reſolved, That 10,000 Men, additional Forces, be continued for one Year longer, and that their Pay be	177,511	3	6
That 3000 *Palatines* be continued for one Year, at —	34,251	13	4
That 4639 *Saxons* be continued for one Year, at —	43,251	12	6
That 800 Men of *Bothmar*'s Regiment of Dragoons, be continued for one Year, at	9,269	16	6
That the Augmentation Troops be continued for one Year, at	220,000	0	0
For defraying Guards and Garriſons in *Great Britain* for one Year, at	546,198	17	8¾
To the Office of Ordnance for the Land Service for a Year, at	130,000	0	0
January 8, A Year's Intereſt on *Iriſh* Debenture, comes to	49,357	17	2
For Tranſporting the Land Forces into *Flanders*, comes to *per Annum*	144,000	0	0
For Remittance Money to *Flanders* - - - - - - -	100,000	0	0
To defray a Year's Subſidies to the Allies, comes to -	478,956	16	7
January 16, To make good Exchequer Bills, granted yearly, comes to	45,000	0	0
February 15, Granted to carry on the War in *Spain* and *Portugal* this Year	1500,000	0	0
February 21, Granted to the Bank, to make 45,000 *l.* *per Annum* good	157,500	0	0
To make good 2900,000 *l.* Exchequer Bills, granted *per Annum*	45,000	0	0
Now this is a very plain *Engliſh* Caſe, that there has been actually raiſed to carry on the laſt Year's War, the Sum of	6799,300	0	9¾
The Manner how it was raiſed is thus, on the Land Tax	2000,000	0	0
On the Firſt Lottery - - - - - - - - - - - -	1500,000	0	0
On the Second Lottery - - -- - -	1500,000	0	0
On Stamps, Hackney Coaches, Chairs, Leather, *&c.* the Sum of	1799,300	0	9¾
Proof	6799,300	0	9¾

Now a Queſtion will naturally ariſe here, what the Nation has got this Year, for ſo vaſt a Sum of Money expended?

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
The Anſwer will be very plain and convincing; all that the great G——l has taken this Year is that Important Town call'd *Bouchain*; which the *French* don't ſtick to call a Place no bigger in Compariſon than an *Engliſh* Dove-Houſe, or ſome ſuch Thing, which may perchance be alſo worth	390,000	0	$9\frac{3}{4}$
If ſo, then there is clear Loſs to *England*, if they had this mighty great Town in their Hands (which the *Dutch* have) the Sum of	6400,000	0	0
And the N——e D——e, for this heroick Exploit, has been rewarded with an extraordinary rich Preſent; it ſeems, it is the Statue of the preſent Monarch of *France*, ſo fine and curious a Piece of Workmanſhip, that it can't be valued at leſs then	9,000	0	0

If ſo, then is it not worth while to expend Six Millions Four Hundred Thouſand Pounds Sterling for one Year, to learn the *Engliſh* Statuaries, the *French* Art of Carving ſuch an extraordinary and curious Piece of Workmanſhip; nay, this is a vaſt leſſer Sum than 123 Millions lately ſpent for only a Company of *French* Rags of Honour, with which the Nation was bleſt with the glorious Sight thereof, in *Weſtminſter* and *Guildhall*.

But I think it is high Time to deſcend to the moſt potent and convincing Reaſons of the *D——h*, and the reſt of our dear A——s, the late Miniſtry and the Low-Church, why they are at this Time ſo ſtrenuouſly againſt making Peace with *France*, which are as follows.

The firſt potent and convincing Reaſon is the *D——h*'s; for ſhou'd they make Peace with *France* it wou'd be to their great Damage and Loſs *per Annum* from *England* as follows.

	ls.	*s.*	*d.*
Imprimis, If the ſaid Peace ſhould be concluded with *France*, then 40,000 Landmen which are *Engliſh*, and in Conjunction with the Allies in *Flanders*, would be withdrawn from thence; whoſe Pay, that is ſpent amongſt them, comes to *per Annum*	919,092	3	6
Secondly, 10,000 additional Forces from *England*, whoſe Pay comes to *per Annum*	177,511	3	6
Thirdly, for Tranſporting the ſaid Forces out of *England* into *Flanders*, coſts the *Engliſh* yearly	144,000	0	0
Fourthly, for Remittance of their ſaid Pay in *Flanders* coſts yearly	100,000	0	0
Now are not theſe ſtrong and potent Reaſons, nay ſo powerful and convincing, that how can any one in Conſcience think that the *D——h* will conſent to a Peace with *France*, to ſo great a Loſs *per Annum* as	1340,603	7	0

The

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
The Second potent and convincing Reaſon, is the *Palatines*; 3000 annually of them are continued in the States Service on *Engliſh* Pay; and ſhould Peace be made with *France*, 'twou'd be to their Loſs *per Annum*	34,251	13	4
The Third potent and convincing Reaſon is the *Saxons*; 4639 annually of them are continued in the ſaid States Service on *Engliſh* Pay; and ſhould Peace be made with *France*, 'twou'd be to their Loſs *per Annum*	43,251	12	6
The Fourth potent Reaſon, are the ſeveral Troops of our A——s, call'd the Augmentation Troops, who are upon *Engliſh* Pay, the *Palatines*, the *Saxons*, and theſe Troops of Augmentation are all paid by the *Engliſh*, and ſhou'd Peace be made with *France*, it wou'd be to the Loſs of theſe our A——s, the Sum *per Annum* of	220,000	0	0
The Fifth potent Reaſon is, that if Peace be made with *France*, the Money which we annually lend the ſaid A——s, to defray their own Subſidies, will be to their Loſs *per Annum*	478,956	16	7
The Sixth potent Reaſon is that of K—g *C——s* III. now E———r, and the King of *P-———l*; and if Peace ſhould be made with *France*, it wou'd be to their Loſs from *England* a *per Annum* of	1500,000	0	0
And 'tis alſo very plain and viſible, that the *D——h*, and the reſt of our dear A——s, will, if a Peace ſhou'd be made with *France*, loſe from *England* a *per Annum* of	3617,063	9	5

Now theſe are ſuch potent and convincing Reaſons, that no Perſon can believe that our C———s will ever make a Peace with *France*, ſo long as *England* is able to raiſe and pay 'em this Money annually.

The *D——h* has actually got in Specie by *England*, ſince the War with *France* began (beſides all the Prizes they have taken, and their Trade all the War with that Kingdom) for 22 Years laſt paſt, the Sum of	29493,273	14	0
And 'tis alſo very obſervable, that if a Peace ſhou'd be made with *France*, the *D——h* would in Seven Years Time, loſe the Sum of	9384,223	9	0

Now pray what Recompence cou'd the High-Church make our dear A——s the *D——h* for ſo great a Loſs as this wou'd be to them; wou'd it not be very unkindly done, certainly it wou'd without doubt.

The King of *S——n*, *viz. C———s* III. in Twelve Years Time has actualy had in Specie for that Service, the Sum of	18,000,000	0	0
And 'tis alſo demonſtrable, that the ſaid K—g, or now the E———r, in Seven Years Time, wou'd actually loſe the Sum of	10,500,000	0	0

By

By this Account you may eaſily gueſs, what in Proportion all our A—— s have got, and will loſe, ſhou'd they make a Peace with *France*, which is by no Means at all for their Benefit and Advantage, and therefore not in the leaſt fit to be done.

Having now done with the *D——h* and our dear A——s on the other Side of the Water, it will be very neceſſary to haſten home to the late Miniſtry, and Plunderers, the Low-Church and Stock-jobbers of this Nation, to ſee of what Strength their potent Reaſons are againſt making a Peace with *France*.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
And firſt of all, the Seventh potent Reaſon is the late Miniſtry's, or Plunderers of the Nation, who have an Account to make up of	35000,000	0	0
In one Article from *Ireland*, they have actually deducted out of the *Iriſh* Army for one Year	100,000	0	0

And if what be true, as we find in the Letter to a New Member of the Honourable Houſe of Commons, touching the Imbezzlements and Miſmanagements of the late Miniſtry, there has been imbezzled or miſapply'd as followeth:

There has been overpaid to the Army the Sum of --	2756,911	13	$4\frac{3}{4}$
To the Navy - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	1652,659	15	$11\frac{3}{4}$
To the Civil Liſt - - - - - -	455,302	8	0
And yet the Debt on the Army, Navy, Ordnance, *&c.* and the Civil Liſt, amounted at that Time to the Sum of	6000,000	0	0
So that in Five Years Time, there was actually embezzled or miſapply'd	10864,873	17	$4\frac{3}{4}$

And he makes an Obſervation worth the taking Notice of, and that is, how much was paid to the Army, Navy, *&c.* ſhort of theſe Proportions allowed by Parliament, will alſo be worth the Enquiry of the Honourable Houſe of Commons. *Vide Letter*, *Fol.* 16, 17.

Again, a certain late Lord T———r, if Fame ſpeaks Truth, hath fallen down, and crack'd as they ſay, about	2500,000	0	0
That Sir *T—— L———n*, a late Pay-maſter to the Navy, has died indebted to the Sailors about Three Years Wages, amounting to the Sum of	5400,000	0	0
And laſtly, that a certain Lord C———or was impeach'd not long ſince for a conſiderable Sum of Money that he had illegally gotten; he was not contented with his Place, that brought him in *per Annum*	4,000	0	0
But the late King *William* beſide allow'd him a Penſion of	4,000	0	0
And yet he procured to himſelf the Grants of ſeveral Manors, Fee-Farm Rents, Quit-Rents, *&c.* to the Value of	33,600	0	0

This

This is a ſmall trifling Account to let the Nation into a Sight of what the late Miniſtry cheated, not only the Sailors and Soldiers of, but how finely for ſeveral Years laſt paſt they may have plundered the Nation of conſiderable Sums of Money, yet not diſcovered; and we may remember, when ſuch Paymaſters uſed to tell their Money over Grid-irons, and all that went thro' they keep for their own Uſe, and therefore there cou'd be but very little remain behind to pay the Army and Navy with; and are not ſome of theſe very potent and convincing Reaſons, why the late Miniſtry are ſo very unwilling to have a Peace, leaſt they ſhould be call'd to an Account for their Imbezzlements and Miſapplications, and therefore 'tis Death for them to come to a General Peace.

The Eighth and laſt potent Reaſon is the Bank of *England*'s or the Low-Church Men. For theſe with *Jews*, *Dutch*, *French* and *Engliſh* Stock-jobbers, not only draw great Sums of Money from the Government for advancing Money on the Taxes, which are called Loans; but do alſo ſharp and bite the People of *England* by their riſing and falling of Stock, which in its Nature is as it were, devouring Men alive, as for Example.

The Parliament of *England* raiſes, by way of Lottery, to carry on the War againſt *France* and *Spain* in the Year 1711, the Sum of	3000,000	0	0
Now the Government is forced (to bring this Money in quickly, to pay the Army and Navy with) to allow a Premium out of every 100*l.* to ſuch Perſons as will readily advance the ſame; now ſuppoſe this Premium ſhou'd be but 3*l. per Cent.* and no more, (yet it is a great deal more) let's ſee what it ſtands the Government in to advance thoſe Three Millions of Money, it comes to	90,000	0	0
Which is ſo much Loſs to the Government out of 3,000,000*l.* of Money, but if they ſhould allow 15*l. per Cent.* then the Sum in 3,000,000*l.* wou'd come to	450,000	0	0
And for Six Millions in One Year, the Loſs wou'd be to the Queen	900,000	0	0
And in 12 Years Time, the Loſs appears to be to the Government	10800,000	0	0

And this is one of their potent Reaſons why the Bank or Low-Church Men do ſo vigorouſly oppoſe a glorious Peace with *France*.

Again, if what *De Foe* ſays be true, that upon the late Rumour and flying Report, that there wou'd be a Change at Court in the late Low-Church Miniſtry, her faint-hearted Friends the Whigs, in this very great Fright ſold off 300,000*l.* of their Stocks (Goods) at 95*l.* or 100*l.* for what coſt 'em 129*l.* ſo loſt 29*l.* to 34*l. per Cent.* upon all that Money which is at leaſt 80,000*l.* which Money he calls it was loſt to the Tories (which I rather take to be the Jewiſh Stock-jobbers, or other cunning Snaps like them) who bought the ſame; and in ſome Time after the ſaid Stock or Goods was ſold back again at 105*l.* which is 10*l. per Cent.* and is 30,000*l.* clear to the

Purchaſer, ſo that upon the whole Matter there was 110,000*l.* clear again by this wiſe Bargain. *Vid. Review* 21 *Dec.* 1710. *Fol.* 463.

And therefore if ſuch great Advantages can be made by falling and riſing of Stock, we are ſure theſe very Low-Church Men or Stock-jobbers will never be for a General Peace ſo long as their Trading is thus ſuffered to go on.

But to blind the Eyes of the World, (that they might not ſee through this hidden Piece of Villany,) they cover over theſe Matters with other ſpecious Reaſons and pretended Objections, which ſhall be in this Place all fairly anſwered.

And firſt of all it ſeems K——g *C*———*s* the Third of *S*——*n*, now E———r, is reſolved he won't make Peace with *France*, until he has the *S*——*ſh* M———y put into his Hands, for it will otherwiſe be to the Ruin of him and his E——e.

The *D*——*b*, the reſt of the A——s, the late Miniſtry, and the Bank or Low-Church, are of the ſame Opinion, for without this Kingdom they ſay 'tis contrary to the Agreement made with the A——s, and our G———t is reſponſible for the ſame.

Secondly, if a Peace be made with *France*, that Monarch who was able to top a King on the *Spaniſh* Crown, no Queſtion, but will ſoon top the Pretender on *England*, whenever he pleaſes.

Thirdly, That by joining with their H——h M———s in this C——y, they have reſcued theſe Kingdoms from Popery, Slavery, and Arbitrary Government; and have preſerved the Proteſtant Religion in the Worſhip of the Church of *England*, as it now ſtands by Law eſtabliſhed.

And laſtly, it is not convenient to make a Peace with *France*, unleſs it be an honourable one, for that King will keep his Word no longer, than till he has an Opportunity of breaking it.

To the firſt pretended Reaſon, I anſwer, if the E——r is ſo very zealous to carry on the War againſt *France*, as he ſeems to be, who ſhall be Security for the Payment of 18,000,000*l.* that he has already had, and for the 1,500,000*l.* that he annually receives from *England* as Money lent, what Towns; (nay is his whole E——e worth the Money we have already lent him;) and in whoſe Hands ſhall they be put as a Security, for the Payment of the ſaid Money, or what Perſons will be reſponſable for the ſame.

Will their H——h M———s covenant, or enter into Articles for the Security thereof, if not, then pray why ſhould not our Government be as careful of the ruining, impoveriſhing, and beggaring our Nation, as the E———r is of his own if ſuch a Peace ſhould be made, which he won't comply to for that very Reaſon. I think, we have ſpent upwards of 123 Millions of Pounds Sterling, and have nothing to ſhew for it, but a Parcel of poor *French* Rags of Honour; ſo naturally is it for *Engliſhmen* to part with their Money for Baggatells.

And whereas it is ſaid it is contrary to the Agreement made with the ſaid A——s, how can that be? Did not they enter on the ſaid War to bring the

King

King of *France* to Reaſon, and to ſuch a General Peace, as was for the Good and Benefit of all the A——s; and don't the E———r ſay in his circular Letter to the S——s of *H———d*, that it will be to the Ruin of his Country if Peace be made; and to preſerve his Country, he vigorouſly excites all the A——s to puſh on the War againſt *France*, ſo that natural Preſervation is the E———r's Caſe, and is it not *England*'s Caſe alſo? For if we carry on the War at ſuch diſadvantageous Terms, as drawing out of the Purſes of the People of *England* 6 Millions yearly, and no Returns, and take a *Jack Haddoway*'s Security for it, is the ready Way not only to ruin our Government, but to beggar our Kingdoms, and 'tis as natural and juſtifiable for the Q—— of *G——t B——n* to preſerve her Country from Ruin, as it is for his I———l M———y to preſerve his own.

As to the topping a King upon the Throne of *Spain*, ſo by the ſame Reaſon the King of *France* by his Power may top the Pretender on *England* when he pleaſes, yet I am of a contrary Opinion; for I am perſuaded ſhould *England* and the Confederates refuſe the Peace *France* has offered, who knows but it might ſo enrage that Monarch, as to exaſperate him to do it; but I am ſure 'tis more to be feared from the Low-Church Men, who no doubt but are in a Confederacy with Papiſts, Jacobites and Non Jurors, who if they obtain not their Ends, they have vowed and are reſolved to do it, and who knows but they may be already imbark'd in the ſaid potent Deſign.

By joining with the *D——h* 'tis ſaid, that they help'd to reſcue theſe Nations from Popery, Slavery, and arbitrary Government, by which Means they preſerved the Proteſtant Religion in the Church of *England*; 'tis true they did help to relieve theſe Kingdoms from Popery, for which great Piece of Service the Nation paid them 600,000*l.* according to their Demands, and therefore not ſo much beholding to them as the Low-Church would make us: But if a certain pious Lord had not happily renounc'd the Northern Hereſy, and turn'd Roman Catholick on purpoſe to out-wit King *James* of his Kingdoms; I queſtion very much whether ever the *D——h* would voluntarily have undertook ſo daring and hazardous an Enterprize; but that Lord too was very well rewarded for being ſo great an Hypocrite and Impoſtor. And for ſerving the then good old Cauſe, he had 800,000*l.* for his ſaid Service.

But this Nation, Church and State, are far off from being delivered of an arbitrary Government, for their Rights, Liberties, and Properties are ſo viſibly invaded by the Low-Church Men, who daily gives them new Plagues not only in the City of *London*, but all over *England* too; by creeping into their Government by occaſional Conformity, nay are not only inſulting the Church, but would thruſt the Church Men out of their Places of Power in the Government, and very fain would top the Conventicle on the Church, and a Commonwealth on the Kingdom both at a Time.

Nor is it convenient it ſeems for *England* to make a noble and generous Peace with *France*, unleſs it be a ſafe and honourable one. Now who are to be Judges of this Matter is eaſily gueſs'd, for the Low-Church Men have

aſſum'd the Boldneſs to direct her Majeſty in this Affair; for they tell you there is no truſting to the Word or Honour of *France*; and why, becauſe that King broke it with them firſt; but the World may remember 'twas after they had made a felonious Partition of the Monarchy of *Spain*, contrary to their former Articles of Peace ſettled with *France* upon that Condition.

If the E———r, the *D——h*, and the reſt of the A——s, are ſo hot and violent to carry on the War againſt *France* and *Spain*, and the *D——h* has ſo much Money to ſpare to lend *England* to carry it on, a God's Name let them have our Army and Navy to their Aſſiſtance, conditional the *D——h* will pay the Q——n three Millions *per An.* for them, (tho' hitherto it has coſt the Nation annually Six Millions to equip 'em and ſend 'em thither) and the E———r be engaged to repay the S——s again that Money ſo expended. And this will encourage the People of *England* to puſh forward a War, and be as hot and violent for carrying it on, as any one of the C———s, let them be whom they will.

And I'll venture to lay an even Wager there will be no repining thereat in this Kingdom, if the C———s then are willing to carry it on to the End of the World, and the hoarded Money that is kept up for advancing Loans on the Taxes and Stock-jobbing, will quickly then appear to aſſiſt the Merchants and Tradeſmen at eaſy Rates, and this will quiet all Perſons; nay, the Nation will ſave Six Millions *per An.* ready Caſh, ſo that all our Taxes will at once ceaſe from being collected, and the Kingdom will gain alſo three Millions *per Annum*, which will then be happily circulating in our own Bowels; and this is the only Way to make Peace and Plenty in *England*, while the War is carried on at their Charge, againſt *France* and *Spain*, without grumbling.

Certainly ſince his I———l M———y has ſo great a Proſpect, (and it may be for an univerſal Monarchy too) who knows but it may be worth his while to be at the Charge thereof; and there's no queſtion but the S——s will greatly get by it in aſſiſting ſo juſt a Cauſe; nay, who knows but the Bank, the late Miniſtry, and all our raptious Stock-jobbers, may tranſplant themſelves into the E——, if but Ways and Means can be found out there to raiſe Funds to carry on the ſaid War. I am of Opinion that then none will be more ready to advance Loans on the Taxes than they, conditionally his I———l M———y will give but as large Premiums for the Advancement of ready Money, as her M——y of *G——t B——n*; and alſo ſuffer 'em to fall and riſe the Stocks there, as they have done in *England*; and I don't queſtion but they will be as ready to ſtay there to ſuck the Hearts Blood out of the E——e, as they have already done for Two and Twenty Years laſt paſt in *England*.

But to carry on the War (as we have done hitherto) at our own Charge and Expences, is monſtrouſly ridiculous, eſpecially when we ſet down to conſider what Advantage the *Engliſh* has got by it, whilſt the *D——h* they get all the Towns, and the reſt of the C———s and Stock-jobbers all the Money, and nothing but honourable *French* Rags of Beggary is left for the Nation to ſubſiſt on: and are not theſe potent, ſtrong and perſuaſive Reaſons for carrying on the War to the Ruin of Old *England*?

Troth,

Troth, if the Nation are in their Senſes, 'tis now Time to look about them, after the Expence of 123 Millions of Pounds Sterling, the Butchering of ſo many Hundred Thouſand Souls, and the vaſt Loſs we have had in our *Engliſh* Men of War, our Merchants in their Effects and Shipping, and our Nation in their Trading, ſo that it is now (one wou'd think) high Time to put an End to this expenſive, unneceſſary and bloody War, which has not, nor never will be of any Advantage to *England*, and eſpecially when 'tis ſo viſibly plain, that our Junto are in a deep Confederacy with P——t A——s, on purpoſe to drain this Kingdom of their Men and Money on the one Side, while on the other, the late Miniſtry may the eaſier ruin the Government both in Church and State. Which God of his infinite Mercy prevent.

Her MAJESTY's *Reaſons for Creating the Electoral Prince of* HANOVER *a Peer of this Realm: Or, the Preamble to his Patent as Duke of* CAMBRIDGE. *In* Latin *and* Engliſh; *With Remarks upon the ſame.* 1712.

CUM ſereniſſima domus Electoralis Brunſvico-Luneburgenſis e Regia Majorum noſtrorum ſtirpe oriunda ſit, & avita regna (ſi nos ſine prole deceſſerimus) ſecundum leges auctoritate noſtra ſancitas, *occupare debeat; cumque tamen enixe cupiamus, ut prædicta Domus ſereniſſima non minus amicitia nobis, quam ſanguine & fœderibus, devinciatur: Nos, pro ſingulari noſtro erga illam affectu, chariſſimum conſanguineum noſtrum* GEO. AUGUSTUM, *ſereniſſimi Electoris filium, ſummis honoribus augere decrevimus.* Et quamvis tanti Principis filius unicus patriis finibus excedere, ſine gravi rerum periculo, non poſſit; *his præcipue temporibus, quibus vicini Status tam violentis tempeſtatibus perturbantur: ut tamen rebus noſtris & conſiliis,* qua licet, *honoris & nominis*

WHEREAS the moſt ſerene Electoral Houſe of *Brunſwick Lunenburgh* is ſprung from the Royal Stock of our Anceſtors, and is (if we ſhou'd deceaſe without Iſſue) to enjoy, *by virtue of Laws ratify'd by our Authority*, the Kingdoms of their Progenitors; yet as we earneſtly deſire that the ſaid moſt ſerene Houſe ſhou'd no leſs be ty'd to us by Friendſhip, than by Blood and Alliances, We, according to our ſingular Affection towards the ſame, have decreed to grace with the higheſt Honours our moſt dear Couſin, *GEORGE AUGUSTUS*, Son to the moſt ſerene Elector. And *although the only Son of ſo great a Prince cannot go out of his native Country without the utmoſt Danger*, eſpecially at this Time, when the neighbouring States are toſs'd with ſuch violent Tempeſts; to the End, nevertheleſs, that, *as much as poſſible*, he may, by the Authority of his Name and

nominis authoritate, etiam abſens, quodammodo interſit, *illum Parium hujus regni numero adſcribi juſſimus. Hæ illi erunt primitiæ ſupremæ iſtius dignitatis, ad quam (nobis, noſtriſque omnibus optantibus) deſtinatur: ut, ornatus dehinc nobiliſſimi hujuſce regni titulis, quos Regii ſanguinis principes ſemper ambierunt, noſtratem ſe eſſe geſtiat. Vos interea Barones, Vicecomites, Comites, Marchiones, Duces, vobis gratulemini, quod tantæ ſpei princeps, Germaniæ decus & deliciæ*, ſanctiſſimæ noſtræ Religionis vindex, & Libertatis publicæ propugnator, *vobis olim imperaturus, e vobis interim unus in veſtros ſe ordines referri amet*, &c.

and Dignity, *tho' abſent, be in a Manner preſent in our Parliament and Councils*, We have order'd him to be added to the Number of the Peers of this Realm. This will be to him an Earneſt of that ſupreme Dignity, to which (according to ours, and the Wiſhes of all our Subjects) he's deſtin'd: that being henceforth adorn'd with the Titles of this moſt noble Kingdom, which the Princes of the Blood-Royal have always courted, he may be proud to be ours. You therefore the Barons, Viſcounts, Earls, Marquiſſes, and Dukes, congratulate with yourſelves, that a Prince of ſo great Hopes, the Ornament and Darling of *Germany*, the Defender of our moſt holy Religion, and the Aſſertor of publick Liberty, one that is hereafter to govern you, and till then is one of you, ſhould now delight to be veſted with the ſame Honours with you, *&c.*

REMARKS.

SINCE it has been ſo faſhionable of late to print the Preambles of Patents conſtituting Peers of this Realm, and that this may afford no ſmall Light to future Hiſtory, I have likewiſe thought fit to gratify the Publick with the Preamble foregoing: And as others have taken the Liberty to cenſure not only the Language, but even the Matter of ſome Patents, I may (to be ſure) more warrantably make three or four Remarks to juſtify her Majeſty's wiſe Proceeding and upright Intentions in this immediately under our Conſideration.

I. My firſt Remark, or rather Explanation, ſhall be, that by the preſent Houſe of *Hanover*'s being ſprung from the Royal Stock of her Anceſtors, the Queen does not only mean from the Princeſs *ELIZABETH*, Queen of *Bohemia*, Daughter to King *JAMES* the Firſt; but alſo from *MATILDA* or *MAUD* King *HENRY* the Second of *England*'s Daughter, who was marry'd to *HENRY* the Lyon, from whom the Houſe of *Brunſwick* is deſcended for many Generations paſt: and therefore the Princeſs *SOPHIA*, Electreſs Dowager of *Hanover*, upon her receiving the Act of Succeſſion, order'd a Medal to be ſtruck with her own Buſt or Head on one Side, and that of *MATILDA* on the Reverſe, betokening the Deſcent of this new *Saxon* Line, from the *Norman* and *Scottiſh* Royal Families.

II. My

II. My ſecond Remark is, that the Queen notwithſtanding does not ſay they are to ſucceed to the Britiſh Scepters, *by hereditary Right* (ſeeing ſo many Families or Branches, and ſo many particular Perſons of each, are in degrees of Conſanguinity before 'em) but by vertue of Laws ratify'd by her Authority, *or by parliamentary Right*; comprehending thereby her own and the Acts of King *WILLIAM* for ſettling the new Entail of the Crown, and for ſecuring the Succeſſion in the Proteſtant Line. And moſt certainly the Government both of *England* and *Scotland*, before the Union, no leſs than at preſent, is, in its very fundamental Conſtitution, the Medium between an abſolutely hereditary, and an abſolute elective Monarchy. The true State of the Caſe is this. *To prevent the Incertitude, Competition, Bribery, and Confuſion of frequent Elections (as in* Poland*) the Crown is entail'd upon a particular Family according to the Right of Primogeniture, the Female ſucceeding in default of Male Iſſue: But to prevent likewiſe our remedileſs falling (as in* France*) under the Management of Idiots, Madmen, Tyrants, or other Perſons incapable of Rule, the Crown is ſo limited under certain Conditions relating to State and Religion, as in Caſes of extreme Neceſſity to be transferable to the neareſt in Blood (duely capacitated) or to the moſt worthy of the ſame Family.* This has been often prov'd, and will be ſtill further prov'd by ancient Laws as well as Facts, to be our Conſtitution *de jure* therefore no leſs than *de facto* from the very Beginning: nor is it in Queen *ANNE*'s, no nor in Queen *ELIZABETH*'s Time, that the firſt Law was enacted, making it Treaſon for any to aſſert, that the Prince and Parliament cou'd not limit or alter the Succeſſion, and ſo diſpoſe of it as they ſaw moſt conducing to the publick Good. Now if the *London* Clergy (whoſe Lay-pupils we may reaſonably ſuppoſe had no Meaning) wou'd have been at the Pains to explain their new trumpt up hereditary and indefeizable Right on this Foot in their laſt Addreſs (that is, hereditary Right, under parliamentary Limitations) there's no body wou'd offer to quarrel with them: whereas till ſomething of this Nature be done in a ſolemn and authentick Manner, Men cannot help believing they meant no Good to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, no more than they and ſome others of their Brethren (for God be thanked, all of the Order are not infected) do wiſh well to the *Britiſh* Conſtitution, by reviving the odious, exploded, and deſtructive Doctrines of paſſive Obedience and Non-Reſiſtance to the lawleſs Commands of the Prince, or thoſe commiſſion'd by him, which is to bear Allegiance even to his Army.

III. My third Remark is, that nothing can parallel the Imprudence of thoſe who are ſuch Fools to believe themſelves, or the Imprudence of thoſe who are ſuch Knaves as to make others believe, that the Queen or her Miniſters have any manifeſt Deſigns, or ſecret Reſerves in favour of the Pretender, which Notion the Jacobites are indefatigably infuſing every where. I hold it no Wonder that Papiſts ſhould do ſo, who think it lawful for Princes to break their Words and Oaths for the Service of Mother Church; but that Proteſtants ſhou'd be found, who are not only ſhameleſs enough to inſinuate theſe Things, but exultingly ſhow their Approbation of ſuch Politicks (which yet I propheſy will break ſome of their Necks) is horrible and aſtoniſh-

ing

ing beyond any Expreſſion; eſpecially after the Queen's ſo clear Declaration, on many other Occaſions as in this Preamble, that the *Hanover* Family is to ſucceed her immediately, if ſhe ſhou'd happen to die without Iſſue, and that this new Title is to be to the Electoral Prince the firſt Fruits or Earneſt of the Royal Dignity, to which he's deſtin'd by her Majeſty's own Wiſhes (which are the Words of the Preamble) as well as by the Laws of the Nation. How can any Tories then that propagate, or any Whigs that countenance, ſuch an abominable Fiction (herein equally deluded by the Jacobites) reconcile it with the Character of a Proteſtant Princeſs governing by Laws, to whoſe Sincerity and plain Dealing (among the Crowd of her other conſpicuous Vertues) the high Allies and all the World bear a particular Teſtimony? what a deteſtable Idea wou'd they create, while they pretend to commend? as unfit (in ſhort) to write, as to imagine.

IV. My fourth and laſt Remark is, that altho' ſome Princes are ſaid to have thought fit not to ſend during their Lives for their immediate Succeſſors, or any of their Family, who in caſe of the reigning Prince's Death, might take Care of their Intereſts, yet our Queen has made no ſuch Declaration; but only intimates in this Preamble the Danger and Inconvenience of the Electoral Prince's leaving his Countrey during the War between the *Swedes* and their Enemies, ſo that after a Peace on that Side (which we wiſh may ſoon happen) he may be ſafely invited over. But indeed he may come of himſelf whenever he pleaſes, particularly when he's ſummon'd to Parliament, that he may take Care (as I ſaid) of his Grandmother's Intereſt, and that of his Father, whoſe moſt ſerene Highneſs cou'd not certainly at ſuch a Juncture as this ſecurely leave his Country, not only as he's a Sovereign Prince, but as the Peace of *Germany* will very much depend upon the Counſels of the wiſeſt and richeſt Prince of the Empire. Neither is it by far ſo dangerous for the Electoral Prince to venture Abroad now, as when the Patent was penn'd; for from an only Son he has ſince ſecur'd the Succeſſion of his Family with ſeveral brave and healthy Children, by one of the amiableſt Princeſſes in the World. The Caſe of Queen *ELIZABETH*, ſo frequent in the Mouths of ſome well-meaning People, is no Manner of Parallel: Since, in the firſt Place, no Succeſſor was expreſly declar'd in her Reign; and that, in the ſecond Place, *MARY* Queen of *Scots*, pretended a better and antecedent Right, never openly diſclaim'd by her Son King *JAMES*. Thus their Party look'd upon them as Competitors rather than Succeſſors, whereof ſo wiſe a Princeſs as Queen *ELIZABETH* cou'd not but foreſee the Danger; but in the Caſe before us there is no Room ſo much as for a Suggeſtion of this Nature, and therefore I doubt not but ſo wiſe a Princeſs as Queen *ANNE* will take proper Meaſures *to remove the Fears and Jealouſies of her faithful Subjects.*

Let no body miſtake this laſt Expreſſion as a Contradiction to what I ſaid in the third Remark: For I am ſtill moſt firmly of the ſame Opinion, that the Succeſſion is ſo far from being in Danger from the Queen or her Miniſters, that I cou'd as ſoon believe 'em in a Conſpiracy againſt themſelves, as to be directly engag'd againſt the Houſe of *Hanover*; yet I neither there nor any where elſe have ſaid, that the Succeſſion was in no danger from any

other

other Quarter. On the contrary, I think it from my Soul to be infinitely more in Danger, aye in growing Danger, than the Church cou'd ever be conceiv'd to be by the moſt credulous, when of late ſo much Noiſe was ſeditiouſly rais'd on this Subject by certain Perſons, who are now quite mute about Popery and the Pretender. And therefore, if I be not happily prevented (as I hope to be) by the Proceedings of the enſuing Parliament, I ſhall not be ſuch a Traitor to my Country, as to fail of giving it that publick Warning, which every good Subject is bound to do when he apprehends publick Danger; for though with the *Iriſh* Houſe of Commons, *I ſhall ever adhere to ſound Revolution Principles, yet I am by no Means fond of frequent Revolutions.*

ENGLISH *Advice, to the Freeholders of* ENGLAND.

By Biſhop ATTERBURY. 1714.

Nec vates Helenus, cum multa horrenda moneret,
Hos mihi prædixit luctus, nec dira Celæno.

I AM firmly perſuaded that there is not in their Way a better Sett of Men, generally ſpeaking, than the Freeholders of *England.* They are a brave, open, plain and direct People, and when fairly left to themſelves to chuſe their Repreſentatives, always chuſe ſuch as are, or appear to be, true Friends to their Country. I could inſtance ſeveral Elections formerly, and one or two of late, where the Temper of the People, without any Aſſiſtance or Countenance from Court or Treaſury, carried it for honeſt Men under great Temptations to the contrary; and I cannot recollect one bad Parliament, but may be eaſily accounted for from the Electors being bribed, and notoriouſly tamper'd with, from falſe Returns made by Sheriffs and other Officers, or laſtly from ſome extravagant Prejudices ſcattered and cultivated among the People, who wanting proper Means of Information, are obliged to take Things at ſecond Hand, and are therefore liable to groſs Miſtakes.

As the Caſe now ſtands, the honeſt Part of the Nation is to wreſtle with each of theſe Diſadvantages in a higher Degree than perhaps was ever known; and we can ſcarce expect Things will take a happy Turn, unleſs one Side abates conſiderably of their Zeal, and the other recovers new Spirit: Neither of which ſeems very promiſing as yet; ſince nothing is omitted on the one Hand to poiſon the Country, and on the other ſcarce any Thing is attempted by way of Antidote. Not that there is wanting a good Diſpoſition in the People: In many Places ſeveral of the ordinary Sort have the heroic Vertue to refuſe *Thirty, Forty,* a *Hundred Pounds* a Man for their Votes; and indeed throughout the whole Kingdom they ſeem fully alarmed at the preſent Poſture of Affairs: But I don't know how, there is a Defect ſomewhere, the

Whigs out-do us in Induſtry as much as in Money: Neither are we as active and bold in publiſhing the Truth, as they in inventing Falſhoods.

They go on ſecurely, without Fear or Remorſe, to tell you there was formed and ſettled a Scheme by the late Miniſtry, and the Chief of the Church Party, with the Queen at the Head of them, to ſet the Proteſtant Succeſſion aſide, and introduce the *Pretender:* This they ſay loudly, in their Clubs, Coffee-Houſes, Addreſſes, and, by what appears, have thereby made an Impreſſion on the Minds of thoſe, who might be better informed if they would pleaſe to hear more than one Side. The Preſs ſwarms with theſe and the like monſtrous Forgeries; but not one ſingle Proof is attempted, only a Parcel of Invectives and Libels againſt thoſe, who have no Crimes to anſwer for, but too great Lenity when in Power, and too ſupine a Neglect of themſelves; Faults indeed that could never juſtly be imputed to their Antagoniſts. The Sheriffs and other Officers through the ſeveral Boroughs and Counties, are moſt of them Men for the Purpoſe, who know their Buſineſs and are to be *confided in.* Bank Bills, Places, Lies, Threats, Promiſes, Entertainments are every where employed to corrupt Men's Affections, and miſlead their Judgments. Boroughs are rated on the *Royal Exchange*, like Stocks and Tallies; the Price of a Vote is as well known as of an Acre of Land; and it is no Secret who are the monied Men, and conſequently the beſt Cuſtomers.

The Country Gentlemen who have ſtood the Heat of the Day for Five or Six and Twenty Years, are now almoſt quite worn out and harraſſed by Taxes and Elections: Each Election hath been a kind of Campaign, where Men were to fight *pro aris & focis* at the Expence of the landed Intereſt, which I take to be the political Blood of the Nation. Their Enemy was a real *Hydra*, a thriving Enemy, that daily gained new Recruits, and improved upon Conteſt. The Wars Abroad, the Support whereof weakened the Country Gentlemen, furniſhed the *Whigs* with Forces to carry on the War with Advantage at home; and now that by their Miſrepreſentations of Things and Perſons they have got a vaſt Acquiſition of Strength, they will, it is to be feared, be enabled to compaſs their Schemes, ſo long projected, for the Deſtruction of the Church and landed Intereſt. They have, as they boaſt themſelves, the Game in their Hands; and, to do them Juſtice, they act like Men in Earneſt, who are reſolved to play it to Purpoſe.

This then being our Caſe at preſent, I ſhall examine into our Circumſtances, and ſpeak my Mind, as to Facts, with great Freedom, and Impartiality: But am reſolved not to meddle with the Characters of particular Perſons (a Field in which I do not delight) any farther than the Subject will neceſſarily lead me.

My Endeavour ſhall be to bring what I have to urge into as narrow a Compaſs as I can, that every candid Reader may ſee the Foot we are upon; what it is we have to hope and fear; who thoſe are from whom we may expect an Attack upon our Conſtitution; who are the likelieſt Perſons to ſtand in the Gap to defend it; and conſequently who deſerve beſt to be choſen Members of the enſuing Parliament.

Nor

Nor is this an Affair of ſmall Importance; our All, under God, depends upon the next Elections; our Religion, our Rights, our Liberties, our preſent Laws, and our future Security are at Stake: If we make a wrong Step at this Juncture, all the Comfort we can have, is, that probably it will be our laſt Fault of the Kind, becauſe we ſhall never have it in our Power to be guilty of another. For if now there ſhould happen a fatal Conjunction of a corrupt Parliament and a corrupt Miniſtry, a Thing not altogether inconſiſtent nor unprecedented; if the one ſhould be as ready to give up the Conſtitution, as the other to demand it, we can have no Reſource, but muſt be bought and ſold beyond a Poſſibility of Redemption: For I have too good an Opinion of the Underſtanding of the *Whigs*, to think they will ever put it in our Power hereafter to make Repriſals, or retrieve paſt Miſcarriages. If they ſucceed, according to all human Views and Probability, the next will be our laſt Parliament that can be called free, and even *that*, I fear, can only be called ſo.

I muſt own, I cannot, without great Indignation, obſerve the Lukewarm, Indolent, Cowardly, Lazy, Deſponding, and Narrow Tempers of ſome among us: To their Shame be it ſaid, they profeſs honeſt Principles, nay, and are really honeſt in their Inclinations, but yet relinquiſh the Cauſe, and think they deſerve Commendation, becauſe they do not concur in the Iniquity of the Times. You ſhall therefore hear Men of ſuch a Compoſition make a Thouſand trifling Excuſes, according to their ſeveral Weakneſſes and Frailties: One will tell you, That *his ſtanding as Candidate ſignifies nothing*; That *the Sheriff will not Return him, though he ſhould have double the Number of Voices his Competitors have.* A Second cries, *Why ſhould I put myſelf to Trouble and Expence? I was not ſo well rewarded for my laſt Services.* A Third urges, That *all is in vain, and that a Defeat will but ſhew the Weakneſs of the Party.* A Fourth adviſes Folks *to be quiet, and not provoke; there is a Lion in the Way, a Lion in the Street:* With other laudable Speeches to the ſame Purport, all in Juſtification of the Coward's Maxim, That a Man ſhould ſuffer his Enemies to deſtroy him for certain, and without Oppoſition; becauſe there is a Chance, that if he ſhould oppoſe them, he might poſſibly come to the Worſt.

But not to exert one's utmoſt, in a Caſe of this Nature, is almoſt as blameable, as an Overt Act againſt one's Country: Although the Crime be not ſo Unnatural, it is to all Intents as Prejudicial. It is in this as in High Treaſon; whoever doth not what in him lies to diſcover and prevent the Treaſon, he knows is Hatching, is, in the Eye of the Law, (which is grounded upon the Reaſon of the Thing) as guilty as the principal Offender; or at beſt is adjudged guilty of, what the Lawyers call Miſpriſion of Treaſon. So that admitting the Compariſon, thoſe, who ſtupidly ſubmit to the invading Faction, without exerting their Abilities in their ſeveral Stations to divert the Danger, may in all Reaſon be ſaid to betray their Country as much, as thoſe very Men who have form'd the moſt deſperate Deſigns againſt it: They may promiſe themſelves the Benefit of an Indulgence, as the Reward of their Inactivity; but let them reſt aſſur'd, this will only laſt until it comes to their Turn to be

devour'd; for *Whiggiſh Moderation*, like Death, ſooner or later, ſtrikes all that come in its Way.

Far be it from me, and every true *Briton*, to inſinuate we have any thing to fear from a Prince of ſuch Vertues and Abilities as our preſent gracious Sovereign. On the contrary, I labour to extricate him out of Difficulties I foreſee the Whigs deſign to bring him under; if they can pack a Houſe of Commons to their Mind, they will leave him no Power to act but as they direct and preſcribe: They will ſubject him to the Arbitrary Government of a Junto, who cannot bear to be controll'd even by the Regal Power, which, as they ſay, is of their own Creation: According to Cuſtom, they will pronounce every thing to be Arbitrary and Tyrannical, which they have not Leave to dictate. Thus it was they treated the late Queen, until the Kingdom unanimouſly took Fire, and reſolved to deliver their Sovereign out of the Hands of ſuch Managers. They neither allow'd Her the Liberty to ſpeak Her Grievances, nor chuſe Her Servants, but compell'd Her to live in the midſt of perpetual Craving, join'd to Pride and Inſolence, not to be endured. *Solomon* mentions *Horſe-leaches* that have *two Daughters*, which cry, *give, give*; but I could name ſome among the *Whigs* with double that Number, all in the ſame Tone, and never to be appeas'd by the moſt profuſe Bounty. Were the Hiſtory of thoſe Times penn'd in a proper Stile, that which is really True, might paſs for Romance. They ſurrounded the Throne with a Wall of Braſs, and committed the Care thereof to an inſatiable Witch, who never admitted any to the Royal Preſence, but ſuch as came recommended by a Golden Spell.

From the Claws of theſe rapacious *Harpies* it is, every good Subject wiſhes to ſee his Majeſty ſecur'd: And how can this be compaſſed, but by the Choice of a Houſe of Commons, ſuch as the laſt, ſuperior to all Temptations, to the Prejudice of their native Country, zealous for the Honour of their Prince and the Safety of the Church, not ready to encroach upon his Goodneſs, nor willing to ſuffer him to be monopoliz'd by His and the Nation's Enemies?

The late Houſe of Commons, wherein the Church Party had a vaſt Majority, expreſs'd an early and affectionate Concern for the Illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover:* They omitted nothing to ſhew their Fidelity, which certainly the King is too grateful to forget ſo ſoon. Beſide, if we conſider his firm Reſolution to maintain the Church of *England*, his Diſpoſition to govern according to our Laws, his great Diſcernment in penetrating into Men, and his tender Love for his People, we cannot imagine he will deſire a Parliament of a Complexion different from the Two laſt, however the *Whigs* may attempt or ſuggeſt the contrary.

It would be endleſs to enumerate all that thoſe two Parliaments have done for the Good of the Church and State: Nor was it their Fault they did no more: They had a conſtant Drawback, a perpetual Clog upon their Proceedings. One, who either through Knavery or Folly, or both, always cry'd, *Yet a little Sleep, a little Slumber, a little folding of the Hands to Sleep:* And yet, notwithſtanding all the Obſtructions he threw in, in Spite of all his Shuffling,

Shuffling, his Tricks, his Blunders, (the only Proof he ever gave of his Talents for Buſineſs) they provided better for the Publick, and enacted more good Laws than all the Parliaments put together, ſince the Revolution.

As to the Peace and Treaty of Commerce, which lay before the Two laſt Parliaments; why the firſt proceeded ſo heavily, is what the Whigs, and that able Politician the *Staff* (as he or his Hireling have Chriſten'd him, in their late Hiſtories) can beſt account for: He too can beſt inform the World (if the World will regard what he ſays) why the Treaty was not, in every Circumſtance, as advantageous as might have been obtained. Although I ſtill muſt ſay, ſuch as it is, and even as he hath puzzled and involved it, it is a thouſand Degrees more for the Intereſt of *England*, than Ten more of my Lord *M———gh*'s glorious Campaigns. To prove which Aſſertion, among many good Arguments, I ſhall uſe but this one inconteſtable Reaſon; That to this very Peace, this ſcandalous Treaty, as it is call'd, we owe his Majeſty's ſafe and undiſturbed Acceſſion to the Throne: The Conſequence is obvious. Had we been engag'd in a War upon the Demiſe of the Queen, what could we have expected but to ſee the Succeſſion diſputed Sword in Hand, two foreign Armies raging within the Bowels of the Kingdom, an unnatural Civil War, the End whereof no Mortal could determine; and which would have been worſe than all, to find ourſelves depriv'd of the Bleſſings we now enjoy under his Majeſty's auſpicious Government? So that whatever Hopes the Whigs might have entertain'd from a Proſpect of ſuch Diſtractions, now methinks, in Compliment to the King, they ought to ſeem delighted with that, which ſecur'd his Succeſſion; and in juſtice ought to thank the Promoters of the Peace, ſince they thereby have the double Pleaſure of ſeeing the Church Party turned out, and of finding themſelves got into their Places. It ought to be conſider'd that if the Peace be bad, the Whigs are anſwerable for it, and in ſome Senſe may be ſaid to have made it, becauſe they brought us into a Neceſſity of making it, by ſquandering away the Revenues of the Kingdom, by refuſing the advantageous Terms we might have had at *Gertruydenburgh*, by their factious Cabals in *England*, and traiterous Alliances in *Holland* and elſewhere.

We are told, we needed not to have been in ſuch Haſte; that we could have held out One Campaign more, and One Campaign had done the Work: This had been the Language of ſome Men for many Years paſt: Still it was One Campaign, and we ſhould be at the Gates of *Paris*. This induc'd us to part with our Money and Senſes, until we were almoſt entirely ſtript of both.

But we will take it their own Way, and ſuppoſe we were able to continue the War longer, even upon the ruinous Foot the Whigs left it. Were we ſure the Queen might not have dy'd before the End of it? Or could we anſwer that ſome Accident might not have happened to ſet us as far back as ever? Or, ſince *Bouchain* was the Work of a whole Campaign under my Lord *M———gh*, at the Head of One Hundred Thouſand Men, could we depend upon it, that *Cambray* might not hold us at Bay another Year, *Valenciennes* a Third, and ſo forth? Or could we be very poſitive that none of

our

our Allies would clap up a *Separate Peace*, and leave us in the Lurch? Did the *Dutch* never do any Thing of this Kind? Never deſert their Friends, nor ſacrifice them for their private Advantage? And can any Man in his Wits ſay, it would have been wiſer for us to have protracted the War, under all theſe Hazards, than to have made an End of it as we did, which hath reſtored Quiet to *Europe*, and ſecured King *George* upon the *Britiſh* Throne?

When one conſiders the Conduct of the Church Party; how they were the Men made and confirm'd the Act of Settlement; how they were the Men recogniz'd the King's Title, and proclaim'd him with all poſſible Marks of Duty; one is confounded to think, what Colours the Whigs could uſe to repreſent them as diſaffected, and what could provoke the Court to ſingle them out as Objects of Diſpleaſure; and much more, What can biaſs the Country to reject thoſe Men they ſo lately choſe. Upon the Death of the Queen, the Church Party expreſs'd a Sorrow for the Loſs of ſo excellent a Princeſs; remarkable for Piety, and every Vertue requiſite to adorn a Throne and make a People happy: And was that Sorrow a Crime? I hope not. Did they omit to ſolemnize the King's Acceſſion in all the Forms? Did they ſhew a Reluctance to acknowledge his Title or proclaim him? No. But ſeem'd to vie with their Fellow Subjects in all Expreſſions of Loyalty; with this Difference; the Whigs were in Raptures, as if they had been reſcued from ſome mercileſs Tyrant, from Racks, Priſons and Tortures: The others did not think they had Reaſon, or that it was decent, to be ſo immoderately tranſported; but yet were wanting in no Duty towards the Succeſſor: They paid a juſt Regard both to the Living and the Dead: Which in all Reaſon ought to be their Recommendation, not their Crime.

The Commons as well as Lords immediately addreſs the King, invite him over, and ſettle upon him Seven Hundred Thouſand Pound a Year, the very ſame Eſtabliſhment Queen *Anne*, a Native of our Country, whoſe perſonal Merits we were acquainted with, enjoy'd; and more than both King *William* and Queen *Mary* together, had to maintain themſelves, the Queen *Dowager*, the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark*, and the Duke of *Gloceſter*: And theſe may at leaſt be reckoned as great a Charge as the Prince and Princeſs of *Wales*, who before they came here, had but bare *Three Thouſand* Pounds a Year for their whole Expences: Surely ſo bountiful a Gift ſhew'd no Diſaffection in the Givers. But over and above this, the Parliament paſs'd an extraordinary Compliment upon the *Ha——r* Troops, who, tho' in the Queen's Pay, deſerted Her General in *Flanders*; notwithſtanding which, the faithful Commons voted thoſe Troops their Arrears, which I take to be ſomething more than Juſtice; all which was done by a *High Church* Houſe of Commons. And yet this very Houſe of Commons was thought ſo little worthy of having the Liberty once to meet their Prince, or ſo much as to attend him at the great Solemnity of his Inauguration, that they were deny'd the poor Favour of a Medal.

Neither could they have had any Motive to this, but their Affection to his Majeſty: For it muſt be confeſs'd, they were not entirely ſatisfied with the Perſons or Proceedings of the *Regents*: Whether with or without Cauſe I will

will not diſpute. However, there was not, I am perſuaded, through the whole Three Kingdoms, one Churchman of Diſtinction, who appear'd in the leaſt diſaffected to the King, but all unanimouſly concurred in a Submiſſion to his Government, to the inconceivable Mortification of the Whigs, who poured forth Wiſhes for an Inſurrection. But nothing of this kind happened: All remain'd quiet; and, which hath ſeldom happened, both Parties agreed in one Wiſh, and impatiently long'd for his Majeſty's ſafe Arrival. Arrive he did at laſt, and was receiv'd with loud Acclamations from all Quarters: So here was a fair Opportunity for him to ſhew himſelf an equal Parent of his People. The Fame of his Wiſdom and Moderation had filled the Mouths and Hearts of all Men before he came. We had been told, with the greateſt Air of Aſſurance, that he was determined not to ſet himſelf at the Head of a Party; that he did not come to be King of the Whigs, or King of the Tories, but of all his Subjects indifferently, without Partiality or Diſtinction. Queſtionleſs this had been his Intereſt, and to have aboliſh'd the Name of Parties; and ſurely never Man had ſo happy a Conjecture to do this in, as he at the Time of his Landing. There needed no profound Management to effect it: Nothing but an open Countenance to all who came to welcome him: A Countenance that might ſhew no inward Sullenneſs or Reſerve, no Prejudices, no Memory of paſt Diſobligations. This had gain'd him the Hearts of his People, and anſwer'd their Wiſhes, but it was a Policy, that, it ſeems, did not ſuit with the Sentiments of ſome People, who conſult their own Reſentment and Profit more than their Maſter's Honour and Intereſt.

It was generally thought a melancholy Omen, that the King's firſt Compliment to his People, after touching *Engliſh* Ground, ſhould be the Removal of the Duke of *Ormond*; the Man of all others the moſt popular and unexceptionable, and this with Circumſtances too well known to be mentioned. There was obſerv'd, upon this Incident, a Dejection in the Countenances of moſt Men, excepting of the Perſon removed; and they had nothing to keep up their Spirits, but to ſuppoſe ſome extraordinary Reaſons which they hop'd could not always ſubſiſt. Some pretended to account for this Step, by ſaying, his Grace's not fighting the *French* in the Campaign, 1712, is not to be forgiven him: But this muſt certainly be a Miſtake. All Men know he hath as great a Thirſt after Honour, as much Bravery and as great Contempt for Money, as any one alive: So that his Conduct muſt have been the Reſult of his Obedience to his Queen; and Obedience to one's Prince will not, I preſume, be thought bad Doctrine in this Reign, whatever it might have been in the laſt.

Suppoſe the Duke of *Marlborough* had been Commander at the Time the Queen ſent Orders to Her General not to Fight, becauſe the Peace was far advanced; and *Dunkirk* was to be given up into Her Hands as a Cautionary Town. In this Caſe I aſk, Would the Duke of *M*———*gh* have obeyed or not? If he would, then the Duke of *Ormond* did but what the other would have done upon the like Occaſion; if he would not have obeyed, then in the Senſe of all Mankind, he had deſerved to loſe his Head for that Action alone.

Or,

Or, if you pleaſe, ſuppoſe General *Bulaw*, who command the *Han——r* Troops then in *Engliſh* Pay, had remained with the *Engliſh General* contrary to the *Elector*'s Command, or at leaſt without his Leave, what Reward do you think would he have found upon his Return home? I dare anſwer for it, ſuch a one as Count *C———*. The manifeſt Reaſon of the Thing ſhews, that could not be the Duke of *Ormond*'s Offence; and by what ſince hath happened, it appears that his being a Churchman, and a Churchman not to be perverted, is what is not to be forgiven him. What other Temptation could there be to ſo poor a Mark of impotent Malice, as was that of taking from him the Lieutenancy of *Somerſetſhire?* a Thing he had kept under all Adminiſtrations during the Two late Reigns, and which was continued to him for ſome Time under the preſent. It was not of Conſequence enough to ſtop the Mouth of any hungry, indigent Courtier. The taking it from the Duke could not prejudice him, and was known to be a Diſobligation to all the Gentlemen of that Loyal County; nor was the Perſon that ſucceeded his Grace in any great Degree of Favour at Court: But he is leſs in Favour with the Church Party; and the Buſineſs is to ſhew theſe that no Meaſures will be kept with them: Which will further appear by what followed upon the Duke of *Ormond*'s being turned out.

In a few Days after his Removal, more Alterations were made than had been in almoſt as many Years before; nay, more than were upon the Revolution. All, who lay under the Imputation of having been eſteemed by the late Queen, were treated as Enemies to the King; excepting two or three at moſt, who, if I miſtake not, will never go the Lengths are expected, and for that very Suſpicion are already but cloudily received. None, bating a few Trimmers who can turn with every Wind, are in Favour with the preſent Court, but ſuch as were in eminent Disfavour with the laſt. Every one's Merit is rated in Proportion to that Standard. You ſhall not ſee a Scoundrel, that was either turned out of Employment, or had none under the late Adminiſtration, but expects to come in now upon the foot of a *Sufferer for the Succeſſion.* For it is to be noted, this is a Phraſe in Vogue to recommend all who are to make their Court. This you may hear Hundreds repeat with all the Gravity in the World; and, which is more extraordinary, expect to be believed, though they themſelves know, it is all a Farce from Beginning to End. If one can imagine the Court of *Verſailles* turned *Hugonots*, and Monſieur *Villars* introducing the *French Refugees*, *les pauvres Refugiez*, with theſe or the like Recommendations —— *Voicy un honnête homme qui a ſuffert pour la Religion*, &c. *This honeſt Gentleman hath been a great Sufferer for the Cauſe; he hath been in the Gallies theſe Four Years. That other loſt his whole Eſtate, and was forced to fly from Wife and Family to ſave his Life. That poor old Man hath been racked Twelve times*, and ſo forth. I ſay, if one can imagine ſuch a Scene, they may have an Idea of what is ſaid and acted every Day at *St. James*'s. And I ſuppoſe the next Queſtion is, who was that inhuman cruel Prince, and who thoſe wicked Inſtruments, that have made ſuch Havock among the Innocent?

Nor

Nor is this prodigious *Moderation* practiſed here only, but alſo in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, that all Parts of His Majeſty's Dominions may feel the Effects of our *Glorious* Change. In *Ireland*, two of the Lord Juſtices, the Lord Chancellor, all the Judges, I think, and Commiſſioners, excepting honeſt Mr. *Medlicot*, and two more; in ſhort, all in Employment, who are ſuſpected of but wiſhing well to the Church Intereſt, are removed. And to ſhew the great Regard had to the Church, the Lord *Primate*, a Man of the greateſt Vertues and Abilities, is turned out of the *Privy Council*, the firſt Precedent of the Kind, I dare ſay, ſince the Reformation; and in his Grace's Stead, Mr. *Moleſworth*, an Enemy to all Religion, is put in. He is a fair Enemy I own, becauſe he openly profeſſes it. This Gentleman's Merit is a Crime, for which in a leſs mild Reign than the laſt, he would have loſt his Ears. The Thing is notorious; he publickly affronted the whole Body of the Clergy in the Caſtle of *Dublin*, when they came with their Addreſs to the Lord Lieutenant, applying to them the Words, *They that have turned the World upſide down, are come hither alſo.* This Outrage and Prophaneneſs the Houſe of Lords reſented, as they ought; the Fact was repreſented to the Queen, and the Offender excluded the Council. A Puniſhment in no Degree adequate to the Offence. But now he is thought fit to ſucceed the *Primate* at that Honourable Board, and in good Time may ſucceed him in his *Archiepiſcopal See:* In the mean while he hath a *Thouſand Pounds* a Year given him for his Services, and I doubt not but that he will take Care to deſerve Ten Times as much more.

According to the ſame Model all the lower Offices in that Kingdom are furniſhed. 'Tis ſaid Five Hundred Juſtices of the Peace are to be turned out upon Subſcription: This they may do according to Law; but they ſtrain their Power further, and break Patents, as in the Caſe of one Mr. *Edgeworth*, to whom, for ſome conſiderable Services perform'd by him in the *Iriſh* War, King *William* made a Grant of a Place for his and his Son's Life: But my Lord *Sun——nd*, whoſe little Finger is heavier than my Lord *Wh——on*'s Loins, under Pretence of a Flaw in the Form, hath actually given his Employment to another. When Obligations and *Patents* cannot hold, I am afraid *Charters* will not be long liv'd.

Such is the Fate of that miſerable Nation: And I am told *Scotland* is not in a better Condition; ſo that it muſt be allowed the *Whigs* are the beſt State Engineers in the World: They ſhoot with chained Bullets, and mow down whole Kingdoms before them: The Court believes all they do is right, and that the Churchmen cannot be too ill uſed.

Whence this Infatuation ſprung, and how it hath taken Root; whether it was the Effect of a *Weſterly* Wind ſome Months ago, and of *Dutch* Air; of the Earl of *Ox——d*'s ordinary Witchcraft, or the Duke of *M———h*'s Money, I will not take upon me to ſay. Perhaps there might have been a *quantum ſufficit* of each to make up the Compound. I know there are ſome unriddle the Secret in an eaſy Manner: They ſay the King's Stay in *Holland* was not caſual but concerted; that there it was reſolved, who were to be removed, and who to be employ'd in *England*; particularly that the Duke

of *M*———, who had ſpun out the War to the *Engliſh* Ruin, and *Dutch* Intereſt, ſhould be made Commander in Chief; that my Lord *T*———*nd*, who had provided ſo well, by the *Barrier-Treaty*, for the Trade and Security of *Holland*, and ſo entirely neglected and ſacrific'd his own Country, ſhould be made Secretary; that my Lord *Str*——*d*, who us'd to ſpeak plain *Engliſh* to the *Hogan Mogans*, ſhould be turn'd out, and ſucceeded by an infamous Plunderer, who had been a joint Inſtrument with the *Dutch* in all the Contributions, Safeguards, Extortions and Rapine, under which the *Spaniſh* Provinces have groan'd for the greater Part of the laſt War. Theſe Things are aſſerted, and perhaps not without Grounds: But whether they be Fact or not, I will not diſpute: Certain it is the Church Party never gave any juſt Handle for their Diſgrace, and that they never diſcovered a Diſlike to the Houſe of *H*——*r*, unleſs a dutiful Behaviour to the Perſon in Poſſeſſion be thought an Injury to the Succeſſor; a Doctrine that ought by no Means to be encourag'd in the preſent Times.

Be it as it will, it is not very material to our Purpoſe to enquire who were the Authors, or what the Cauſes of the Diſcountenance, not to ſay Injuſtice, the Churchmen now meet with. It is in vain to look back. What behoves every honeſt Man, is, to examine into the Merits, the Views, the Intereſts of each Side, and thence to form his Conduct: Upon this Foot we are now to proceed. If upon a fair Diſquiſition of the Matter, we find the Whigs are generally Men of more Honour and Religion, truer to the Intereſt of their Country, and leſs addicted to Strangers than their Competitors: If their Views and Deſigns ſquare better with the Eſtabliſhment in Church and State, than thoſe of their Rivals; in the Name of God let all the Perſons in *England* that have Votes to give, declare for a Whig Parliament. But if the Reverſe of all this be true, or if the Whigs are at beſt but Men, liable to Miſtakes, and open to Bribery; if their avow'd Deſigns tend to the Overthrow of the Conſtitution, and at the ſame Time it be their Intereſt to purſue thoſe Deſigns, whilſt the only reaſonable Proſpect, the only Safety the Churchmen can propoſe to themſelves, conſiſts in the Preſervation of our Religion and Laws as now ſettled; if this I ſay be the Caſe, then I preſume it will follow, that it is the Intereſt of both the Church and People of *England* to chuſe Churchmen for the enſuing Parliament.

The Argument will appear the ſtronger, the better you weigh the ſeveral Branches of it.

As to the Merits of each Side, I have a Mind, for once, to ſuppoſe them equal; that is, take Man for Man, you will find as many Perſons of Honour, Conſcience, Vertue, and Religion, among the Church Party, as among the Whigs, which I conceive, cannot be thought an immodeſt Suppoſition, if we conſider the Body of the Whigs is compoſed of Atheiſts, Free-Thinkers, and the ſeveral Sects of Diſſenters under their ſeveral Denominations. For Example: Give me Leave to ſuppoſe my Lord *H*——*rt* as equitable a Diſpenſer of Juſtice, and one of as much Morals as his Succeſſor. Let me ſuppoſe likewiſe that the Duke of *O*——*d* hath as much Courage, Honour, Integrity, and Generoſity as his Grace of *M*———*h*, which I believe will ſcarcely be diſ-

diſputed; that my Lord *T———d*'s Eloquence and Abilities are not brighter than my Lord *Bo———ke*'s; and that one hath at leaſt taken as much Care of *England*, by his Tranſactions relating to our Peace, as the other by the *Barrier-Treaty*; which Treaty appear'd ſo ſcandalous even to my Lord *Marlborough*, that he declar'd he would chuſe rather to loſe his Right Hand than ſign it: That Mr. *Br——ly* is not inferior to the *Brihuega* General, either in Vertue, good Senſe, or *Reverence for Churches:* And ſo on.

I ſay, for once, I have a ſtrong Inclination to ſuppoſe theſe Paradoxes; but am told there is not a Man of the Whigs, but will exclaim againſt this as a dangerous Inquiſition into their Lives and Characters; let us therefore examine what Deſigns it is likely, according to Appearances, to Men's paſt Conduct and Profeſſions, and their preſent Mien, each Party hath in View.

There is one Point, and I believe but one, wherein they both ſeem to be upon the Square with each other, and that is with Regard to Employments. To confeſs the Truth, I am of Opinion, neither Side hath much to ſay againſt the other upon this Head: Nor do I ſee what Advantage can be made of it, any farther than on all Hands to deteſt thoſe vile Proſtitutes, who deſert their Friends, and renounce their Principles, to creep into a warm Place; and upon the Strength of a good Salary, nameleſs Perquiſites, or the *uſual Penſion*, bid Defiance to Honeſty and walking on Foot. It is true, ſomething may be urg'd in Favour of the Mercenaries who are compell'd to do the Drudgery of a Faction for Bread; but when it is only to add One, to ſeveral Thouſands a Year a Man hath of his own, it is deteſtable to pawn or ſell one's Honour, Conſcience, and Country. Even a Wife fond of a Court, and of ſitting at the Receipt of Cuſtom, cannot juſtify the Infamy of ſuch a Proceeding.

To the eternal Honour of ſome amongſt us, Places and Penſions have been rejected, when proffer'd upon baſe Terms; ſo that ſtill, as deprav'd as we are, there are *Engliſhmen* Proof againſt the Witchcraft of Court Favour, and above the Power of Gold. Examples rare, and the more worthy our Admiration! I am ſenſible I ſhall offend the Modeſty of thoſe great Men, who have thus ſignaliz'd themſelves, if I preſume to name them: But as much as I honour them, I regard my Country more, and think it fit *England* ſhould know, that Sir *Thomas Han—r* refus'd an Employment worth Three Thouſand Pounds a Year, which Sir *Richard On——w*, (who had always been for the Place-Bill) was glad to accept upon the Terms deſir'd. That Mr. *Br——ly* would not come into the preſent Schemes to get Two Thouſand Pounds a Year that was offer'd, to buy him off from the Church Intereſt; but ſtood his Ground with that unſhaken Firmneſs and Integrity, which hath always diſtinguiſh'd his Character. But not to lay too great a Streſs upon the few Inſtances can be produced of this Kind, we will conſider what Deſigns the Whigs charge upon the Churchmen, and what theſe charge upon the Whigs, with the Grounds of the ſeveral Accuſations.

The Subſtance of all the many Articles with which the Whigs load us, I take to amount to this; That we have had it in our Intentions to introduce Popery and the Pretender; that we are Enemies to the King, and will obſtruct his Meaſures. The former Part of the Indictment they have rung in our Ears many Years together: Nor can I blame them, all Things conſider'd. It hath upon many Occaſions been of Service to them. They were in the right to accuſe us of what we cannot diſprove, ſince they had nothing material to prove againſt us: And againſt this we can make no Defence, becauſe they attempt to bring no Evidence. They pronounce we are *Jacobites*, and that's enough: They alledge no one ſingle Fact; ſo we can only anſwer for our Hearts and Wiſhes, which they pretend to know much better than we ourſelves.

Aſk any of their Dabblers in Politicks, wherein it appears that we are in the Intereſt of the Pretender? and he will give you his Oath for it, and aſſure you we ſhould all have been ruined, ſold for Slaves to the Gallies, or been maſſacred, if the Queen had not dy'd on the Firſt of *Auguſt*, preciſely between the Hours of Eight and Nine in the Morning; ten Minutes later and we muſt all have ſunk, Religion, State, *Illuſtrious Houſe*, and all.

The Men of Senſe argue after another Manner: That we muſt have been *Jacobites*, becauſe it was our Intereſt; that we knew they had ſhut the Doors againſt us on one Side, and therefore it was natural we ſhould have Recourſe to the other. But neither had this Conſideration any Weight with us. We continu'd firm to our Engagements; and the Generality of the Kingdom ſeems fully ſenſible, how little we merited either the Reproaches or Treatment we have received. If we have been Trafficking in any unjuſt Deſigns, how comes it to paſs the Whigs have never diſcover'd the leaſt Advance that Way? Why are none of the Traytors ſeiz'd and examin'd; no Papers nor Evidence produc'd? Why is nothing offer'd as a Proof, but the ſtale threadbare Lyes of thoſe who have no Support for their Falſhood, but matchleſs Impudence, and an Intrepidity in Lying? Is it that the Whigs have another *Ox——d* among them, of too merciful a Diſpoſition to bring Offenders to condign Puniſhment? I believe not. He, good Man, hath not his Equal upon Earth; and they are too well read in Politicks to follow ſuch Examples. Is it that the Whigs are not diligent enough in their Search? I believe alſo that this is not their Fault. They took Care betimes to ſearch the principal offending Perſon's Office, at the ſame Inſtant that they viſited and courted him every Day: But no dangerous Papers were brought to Light; no Diſcoveries made; beſides Mr. *Hare*'s Hat, I hear of nothing ſeiz'd there, but only a Silver Candleſtick, and another *Utenſil*, which a Noble Peer took care to ſeal up. Whence could it happen, that after all this wonderful Enquiry, no Conſpiracies were detected? I am afraid it is, becauſe there are no ſuch Things in Reality, and that an Examination into the Affair would but unravel the whole Myſtery. When any thing is done to amuſe and throw Duſt in Men's Eyes, it cannot endure to be too nicely pry'd into.

But to go farther yet, and ſuppoſe what does not appear, that the Church-Party might once have had ſuch a Scheme, yet ſince it is now broke, His

Majeſty,

Majeſty ſettled upon the Throne, and a numerous Royal Iſſue here upon the Spot, out of the Power of the *Pope and all his Works*; and ſince there can be no rational nor even romantick Proſpect of a Revolution in Favour of the *Pretender*, it is the true Intereſt of *England* to elect a Church Houſe of Commons: Of two Evils the leaſt is the beſt, and I dare ſay it is a leſs Evil to chuſe thoſe who once wiſhed us Harm, but have it not in their Power to injure us, than thoſe who having it in their Power, may ſoon have it in their Intention to overturn the State. The Difference is, the Churchmen cannot prejudice the Conſtitution, though they ſhould deſire it, but a Whig Houſe of Commons will both be able and willing to do it.

For ſuppoſing you had juſt ſuch another *Jacobite* Houſe of Commons as the laſt, which paſſed an Act for an Hundred Thouſand Pounds to the Perſon who ſhould ſeize the pretended King *James the Third:* I ſay, ſuppoſing you had ſuch a bloody-minded *Jacobite* Houſe of Commons, how could they prejudice the Conſtitution either in Church or State? What Steps could they take? What Arguments, Funds, Forces, Allies, could be of Service to them? How could they ever get the Houſe of Lords into the Project? The Houſe of Lords, which will be as thoroughly Whig as Heart can wiſh. Nay, one may venture to ſay, That if the King himſelf can be ſuppoſed to have any Inclination to balance or break Parties, 'tis his Intereſt to have ſuch a Houſe of Commons as may check the Houſe of Lords; by which means he might be at Liberty to act as he ſhould think fit. If he is now ſo ſwayed by a few Whigs, how will he be over-ruled by two Houſes of the ſame Principles?

True, cry the Whigs, *we have a Houſe of Lords now on our Side, but no Thanks to you. Now it is out of your Power to ſhake his Poſſeſſion, and therefore in revenge you will not enable the King to make a Figure in* Europe; *i. e.* We will not enable him to commence a new War in our preſent Circumſtances: And in this the Whigs ſeem to be in the right: for I do not believe the Church Party have ſo great an Opinion of their late Knight-Errantry, as to be fond of engaging afreſh, unleſs upon new Provocations and better Views than now offer. We may fight again and beat, and be beaten; may huzza one Day, and faſt another, for Ten Years more, and all to purchaſe a Trifle, which when obtained will not anſwer the hundredth Part of what may be laid out in the Purchaſe.

It is probable we ſhall conſider the State of the Nation, before we begin a new Rupture, that we may not, out of Compliment to any one, run blindly into what we are not prepared for. And it muſt be owned we are very much unprepared for more Land-Expeditions; the Publick is in Debt near Fifty Millions, the Intereſt whereof amounts to near Two Millions and a half Yearly: All the Funds, excepting the Land and Malt Tax, are either anticipated or mortgaged; a Poll Tax and General Exciſe, the only Reſorts in this Caſe, are odious, and not to be ſupported by the People; already fleec'd ſo often, they have ſcarce enough left to keep them from Periſhing: Neither have they the Ability or Inclination to bear the Inſolences and Oppreſſions of a new Military Power, and of knaviſh Recruiters: The Preſſing

honeſt

honeſt Houſekeepers and Tradeſmen; the Quartering Soldiers in private as well as publick Houſes, with infinite more Diſorders, the almoſt inevitable Conſequences of a new War, are what we are in no Diſpoſition to endure.

We ought alſo to conſider how far in our preſent Circumſtances an Army ſhould be truſted in the Hands of an incenſed, corrupt, or ambitious *General*, and to what Service he may apply it; whether againſt *French* and *Popiſh* Tyranny, or *Engliſh* Liberty; whether for the King, or for the Whiggiſh Faction; Queſtions I cannot think unnatural; for he that hath betrayed Three Crowned Heads already, out of his boundleſs Paſſion for Money, may find his Account in betraying the Fourth, or in enſlaving his Native Country, and then his hearty Endeavours are not to be doubted of. And indeed nothing can parallel the ſetting ſuch a notorious Tr——or to Kings at the Head of an Army, but putting the Fleet under the Command of him, who was to have betray'd the *Engliſh* Navy to the *French* at *La Hogue*, and was the deepeſt in the Conſpiracy for the late King *James*'s Reſtoration: Which whoever doubts, may be ſatisfied of by Sir *John Fenwick*'s Papers, which are now upon the Journals of the Houſe of Lords.

It ſhould ſeem to me one of the moſt extravagant Deluſions in Nature, for *Engliſhmen* at this Juncture to entertain a Thought of a new War, only that I have often experienced it, that Men are apt to run away with the Sound, without conſidering the Meaning of Words. This is our Caſe: The King is by all means to *make a Figure* in *Europe*, and that ſhould ſtop all Mouths; whereas it is not always the Intereſt of a People to have their Prince make, what is generally called, a *Figure* in the World. This is a Stile applied to ſuch Princes as are Warlike and Enterprizing, and fill the Weekly *Gazettes* with Accounts of their Sieges, Battles, Conqueſts and Triumphs; all which rather make a Nation Terrible abroad, than Happy at home.

The Princes that in this Age make the greateſt Noiſe in *Europe*, are the King of *France*, the *Czar of Muſcovy*, the King of *Sweden*, and King *Auguſtus*: They are all abſolute, and raiſe what Men and Subſidies they think fit, begin and end Wars as their Humour, private Intereſt, or Caprice direct; and ſeldom conſider the Happineſs of the Subject, any farther than as it ſuits with their own Grandeur. The former of theſe hath appeared with great Luſtre, and not only his Medals, his Panegyricks, but even his Enemies, confeſs he hath made a *Figure*. But pray what are his Subjects the better for it? Nineteen Parts of them are Beggars, proud and poor Slaves; and even the Twentieth, conſiſting of Projectors, Financiers, Generals and Courtiers, with fine Equipages, and ſpacious *Hotels*, have only the Advantage to wear Golden Chains.

There is not any Thing gives me a greater Contempt for the Levity of that Nation, and Abhorrence of Arbitrary Power, than to ſee the poor Wretches in *France*, without Shoes to their Feet, Shirts to their Backs, or Bread or Salt to put in their Mouths, ſtrut and talk of their *Grand Monarch*, with a Conceitedneſs, as if his Grandeur deſcended to them. Their ſtarving Pride ſhews their Minds are as much enſlaved as their Bodies. You will ſay this is their Hap-

Happineſs: Be it ſo: But nevertheleſs I am of Opinion they would be better pleaſed, if *Lewis Le Grand* made a leſs Figure, and they had more Bread to fill their Bellies, and better Cloaths to defend them from the Weather. The Subjects of the *Czar* of *Muſcovy* and the King of *Sweden* are much in the ſame Condition, only that their Yoke is more agreeable to their Climate.

The *Poliſh* Subjects of King *Auguſtus* were indeed free, when they choſe him, from being an *Elector* of the Empire, and of a different Religion from theirs, to be their King; but he being confined to certain Conditions, which he did not like, ſoon found Means to break them. Their *Pacta Conventa*, much like our Acts of Parliament, were only a dead Letter, and could not reſtrain him, who had an Army at Command. By what Means he compaſſed his Ends I need not mention: It is enough to our Purpoſe, to know that, to make a *Figure*, he introduced into *Poland* a Foreign Army, engaged in ſeveral Wars, oppreſſed his Subjects, was king'd and unking'd, and king'd again; and that for ſeveral Years *Poland* hath been the Scene of all the Miſeries which can poſſibly overwhelm a Nation.

But not to ramble too far from our Subject, I think the Reſult of all the Whiggiſh Objections is, Firſt, That we were Enemies to the *Han—r* Succeſſion; which is manifeſtly falſe, and which, if it were true, could be no Objection to us now: And, Secondly, That we will not conſent to viſionary and dangerous Projects, that may tend to the Ruin of our King and Country; however theſe may be diſguiſed under the ſpecious Notion of aggrandizing our Monarch, or recommended by thoſe who boaſt themſelves his beſt and only Friends.

It remains now, to examine what the Churchmen object againſt the Whigs, with the Grounds of the Accuſations. Firſt, we take it for granted, That the Whigs are reſolved upon an immediate War. This I conceive, they will ſcarce deny, although perhaps they may give other Reaſons for it than we do. They will ſay they are concerned for the Honour of the Nation, ſhamefully betrayed by the late Peace, and for the Benefit of Trade; and we ſay they want a War to ſecure their Power, and encreaſe their Wealth. They have Cant on their Side, we Probability on ours. We ſay, it is a Maxim agreed on all Hands, that thoſe ſame Means which have raiſed any uſurped Power, are neceſſary to the Eſtabliſhment of it: That the Whigs ſeem ſenſible of this, as they ſeldom are wanting to themſelves on ſuch Occaſions: That they know their preſent Power is the Conſequence of the Wars in the two late Reigns: That moſt of their Fortunes were thereby raiſed: And that it was the War which ruined the Landed Intereſt. But it ſeems the Landed Intereſt is not low enough yet, it may have a Reſurrection; to prevent which, nothing can be ſo effectual as another War. A War therefore they muſt have, right or wrong, and coſt what it will.

To this End they roar and bellow againſt the Peace: For the ſame End Military Men are employed in the ſeveral Embaſſies Abroad; and I believe thoſe great Generals and Soldiers, ſo employed, would think themſelves ill treated, if not repreſented as Men that *Delight in War*. In *Hanover* the Officers are ordered to increaſe their Quota's by Fourteen Men in each Company, and

Six

Six in each Troop. Here in *England*, ſince his Ma——y's Arrival, by ſecret and inſenſible Degrees, they have taken like Methods to encreaſe the Forces. All the preſent Meaſures look apparently towards a new War, and a Man muſt be ſtrangely ſhort-ſighted not to perceive the Clouds a gathering. When they are to fall, I will not determine; but we may depend upon it, whenever that ſhall happen, Six Shillings in the Pound, a Capitation Stock, and General Exciſe, will be the leaſt of our Misfortunes.

Again, we ſay the *Whigs* reſolve, if they can procure a Houſe of Commons to their Mind, to deſtroy the *Church of England:* Whereby I do not mean that they have ſet up Gibbets in their Minds, and deſign to hang, draw and quarter every Member of the Church; nor that all the *Whigs* will come into the Scheme. But we are perſuaded that the Generality of the *Whigs* are averſe to the preſent *Hierarchy* and Government of the Church; that they neither like our Doctrines nor our Clergy, but would aboliſh Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, aſſume the Church Lands to themſelves, appoint a ſmall Allowance to the Parſons, and preſcribe them what Doctrines to teach from the Pulpit; that they would introduce a general Comprehenſion, and blend up an Eccleſiaſtical *Babel* of all the Sects and Hereſies upon the Face of the Earth; and laſtly, deprive the Biſhops of their Votes in the Houſe of Lords; which Particular they have contrived to render the leſs odious, by furniſhing the Reverend Bench, as far as was in their Power, with ſuch Members, as few Churchmen will pity or regret, when they ſhall be unloaded.

It may be ſaid, ſo many Black Articles ought not to be charged upon the *Whigs* without good Evidence and Proof: It is true, they ought not, and therefore I am ſo fully convinced of it, that I will give up all I have ſaid for meer Fiction and Slander, if you can name me one ſingle Man among their Leaders, who is not a profeſſed *Deiſt* and Enemy to all Religion, a Latitudinarian, or notoriouſly diſaffected to the Clergy of the *Church of England.* I except the Earl of *N———m*, becauſe he is ſtill an avowed Churchman, and only acts with a Party into which he was forced by the Injuries he received from the Earl of *Ox——d*; not that he is, properly ſpeaking, of the Party. He indeed is an Inſtance, how far Paſſion and Reſentment, even in the greateſt Men, can ſway Reaſon: But he is no Whig, no more than *Ox——d* was a Churchman; ſo his Lordſhip is excepted out of my Rule. But among all who call themſelves *Whigs*, and are of any Conſideration as ſuch, name me the Man I cannot prove to be an inveterate Enemy to the *Church of England*, and I will be a Convert that Inſtant to their Cauſe.

Things being thus, may we not fairly conclude, that when theſe Enemies to the Church ſhall have both the Reins and Whip in their Hands, they will drive on to deſtroy it *Root* and *Branch?* Suppoſe, for Inſtance, our next will be as entirely a Whig-Houſe of Commons as that which impeached Dr. *Sacheverell*, and that they will bring in a Bill for the complete *Abolition of Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons* (which, as I take it, is no unnatural Suppoſition); how eaſy will it be to repreſent to the King, That the Way to enlarge his own Power, is to leſſen that of the Clergy; That they pretend to an Independency

dependency on the State; That they have a ſtrong Influence upon the People; That they are in their Hearts for the *Pretender*; That they teach Doctrines oppoſite to his Right; and, That they have vaſt Poſſeſſions in Land, which he, like our *Harry* the Eighth, may ſeize, convert to his own Uſe, or give to his Favourites, as he pleaſes (all which the *Whigs* ſay every Hour, both in private and publick); I ſay, in this Caſe, is it not manifeſt the Church will be in Danger?

I remember when the Diſpute about the Danger of the Church was in Agitation in the late Reign, I was one of thoſe who thought it not in Danger; not but that I was privy to what the *Whigs* drove at; but I knew we had the Queen on our Side, and that nothing could ever influence her to act to the Prejudice of the *Church of England*; the Rights whereof ſhe underſtood, and always tenderly loved: But we may ſay, without Reflection upon any one, the Caſe is prodigiouſly altered.

How religious ſoever the King is, it cannot be imagined he hath any extraordinary Veneration for a Religion, which he came into but the other Day, and to which he was an abſolute Stranger before. The *Lutheran*, wherein he was educated, and which he profeſſed to the very Hour of his Landing, is entirely different, both in Doctrine and Diſcipline, from ours; in that there are no Biſhops, which we think eſſential to a Church; and there are ſome Ceremonies and Tenets which border too near upon Popery.

For, to ſay the Truth, *Lutheraniſm* and *Popery* in many Things differ only as that which is abſurd differs from that which is more ſo. The *Papiſts*, for Example, ſay the conſecrated Wafer is Chriſt *really* and *ſubſtantially* in Perſon, and that it retains nothing of the Subſtance of the Bread: The *Lutherans* ſay it is Chriſt in *Subſtance*, and Bread in *Subſtance* too: And from both theſe, the *Church of England* differs widely, as well as in many other Points. So that ſince his Majeſty, to qualify himſelf for the Crown, was pleaſed to depart from his own, to embrace a Religion ſo different from it in many, and thoſe eſſential Reſpects, it is no remote Thought to apprehend he may conſent to the Alteration of ours, for a valuable Conſideration to himſelf. Can any Mortal, then, aſſign a Reaſon why he ſhould refuſe to give his Royal Aſſent to a Bill to aboliſh the preſent Conſtitution in Church? His Coronation Oath obliges him to maintain the Laws of the State as well as the Church; and ſince an Act of Parliament may repeal the one, why may he not conclude it may do ſo with the other, ſince he can have no Scruples of Conſcience upon him, as to the Divine Right of our Conſtitution? Would it not be natural for him to argue, that the Voice of his Parliament is the Voice of the Nation, and that as they are his great Council, he ought to follow their Advice? His *Declaration*, which ſets the *Kirk of Scotland* upon the Level with the *Church of England*, ſhews plainly he is not particularly devoted to us; and the great Concourſe and good Countenance, with which the numerous Fry of ſhort Cloaks are received at St. *James*'s, may give us to underſtand, that at leaſt they are as welcome there as the Long Gown.

Nor are we to expect greater Favour from the *Prince* and *Princeſs* of *Wales:* His Circumſtances as to Religion are the ſame with his Father's; and ſhe is ſo rigid a *Calviniſt*, that is, ſo rigid a *Preſbyterian*, that hitherto ſhe hath not been prevailed upon to receive the Sacrament according to the Inſtitution of the *Church of England.* It is true, by the Providence of God and the Wiſdom of our Sovereign, the Event may prove happy; but ſtill it muſt be allowed the View is very unpromiſing, and that our Fears are not altogether groundleſs.

Upon the whole we may lay this down for certain, That the *Whigs* are ſure of the Court and of the Houſe of Lords, and that if they can manage it ſo, as to have a Majority in the Commons, and that Providence doth not wonderfully interpoſe, there will be an End of the pureſt Church in the World, to make way for a monſtrous *Comprehenſion.*

Fœta armis ———————
Illa ſubit, mediæq; minans illabitur urbi.

Another Point with which we accuſe the *Whigs*, is, That they deſign to repeal or explain away the chief Limitations in the *Act of Settlement.* By that Act there are many excellent Proviſions made for the Good of King and People. Theſe are ſaid to abridge the Prerogative too much; although it be evident there is not a Reſtriction in that whole Act which a wiſe King would not chuſe to lay upon himſelf; not one, which a King could have a Temptation to break, if he were reſolved to reign like an *Engliſh* King, and not like a *Foreigner.*

However, to ingratiate themſelves at Court, the Whigs alledge, That the King's Hands are fetter'd and *manacled* by theſe Reſtrictions; That we ought to treat him as well as his Predeceſſors; That we ſeem by this Act to diſtruſt him; and, That it will be a perpetual Handle for Miſunderſtandings, Suſpicions and Jealouſies between him and his People: On the contrary I affirm, nothing can give ſo much Umbrage, as the Repeal or Alteration of that Act; either of which will create a hundred Jealouſies for any one that could have been otherwiſe. Men look upon it, in ſome Meaſure, as Sacred as *Magna Charta*, and think there is not a Tittle in it but ſhould be preſerv'd inviolable: The Reaſon, I conceive, is this. They apprehend if you make a ſmall Breach, you will not know where to ſtop; but by opening it to receive a few *Ha———ns* into Employment, will make the Gap wide enough for all the Foreigners in *Europe* to paſs thorough. It is thought dangerous Practice to break Acts of Settlement even in private Families, and much more ſo in publick States; both as the Conſequences are vaſtly greater in the latter, and as an Error therein, may be irreparable; but in private Caſes the Law lies open to do the injur'd Party Juſtice.

I muſt own, I am not entirely of the Opinion of thoſe, who think the Whigs enjoy their preſent Favour at Court, by no other Tenure than an Aſſurance of Repealing thoſe Limitations: I do believe their Merits are not confined in ſo narrow a Circle, but that as they may have given Expectations

of

of their future good Conduct, ſo they have recommended themſelves by paſt Services. However, it is not to be deny'd but they have engag'd and promis'd to take off the Reſtrictions, which they complain of ſo heavily.

Their daily Diſcourſe rouls upon the Hardſhips the King lies under, to have his Hands ſo ty'd up. At this Rate, ſay they, what is the Crown worth? To anſwer naturally, I reply, it is worth *Seven Hundred Thouſand Pounds* a Year to maintain the Civil Liſt alone, that is, to maintain the King's private Family; which is more by one full half, than all *Brunſwick*, *Lunenbourg* and *Hanover*, put together, can raiſe. And the Courtiers and Whigs talk of making it worth Two Hundred Thouſand Pounds a Year more to the Prince of *Wales*; to which Purpoſe they deſign to make a Demand of the next Parliament: As if the Principality of *Wales*, the Lands in *Cornwall*, and what the King may reaſonably ſpare out of his Income, were not ſufficient to ſupport his Son's Princely Dignity. The late Queen, for ſome Years of Her Reign, gave the Publick a Hundred Thouſand Pounds Yearly, out of Her Revenue; and ſure the King may allow ſo much to his Son, without burthening the poor Country with new Taxes. But further; the Crown is worth the Empire of the Sea, provided our good Neighbours the *Dutch*, have not too great an Influence upon our Councils. It had been worth *Four Millions* a Year to carry on a War, if the King's beſt Friends, the Whigs, had not contrived to mortgage all the Funds: And ſtill in a few Years, it will be worth as much as the King can have a lawful Occaſion for, if the Peace be continued, Trade encouraged, the Natives countenanced, and the People allow'd a little Time to breath from Wars and Taxes.

But there are other Grounds, of more Weight than Words or Promiſes, for believing the Whigs are reſolved to break the Limitations: Thoſe are Gratitude and Intereſt; two Motives which, when united, never fail of irreſiſtibly binding them. Whatever others may think of the Matter, I look not upon the Whigs to be ſo far Antimonarchical, as to refuſe a due Compliment to a King, that hath found out the Secret of obliging them. If they can be gratified in ſome few ſmall Particulars, ſuch as the Deſtruction of Church and Landed Intereſt, and the like, I doubt not but they will, in their Way, uſe their Efforts to make his Majeſty a ſuitable Return; no Matter at whoſe Coſt. I own, all the Arguments deduced from a Principle of Gratitude in them, may be ſaid to be only probable Conjectures; Conjectures built upon a Foundation not ſolid in itſelf, but as it depends upon Intereſt; ſo that Intereſt is the main Point in Debate. Allow it: And according to this, examine every one of the Limitations moſt complained of, and you will find it is the Intereſt of the Whigs to break them, at the ſame Time that the Preſervation of them will appear to be abſolutely neceſſary to the Welfare of King and People.

For Example: By that Act it is provided, That his Majeſty ſhall make his Reſidence among us, in a fine Country and wholeſome Air, and at leaſt with as polite a Nation as any that can tempt him hence: But if he hath a Call to any other Part of the World, and he and his Parliament judge his Ab-

ſence can be of no Detriment to the State, he is at his Election to go where he pleaſes. How reaſonable ſoever this be in itſelf, it is not what the Whigs approve: The oftner they can perſuade his Majeſty to be abſent, the more Power they will have here, and the better Opportunities to miſinform him. For although they have provided, almoſt as well as if he were not upon the Spot, that he ſhall have no Thoughts but what they inſpire him with; although they have beſieg'd him with their Spies and Agents, and ſequeſter'd his Friends from him; yet ſtill there is a Poſſibility, that an *Engliſhman* may get at him to tell him the Truth, and while there is a Poſſibility, they are not as ſecure as they deſire. Nay, although they have as much Power, in effect, as if they were declar'd Regents, yet they have not the State they enjoy'd ſome Months ago, nor ſo convenient an Opportunity of Inſulting their Betters.

A ſecond Article, with which the Whigs are equally diſſatisfied, is that Clauſe which obliges the Perſon who wears the Crown, to join in Communion with the *Church of England:* This, for the very Reaſons above rehearſed, goes down very ill with them; for as it gives a conſiderable Countenance, and ſome ſmall Security to our Eſtabliſh'd Religion, it renders the Deſtruction thereof the more difficult, and is another Inducement to the Whigs to repeal the Act of Limitation.

But that which is of the greateſt Moment to the Kingdom, and moſt for the Safety of the King, is that Part of the Act which excludes all Foreigners from any Employments, or Grants of Lands, *&c.* in theſe Nations; which takes off from the King the Odium of giving up the Rights of *Engliſhmen* to Out-landiſh, Craving Cormorants, and alſo may ſatisfy the People, that his Majeſty's Affections are not ſettled upon Aliens and Strangers. But this happens to have the Fate of all other Proviſions for the Good of *England*, to be diſagreeable to the Intereſt and Inclinations of the Whigs: To confirm which, I might produce their ſeveral inconſiſtent Schemes of Naturalization, whereby they would graft ſo many new exotick Scyons, of quite different and of baſe Species, as entirely to alter the Property of the old honeſt *Engliſh* Stock. I might inſtance ſome of their great Men ſo exceſſively fond of Strangers, as to bring over *Five or Six Thouſand* ſluggiſh famiſh'd *Palatines*, to devour the Bread of the Natives, and ſtock us with two of the *Egyptian* Plagues at once, Lice and new Diſeaſes.

Theſe Topicks I might inſiſt upon, and I think with good Grounds, but the Argument doth not need it: For beſide theſe Conſiderations, there are two powerful Motives to make the Whigs open their Arms to embrace all Strangers: One is to ſtrengthen their Party. For I ſcarce ever knew a Foreigner ſettled in *England*, whether of *Dutch*, *German*, *French*, *Italian*, or *Turkiſh* Growth, but became a Whig in a little Time after mixing with us: An Argument that all the World know our Conſtitution better than we; or that as Strangers have leſs Concern for us, they ſtrike in with thoſe who are the leaſt affected to *England*.

Another Reaſon why the Whigs will deſire an Inlet may be made for Fo-

Foreigners into Employments, is to eſtabliſh their preſent Power. I am not ignorant there are ſome wiſe Heads of both Parties, who cry, the Whigs will never do this for their own Sakes; what, will they pave a Way for themſelves to be turn'd out, to make Room for Strangers! No, but they will feed ſome of the King's chief Favourites with advantageous Places and Grants, and by that Means ſecure their Favour with him, and their Tyranny over their Fellow Subjects. This is no Refinement of Policy, but plain natural Reaſon, obvious to the Capacity of every Free Mind: For thoſe Favourites, being unacquainted with the People, Cuſtoms and Laws of *England*, muſt act by others: And who ſo likely to direct them, as their dear Friends, who have helped them into Employment, and who, they may fancy, upon a Diſobligation will kick them out again? So here is a mutual Friendſhip and League ſtruck up: The Court-Minions are to have Money enough, which is all they want; and the Whigs are to have the Superintendence of all Affairs, which is the Thing they pant after.

Nothing is more natural than for the King's Old Subjects to have the Advantage, in point of his Affection, over his New. By ſpeaking the ſame Language, their Converſation is moſt agreeable to him; and by having been Partners with him in his Pleaſures, which uſually open the Heart, they may know the Seaſons and Paſſes, when and how to win upon his Nature, and to render themſelves more acceptable than the *Engliſh*. There is likewiſe on their Side, a natural Inclination moſt People have for their Countrymen. Neither can we, who are upon the Matter abſolute Strangers to him, expect to be truſted like thoſe, whoſe Fidelity he hath long approv'd. For theſe Reaſons, among others, I conceive, he keeps about him thoſe two Fellows in *Turkiſh* Habits, who manage all Things at *St. James*'s, who do the Offices of *Pages of the Back Stairs*, admit Lords and other People to him, lie in his Room at Night, and ſeem to have his Royal Perſon entirely in their Care. Nor is this contrary to the Act, becauſe they are not as yet ſworn; the *Lord Chamberlain*, when commanded to give them the Oaths, having put it off until the *Repeal of the Act*. For the ſame Reaſon, I ſuppoſe Baron *Bothmar* is truſted with the *Privy Purſe*, that the King may diſpoſe his Money here, or ſend it to *Hanover*, without the Privity of the *Engliſh*.

All this, I ſay, is natural; and if this were all, we might be ſatisfy'd: But the Whigs have prepared greater Evils for us, which are not to be oppos'd by the King, becauſe the Whigs are in Poſſeſſion of the *Germans*; nor by the People, becauſe that would be to oppoſe the King. So our Circumſtances may eaſily be ſumm'd up: The King's Crown is to ſit eaſy upon his Head, his Countrymen are to partake of his Sunſhine, Foreigners are to be admitted as new additional Forces to the Whigs, and under the Name of the King, a corrupt, deteſtable *Junto* is to govern: We are to be made Slaves, by Virtue of a Combination between our New Friends and Old Enemies, and whilſt we bear a heavy *German* Burthen, the Whigs, who have bridled their Country, will ſhew the Sovereign Uſe of the Prerogative, when lodg'd in good Hands.

But

But theſe are not all the Articles wherewith we tax the Whigs. Theſe indeed ſhould be enough to influence the Country not to truſt their Safety in the Power of Men of ſuch Deſigns and Principles; but over and above all theſe, we ſay, That the Whigs intend to repeal the Act for *Triennial Parliaments*: And when that is done, we may bid Adieu to Liberty. It is true, that Act hath not been long in Force; and it may be objected, That as we were Free before there was ſuch an Act in being, ſo we may be ſtill, after it is Repeal'd. But to believe this, muſt be ſomething worſe than Deluſion: If ever a Nation was ripe for Slavery, we are the People. Some are reſolved to make their Markets of the Freedom of their Country: Some have neither Soul nor Spirit to defend it: Some propoſe to have their Share of the Spoil and Plunder, while it is a going: And thoſe few, who have the Virtue to endeavour to make a Stand, muſt expect to be borne down by Noiſe, Inſolence, and Plurality of Voices.

How well diſpoſed ſoever the King is in himſelf, he knows but little of our Conſtitution; hears few or none but thoſe, whoſe Intereſt it is to deceive him. He was uncontroulable at Home; could command the Lives, Liberties, Fortunes, nay and Wills of his former Subjects, and probably hath brought with him a Deſire to be not leſs Abſolute over us: So the Whigs will make him believe, all they deſign is to enlarge his Power, and raiſe him to be as Great here, as he was at *H*———*r*; and, in the mean Time, they will ſtop up all Avenues, whereby he might diſcover their Schemes to enſlave him and the Nation. In this Caſe a New Parliament, according to the *Triennial Bill*, might repreſent to the King his true Intereſt, and ſo all would be ſet right again: But the Repeal of that Act will perpetuate his Ignorance, and ſecure their Uſurpation, indemnify them for paſt Crimes, and empower them to commit future Ones; ſet them, as they ſay, above Truckling to little Mechanicks and dirty Farmers, and render them as terrible as the Long Parliament in *Forty One*. By this Means Elections will ceaſe: Leſs Money and Beer will be ſpent in the Country; and more Jewels and Furniture go to adorn the Houſes and Wives of thoſe Noble Patriots.

But compleatly to rivet our *Deſtruction*, it muſt *come upon us like an Armed Man*; or which is the ſame, muſt be impos'd upon us by a *Standing Army*; and this we ſay the Whigs are bent upon. This they aim'd at in King *William*'s Reign, and particularly the Lord *H*———*x*, now at the Head of the Treaſury, and ſuppos'd to have a great Influence upon the preſent Meaſures, to whom, as much as to any one Man living, our preſent Miſery may be imputed: He it was that encouraged moſt, if he were not the Original Contriver of that curſed Expedient, of Mortgaging Funds for ready Money: An Evil which perhaps our Grand-Children will not be able to remedy. He was active in the Treaty of *Partition*, which begot the late War, and all the ſad Effects of it: He promoted the Scheme for a *Standing Army*, all he could, in King *William*'s Reign; and no doubt will promote the ſame now. The Body of the Whigs came into it then, and by their own Language, they owe as much to their Redeemer, King *George*, as they did to King

King *William*, and therefore cannot be averſe from it now. It is to be preſum'd the ſame Maxims prevail, ſince the ſame Tribe of Politicians ſit at the Helm.

Beſides, without a *Standing Army* they can never be able to ſucceed in their hopeful Projects: For altho' the Nobility be vitiated to a ſhameful Degree; yet, there is ſtill an Old *Engliſh* Spirit in the People, neceſſary to be ſubdu'd; which all the ſtraining of Laws and Pretences of *Riots* cannot ſuppreſs, without Red-coats, the uſual Inſtruments of Bondage. This they find by a late Experiment. To try the Pulſe of the Nation, there was form'd a Scheme to burn, in many Places, the *Common-Prayer Book* and Dr. *Sacheverell* in Effigie: The People every where took the Alarm, and were reſolved to reſcue the Gown and Liturgy from Fanatick Inſults. Thereupon ſome Scuffles happened, and particularly in *Briſtol*; but to tame this Courage and Honeſty in the People, an *Extraordinary Commiſſion* is diſpatch'd with all the Formality imaginable, and the Whigs vow'd no leſs than Twenty Victims, to appeaſe the Ghoſt of one hair-brain'd Quaker. However, Things have not anſwered to their Wiſh; the Judges were Men of Senſe and Men of Honour; and altho' the Whigs had ſet up their Reſt upon this Tryal, to make Examples to all, who dare appear in favour of the Church; yet the *Rioters*, as they are called, were acquitted: So that the Civil Power alone, with all their Arts, will never do their Buſineſs: This they wiſely foreſee, and act accordingly. Hence it is the Officers of the Army, thoſe I mean who are devoted to them, are ſo much careſs'd at Court; hence it is, thoſe Men, who talk loudeſt of Storming the Enemies Towns and Trenches Abroad, are encourag'd, and as it were dieted, to terrify their Fellow Subjects at Home. For what is the Court now but a downright Camp? The Palace, which us'd to be the Place of Education, as well as a Mark of Diſtinction for the Sons of our Nobility, is now a Neſt for every little upſtart Officer. There is now no Difference between Civil and Military Employments; the firſt are ſwallow'd up in the laſt; and theſe Locuſts of the Army ſwarm, *Yea even in the King's Chamber*. We ſee how FORTUNATE, IF NOT FAITHFUL, the General has been; he fail'd in his Attempt of getting a Commiſſion of General for Life, but by encompaſſing the Throne with an armed Band of his own Creatures, he has gain'd much more than an Equivalent for it. But even with all this, I am of Opinion the Corruption of the Army would not reach as far as they deſire, were there not more effectual and ſecret Practices a Brewing. The vaſt Numbers of Strangers, and pretended Refugees, are Sworn Slaves to a Whig Miniſtry; not to mention the Engagements of *Holland*, and the Preparations in *H——r*. I dread a Military Power, which can have nothing to overcome, but the Liberties of the People.

Another Particular which we impute to the Whigs, is a Deſign to take away the Liberty of the Preſs. This I own is contrary to their avow'd Principles, but they copy after their Mother, the *Kirk*. When *She* is only under a Toleration, then all the Cry is againſt Perſecuting the Righteous for Conſcience-Sake; but when ſhe hath the Secular Arm on her Side, then

Down

Down with Babylon, *No Toleration, The Cauſe of the Lord will not ſuffer Iniquity to be eſtabliſhed by a Law.* So when the Whigs were under a Cloud, the Liberty of the Preſs was invaded, if they had not the Privilege to libel the Queen and Government as they pleas'd; but now that they are in Power, if a poor Scribler, for half a Piece, is delivered of a Pamphlet, not to their good Liking, immediately a Meſſenger ſeizes him, he is dragg'd to *Newgate*, from *Newgate* is brought before their *Lord Chief Juſtice*, and then the Wretch hath nothing for it, but *Libera nos Domine.*

Obſerve the different Spirits of the Parties, In all the late Tory Miniſtry there were not above two or three proſecuted for Writing; and one of thoſe wrote on their own Side, and had done infinite Services to their Cauſe. But in a Whig Miniſtry, even an ungarded Expreſſion in a *Sermon*, drew the whole *Poſſe* of the Whigs upon the Preacher; and now, by the Help of the Upright *Chief Juſtice*, they are grown ſo terrible, a Man dares not ſay it is Noon-Day at Twelve o'Clock, leſt they ſhould think fit to take Offence, and my Lord *Tow———d*'s Warrant contradict it. Nay, the poor *Hawkers*, who get their Bread by bawling Titles, they do not underſtand, are ſent by Dozens and Scores to *Bridewell*; whilſt poor *Grub-ſtreet* lies in a State of *Non-Entity.*

Were I in a merry Way, I could ſit down and cry over *Grub-ſtreet. Hic Ilium fuit, & ingens Teucrorum gloria.* But it is paſt a Time for Fooling and Mirth, when a Sword is at a Man's Throat.

Laſtly, We impute to the Whigs the Outrages offer'd the Memory of the late Queen; whoſe Reign was never ſtained by one bloody Scaffold; who never did an unjuſt Action, and who often choſe rather to ſuffer Hardſhips Herſelf, than let any of Her Subjects think themſelves Injured. Sure if ever Prince deſerved well of a People, She did; if Piety, Charity, good Nature, Clemency and Juſtice could entitle her to it. But how was She treated in her Life! How has Her Memory been inſulted ſince Her Death! How did the Duke and Dutcheſs of *M———h* affect to triumph over Her, by their Frantick *Cavalcade* through the City, almoſt before She was *Cold* in Her Bed: In which I am at a Loſs which to be moſt aſtoniſhed at, the Ingratitude, Barbarity, or Indiſcretion of it. To Her they owe the Honours, the Palaces, they now enjoy, the Millions they wallow in, and yet that they ———! But their whole Conduct is uniform: This was of a Piece with the reſt of their Ingratitude, and that is the beſt one can ſay of them.

The reſt of the Whigs follow this Pattern. 'Tis true, not equally, for that is next to impoſſible; but according to the Rancour of their Souls, perform their Parts to Admiration.

Nothing is omitted even by ſome of the Right Reverend *Prelates*, to aſperſe her Character; and, without pretending to a Spirit of Prophecy, one may foretel the next Parliament, if of a Whig Stamp, will endeavour to fix ſome laſting Stain upon Her Fame: But Poſterity will do Her Juſtice, and perhaps the preſent Age may live to regret Her Loſs.

If I have been ſomething warm upon this Head, I cannot but think myſelf excuſe-

excuſable; when I ſee there is not a common Decency obſerved towards Her in Point of Mourning, which, tho' a Trifle, and Matter of Form in itſelf, argues the utmoſt Contempt for the Deceaſed; when I ſee how ill Her faithful Servants are rewarded, and that common Juſtice, in point of their Arrears, is not done her Domeſticks; when the few Relations She left behind Her, cannot obtain a ſmall Part of what they have a Right to by our *Engliſh* Laws; and this, tho' She left behind her to the Value of *Four Hundred Thouſand Pounds*; when I hear the Drawing Rooms, *Ruels*, Coffee-houſes, nay Churches ring with open Reflections upon the beſt of Queens, it is with great Difficulty I can preſerve my Temper. For my part, I am not as yet *germanized:* I can no more laugh at the Death of Queen *Anne*, than I can rejoice at the approaching Funeral of *England*.

How near this may be, I will not pretend to determine, but if you have a Whig Parliament, the Caſe is clear: The Interpoſition of Providence we have no Reaſon to expect, becauſe we have done all in the Power of Men, to deſerve the contrary; and without that I cannot but think there are Calamities treaſured up for us, and Yoaks heavier *than we or our Fore fathers were able to bear.* By whom theſe are prepared, and who are to impoſe them on us, I have ſhewn at length, altho' theſe are Circumſtances, which can be of no Manner of Comfort to us; ſince, if I am to be a Slave, it is equal to me whether it be to one or many.

Of Uſe indeed it may be to conſider how near we are to our Ruin, that we may endeavour to prevent it. For this Reaſon it may be of Service to conſider, that the Dangers and Miſeries, to which we are expoſed, are entirely owing to the Whigs, who have ſquander'd away near a *Hundred and Twenty Millions* upon two Wars, and would now engage us in a third leſs deſirable, if that can be, than either of the other: To the Whigs, who have debauch'd our Morals and Principles, and taken away the Force of all Obligations, Humane and Divine; To the Whigs, who deprived us of the Bleſſings we might have enjoy'd under the Queen, and would do the ſame as to the Happineſs the Nation may have in the King: To the Whigs, who have ſunk the Landed Intereſt, and would deſtroy the Church.

Theſe Things it may be of Uſe to weigh, as alſo, that this is the most *Critical* Juncture ever happened; that if the Country errs in their Choice of Repreſentatives now, it will probably be never more in their Power to do themſelves Juſtice; and that the Sale of a Man's Vote, even for a *Hundred Pound*, a Price frequently offered, is a wretched Bargain, becauſe it is ſelling it for *ever*.

Upon the whole, I am far from arrogating to our own Party all the good Senſe and Virtue of the Nation; but, compare the Bulk of each Side together, and you will find the Whigs *Poſitively* bad, the Churchmen *Negatively* good. According to which Computation I have caſt up the Account, for the Benefit of thoſe who may be at too great a Diſtance from the Fountain of Affairs, to know the true State of them. The following Bill of their ſeveral Deſerts is, I think, very exact.

The Merits *of the* Church-Party.	*The* Merits *of the* Whigs.
I.	I.
No New War, no New Taxes.	A New War, Six Shillings in the Pound, a General Excise, and a Poll-Tax.
II.	II.
No Attempt againſt the Church.	A general and unlimited Comprehenſion, without Common-Prayer-Book or Biſhops.
III.	III.
No Repeal of the Conditions upon which the Crown was ſettled upon the King.	The Repeal of the Act of Limitation of the Crown, *&c.*
IV.	IV.
No Foreigners in Employment.	An equal Diſtribution of Places between *Turks*, *Germans*, and *Infidels*.
V.	V.
No Standing Army.	An Augmentation of Troops for the better ſuppreſſing of Mobs and Riots.
VI.	VI.
No Long Parliament.	The Repeal of the Triennial Act.
VII.	VII.
No Reſtraint of the Liberty of the Preſs.	An Act to probibit all Libels in Favour of the Church or Churchmen, and to enable Free-thinkers to write againſt God and the Chriſtian Religion.
VIII.	VIII.
No inſulting the Memory of the Queen.	An Encouragement to all Men to ſpeak Ill of the Queen and Her Friends.
TOTAL.	*TOTAL.*
No Alteration of the Conſtitution in Church and State.	An entire and thorough Revolution.

Utrum horum mavis accipe.

Chuſe which you pleaſe.

ENGLISH *Advice, to the Freeholders of* ENGLAND.

1714.

Nec vates Helenus, cum multa horrenda moneret,
Hos mihi prædixit luctus, nec dira Celæno.

I AM firmly perſuaded that there is not in their Way a better Sett of Men, generally ſpeaking, than the Freeholders of *England*. They are a brave, open, plain and direct People, and when fairly left to themſelves to chuſe their Repreſentatives, always chuſe ſuch as are, or appear to be, true Friends to their Country. I could inſtance ſeveral Elections formerly, and one or two in the laſt Reign, where the Temper of the People, without any Aſſiſtance or Countenance from Court or Treaſury, carried it for honeſt Men under great Temptations to the contrary; and I cannot recollect one bad Parliament, but may be eaſily accounted for from the Electors being bribed, and notoriouſly tamper'd with, from falſe Returns made by Sheriffs and other Officers, or, laſtly, from ſome extravagant Prejudices ſcattered and cultivated among the People, who wanting proper Means of Information, are obliged to take Things at ſecond Hand, and are therefore liable to groſs Miſtakes.

As the Caſe now ſtands, the honeſt Part of the Nation is to wreſtle with each of theſe Diſadvantages in a higher Degree than perhaps was ever known; and we can ſcarce expect Things will take a happy Turn, unleſs all true *Engliſhmen* will open their Eyes to the Danger they were lately in, and from which they have been reſcu'd by his Majeſty's happy Acceſſion to the Throne, recover their old Spirit, and exert their Zeal for the Conſtitution and Government at the enſuing Election of Members of Parliament. Nothing is omitted by the Enemies to the *Revolution*, and *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, to poiſon the Country; and 'tis the Duty of every Loyal Subject to do what he can to provide an Antidote. Not that there is wanting a good Diſpoſition in the People all over the Kingdom, who ſeem reſolv'd not to be influenc'd by the Clamour of the corrupt Part of the Clergy, and the diſaffected Gentry. They were too much alarm'd at the late Poſture of Affairs, to forget who were the Men that brought them into it, and who the Men, that next under God and our King, are now ſecuring us againſt ſuch another. However, I do not know how, there is a Defect ſomewhere; the *Tories* outdo the *Whigs* in Induſtry, and are more active and bold in inventing Falſhoods, than we are in publiſhing Truth.

They go on ſecurely without Fear or Remorſe, and notwithſtanding that the Scheme form'd by the late Managers, and the Chiefs of the High-Church Party, to introduce the *Pretender*, is confeſs'd by one of the *prime* of them, and is hinted at in the Impoſtor's Declaration, and *Leſley*'s Letter, yet do they now affect an extraordinary Concern for the Preſervation of the Church and State. They talk loudly of it in their Clubs and Coffee-houſes, and have thereby made an Impreſſion on thoſe bigotted Minds, who might be better

inform'd, if they would be pleas'd to hear what is ſaid on the Side of the Government. The Preſs ſwarms with their monſtrous Forgeries; but they never attempted one ſingle Proof, only a Parcel of Invectives and Libels againſt thoſe, who had no Crimes to anſwer for, but too great Lenity when in Power, and too great a Neglect of themſelves: Faults indeed that could never juſtly be imputed to the Tories. The Sheriffs, and other Officers, through the ſeveral Boroughs and Counties, at the Election of the two laſt Parliaments, were almoſt, to a Man, Men for their Purpoſe, who knew their Buſineſs, and were to be confided in. Penſions, Places, Lyes, Threats, Promiſes, Entertainments, were every where employ'd, to corrupt Men's Affections, and miſlead their Judgments. Boroughs were rated at *York-Buildings* and *Golden Square*, and thoſe that would purchaſe one at the Price of Honour and Conſcience, were ſure to be recommended; nor were there wanting enough of that Stamp, to make up a Repreſentative to their Mind.

The beſt Gentlemen in *England*, who had ſtood the Heat of the Day for Five or Six and Twenty Years, were oppos'd every where by obſcure and indigent Perſons, who cry'd aloud for the Land-Intereſt, though, God knows, they had the leaſt Share in it. Each Election was a Sort of Campaign, where Men were to fight *pro aris & focis* for Hereditary Right and the Proteſtant Succeſſion. The Tory-Faction was a real Hydra, a thriving Enemy, that daily got new Recruits, and gain'd upon Conteſt. The Peace Abroad, which had diſſolv'd the Confederacy, and turn'd the Balance of Power on the Side of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, furniſh'd the Tories with Forces to carry on the War with Advantage at Home; and when, by their Miſrepreſentation of Things and Perſons, they had acquir'd a vaſt Acquiſition of Power, they were in Hopes to compaſs their Schemes ſo long projected for the Deſtruction of Liberty and Property in *Great Britain*. They had, as they boaſted themſelves, the Game in their Hands; and, to do them Juſtice, they acted like Men in Earneſt, who were reſolv'd to play it to the Purpoſe.

Such were our then Circumſtances, and let us enquire a little into what they are now, and that with the Impartiality becoming Truth and a good Cauſe. I am reſolved not to meddle with the Characters of particular Perſons, a Field in which I do not delight, farther than the Subject will neceſſarily lead me.

My Endeavour ſhall be to bring what I have to urge, into as narrow a Compaſs as I can, that every candid Reader may ſee what Foot we were and are upon; what it is we have now to hope and fear; who thoſe are from whom we may expect an Attack upon our Conſtitution; who are the likelieſt Perſons to ſtand in the Gap to defend it; and, conſequently, who deſerve beſt to be choſen Members of the enſuing Parliament.

Nor is this an Affair of ſmall Importance: The eſtabliſhing the preſent Government, and with it the Security of our Religion and Liberties for ever, depends, in a great Meaſure, on the wiſe Choice of the next Repreſentatives. If we make a wrong Step at this Juncture, all the Nations upon Earth will look on us as a beſotted incorrigible Race of Men, not worth Deliverance or Aſſiſtance. On the contrary, if there ſhould happen a glorious Conjunction

of

of a loyal Proteſtant Parliament, and an able and faithful Miniſtry, ſuch as the preſent. If the one ſhould be as ready to ſettle the Conſtitution, as the other to demand it. The *Faction* for the Pretender can have no Reſource, but muſt be baffled and ruin'd beyond Poſſibility of Redemption. For I have too good an Opinion of the Underſtanding of the Whigs, to think they will ever put it in the Power of their Enemies to endanger the Conſtitution hereafter. If the Friends to it ſucceed, as, according to all human Views and Probability they will, the late Tory Parliament was, we may hope, the laſt they will have; and we ſhall have nothing at Heart, but the Continuance of the invaluable Bleſſing we enjoy in his Majeſty's moſt gracious Government.

I muſt own, I cannot, without great Indignation, obſerve the Lukewarm, Indolent, Cowardly, Lazy, and Narrow Tempers of ſome among us: To their Shame be it ſaid, they profeſs honeſt Principles, nay, and are really honeſt in their Inclinations, but yet relinquiſh the Cauſe out of Timorouſneſs or Avarice. You ſhall therefore hear Men of ſuch a Compoſition make a Thouſand trifling Excuſes: One will tell you, That *his ſtanding as Candidate ſignifies nothing, that there will be enough without him.* Another will cry, *He will not be at the Trouble and Expence, he does not know who will thank him for't.* A Third will ſay, *'Tis a Folly to ſtand, the Clergy will carry every Thing before them.* A Fourth will pretend, *He is afraid of too great a Majority, and would rather have a motley Parliament:* With other laudable Speeches to the ſame Purport. Whereas not to exert one's utmoſt in a Caſe of this Nature, is almoſt as blameable as an Overt-Act againſt one's Country. Although the Crime be not ſo Unnatural, it is to all Intents as Prejudicial; and is in this, as in High Treaſon, whoever doth not what in him lies to diſcover and prevent the Treaſon he knows is Hatching, is, in the Eye of the Law, which is grounded upon the Reaſon of the Thing, as guilty as the principal Offender; or, at beſt, is adjudged guilty of what the Lawyers call Miſpriſion of Treaſon. So that admitting the Compariſon, thoſe, who ſtupidly ſubmit to the *Jacobite* or Tory Faction, without exerting their Abilities in their ſeveral Stations to divert the Danger, may in all Reaſon be ſaid to betray their Country, as much as thoſe very Men who have form'd the moſt deſperate Deſigns againſt it: They may promiſe themſelves the Benefit of an Indulgence, as the Reward of their Inactivity; but let them all reſt aſſur'd, this will only laſt 'till it comes to their Turn to be devour'd; for *Tory Moderation*, like Death, ſooner or later, ſtrikes all that comes in its Way. If the Tories could get a Houſe of Commons to their Mind, this Kingdom would ſoon be ſubjected to the arbitrary Government of a Popiſh King; for they have no Hereditary Prince, but the Pretender, to ſet over us. They would pronounce every Thing to be *Seditious* and *Schiſmatical.* As they did in the Reign of the late bleſſed Managers, they would not allow the Subjects to mention their Grievances and Fears; but joining Pride to Inſolence, would make our Necks bend to a Yoke not to be endur'd. We have heard of the terrible Effects of *French* and *Iriſh* Cruelty; and what leſs could we expect from a Set of Men, obſtinately bent on promoting the Intereſt of one, whoſe

Favourites

Favourites are *Iriſh* and *French* Papiſts, whoſe Religion is Popery, and his Politicks Tyranny. How did they ſurround her late M———y with a Wall of Braſs, and committed the Care of the Throne to an inſatiable Witch, who never admitted any to the Royal Preſence, but ſuch as came recommended by a Golden Spell?

From the Claws of theſe rapacious *Harpies*, it is every good Subject wiſhes to ſee his Majeſty ſecur'd: And how can this be compaſſed, but by the Choice of a true *Britiſh* Parliament, ſuch as aſſerted the Revolutional Conſtitution in the Impeachment of *Sacheverel*; ſuch as are equally zealous for the Honour of their Prince, and the Liberty of the People, not ready to inſult his Title, nor willing to ſuffer him to be monopoliz'd by his and the Nation's Enemies?

The Houſe of Commons, which was haſtily diſſolv'd upon the Change of the Miniſtry four Years ago, expreſs'd on all Occaſions an affectionate Concern for the Illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover:* They omitted nothing to ſhew their Fidelity, which can never be forgot by ſo grateful a Prince as our preſent Sovereign. And when we conſider his firm Reſolution to maintain the Church of *England*, his Diſpoſition to govern according to our Laws, his great Diſcernment in penetrating into Men, and his tender Love for his People, we cannot imagine he will deſire a Parliament of a Complexion different from that of ſuch an *Engliſh* Repreſentative. However the *Tories* may have endeavour'd to leſſen them in the Opinion and Affection of the *Engliſh* Free-holders: It would be endleſs to enumerate all that Parliament did for the Good of the State, nor was it their Fault they did no more: They had a conſtant Drawback, a perpetual Clog upon their Proceedings. One, who either through Knavery, or Folly, or both, always cry'd out, *Church*, *Church*, *Peace*, *Peace*; and yet notwithſtanding all the Obſtructions he threw in, in Spite of all his Shuffling, his Tricks, that Parliament taking Advantage of his Blunders, the only Proof he ever gave of his Talent for Buſineſs, provided better for the Publick, and the Security of the Succeſſion in the Proteſtant Line in a few Months, than the two laſt did in ſeveral Years.

As to the Peace, they'll tell you it lay before the two laſt Parliaments, and therefore muſt not be talk'd of: They will own it was not in every Circumſtance as advantageous as might have been obtain'd; that *H——y* puzzled, involv'd it; nay, they will have the Impudence to ſay, that to this very Peace, this ſcandalous Treaty, we owe his Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Throne. They will pretend, if we had been at War, the *French* would have oppos'd his Landing, or have follow'd him with an Army. But this is like the reſt of their Aſſertions. Durſt the *French* have fought the Navy-Royal of *England*, and the *Dutch* Fleet, with their *Dunkirk* Squadron? Durſt they have ſpar'd 20 or 30,000 Men out of *France*, when his Grace the Duke of *Marlborough* was ravaging *Picardy*, and carrying the Terror, or perhaps the Noiſe of his Arms to the Gates of *Verſailles?* Or could they have tranſported an Army of 30,000 Men in Cock-boats, when an hundred ſtout Men of War were ſcow'ring the *Britiſh* Seas, and the Remains of their Fleet lay rotting in the Harbours of *Toulon* and *Breſt?* They will tell you they were put upon

on a Neceſſity of making a Peace, becauſe the Revenue was ſquander'd away; but they will not ſay a Word of the twenty Millions they ſquander'd, or plunder'd, after the War was over. They will ſay, What would have been the Conſequence of continuing it a Year or two longer, ſince *Bouchain* was the Work of a whole Campaign? But they will not put you in Mind, that the next Year the Confederates, when we had forſaken them, took *Queſnoy*, and would have taken *Landrecy* in a Month, had not they been deſerted; that they loſt the beſt Opportunity the Allies ever had to deſtroy the *French* Army, by the withdrawing of the *Britiſh* Troops. They will not inform you, what the Conſequence of beating that Army, and taking theſe Towns, had been? and that *Paris*, in Eight and Forty Hours, might have been under Contribution. No; they inſinuate, that we muſt have taken *Cambray* one Year, *Valenciennes* another, *Peronne* a third; and ſuppoſe, as the *Tories* ſay, the War had laſted thoſe three Years longer, and we had rais'd the 1ſt Year Six Millions, the 2d Seven, and the 3d Five, as we actually did for the *Treaty of Peace*, which would have carry'd on the War, ſhould we not then have been Maſters of *France?* Had not *Philip*, and his Friend the *Chevalier*, been probably at *Rome?* And what Neceſſity were we under to ſend *P——r* to *France*, to beg a Peace, when with the ſame Expence we might have had *Carte Blanche*, and have done what we pleas'd with the Monarchy of *Spain:* Sure we were, that none of our Allies would have ſerv'd us as we ſerv'd them. They all expreſs'd the utmoſt Averſion to treat on any other Terms but thoſe of *Gertruydenburgh*, which my Lord *T——d* had certainly obtain'd, had not a factious Cabal in *England*, by their treacherous Correſpondence in *France*, encourag'd the *French* to break off that Treaty, in Hopes of getting a good one, when their Friends came in Play in *England*. This they had ſure Expectations of by the Diviſions the *Faction* were fomenting, and the Flame into which they promis'd to put the Nation. Did the *Dutch* ever once offer to treat without Participation with us? Did they deſert their Friends, or ſacrifice them for their private Advantage? Can any Man in his Wits ſay, it would not have been wiſer for us, to have continu'd the War two or three Years longer, under the ſame Expence we were at ſo long afterwards, than to have made an End of it, as we did? And was not that the ſureſt Way to have eſtabliſh'd the Quiet of *Europe* on a ſolid Baſis, and have ſecur'd King *George* on the *Britiſh* Throne.

When one conſiders the Conduct of the *Tory* Leaders, how they were the Men who voted againſt the Houſe of *Hanover*, in the Caſe of the *Security Clauſe*; how they refus'd his R. Highneſs's Writ to ſit in Parliament; how they inſulted the *Hanover* Miniſters here, and always oppos'd his preſent Majeſty's Intereſts before he was King, one is confounded to think with what Face they can pretend to have any Affection for his Perſon or Government; and what ſhould hinder the Nation's ſingling them out as Objects of Diſpleaſure: and much more what can biaſs the Country to chuſe them? What did they do upon the Queen's Death? Does not the *Staff*, as his Hireling has chriſtned him, tell us, they were in the utmoſt Confuſion and Irreſolution?

Did

Did their Sorrow for her Majeſty's Deceaſe hinder their flying out into Tranſports of Grief for his Majeſty's Succeſſion? Did not ſome of them cry out, *We are undone*, and others ſwear, *We'll have* France *and the Pretender?* Does not *Staff* tell us, they were in a *black Cabal, where every Thing ſaid was Treaſon againſt their Country?* Does he not inform us they fell in with the Loyal *Whigs*, who would not be kept out any longer from Council on that Occaſion in proclaiming his Majeſty, with all poſſible Regret, and purely becauſe they found they could not prevent it? Were not the *Whigs* in Raptures, to find a new Deliverer ariſe, to reſcue them from a mercileſs Faction, from Racks, Priſons, and Tortures? The *Tories* ſaid *they did not think they had Reaſon to be ſo tranſported*; and that their Behaviour to a Princeſs, whoſe Days, the *Staff* ſays, they ſhorten'd, *ſhould be to their Recommendation, and not their Crime?*

Did not the ſame Faction, to ſhew their Reſpect to the illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover*, refuſe to pay his Troops in *Flanders* their Arrears, 'till after the Queen's Death, becauſe they would not deſert the Army of the Allies? And was an Houſe of Commons, capable of ſuch an Act of Injuſtice, worthy to meet a Prince to whom they had been ſo unjuſt? For if the Paying thoſe Arrears, after his Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Crown, was a juſt Act, the refuſing to do it before, was an unjuſt one: And I cannot think that Men, who had affronted and injur'd his Majeſty ſo notoriouſly, deſerv'd a Place at his Inauguration, or a Medal to remember it. Did they not expreſs their Diſſatisfaction to the Perſons and Proceedings of the *Regents*, with which his Majeſty and the whole Nation were entirely ſatisfy'd? But notwithſtanding their partial Reſentments, all remain'd quiet, and the People impatiently waited for the Arrival of the King. Arrive he did at laſt, and was receiv'd with loud Acclamations from all Quarters; and his Majeſty took hold of the firſt Opportunity to ſhew himſelf a Father of his People. The Fame of his Wiſdom had fill'd the Mouths and Hearts of all before he came; and how could that Wiſdom have exerted itſelf more, than his putting the Miniſtry into the Hands of thoſe great Men whom he knew to be his Friends from Principle and Affection. True it is, his Majeſty made no Diſtinction of *Whig* or *Tory*, but met all with an open Countenance who came to welcome him, excepting only two or three, who had dip'd deepeſt in the Guilt of the late ill Management. And how could a wiſe Prince meet ſuch Offenders, without ſhewing an inward Reſerve, ſome juſt Mark of Prejudice, and Remembrance of paſt Diſobligements? But this Coldneſs was ſhewn to ſo few, and thoſe ſo hated, that his Majeſty gain'd the Hearts of all that approach'd him, who by their joyful Looks made it appear, that he entirely anſwer'd their Wiſhes.

Some of the diſſaffected Party ſeem'd to diſreliſh the Duke of *O——nd*'s being remov'd, tho' it was only to reſtore a General, to whom the Nation has the greateſt Obligations, to a Command, from which he had been moſt unreaſonably and unworthily diſplac'd. They ſay the D. of *O*—— could not avoid obeying Orders, and refuſing to fight the *French* in 1712, when the Confederates might have done it with ſuch an Advantage. And they cry,

Would

Would not the D. of *M*——— have obey'd Orders? Yes, doubtleſs, had it been to have charg'd the *French* Army at the Head of his own Battalions only; but I dare ſay the D. of *M*——— would not have left *England* to go on ſo pacifick an Expedition, nor have carry'd over a Commiſſion, that enjoin'd him to abandon the Confederates, nor have kept his Batoon, had ſuch Orders been ſent him.

And whereas it is pretended the D. of *O*——— was diſcharg'd from his Employ with Marks of Diſreſpect, they deceive you who tell you ſo; for never was a General diſmiſs'd from his Command with greater Deference to his Perſon. Nor has there been any Thing omitted to give Content to a Lord, whom the diſguſted Party pretend to honour above all others; yet at the ſame Time they extol his Worth, they do it an Injury, by mingling with their Encomiums the vileſt Detraction on a greater Lord, whom when I ſo call, I am ſatisfy'd his other Grace will not ſet himſelf againſt the Senſe of all *Europe*, to accuſe me of Partiality. They will exclaim againſt that D—'s loſing the Lieutenancy of a large County; but I muſt tell you, there have not been above two Knights of the Shire choſen for it ſince the Revolution, who were not profeſs'd Enemies to Revolution Principles, the Foundation of the preſent Government.

Tho' the *Faction* complain of Removals, and, by the Way, the Loſs of their Places, is all they mean by Church Grievances, *&c.* yet 'tis freſh in our Memory, what a terrible Change they made ſome Years ago, and that they made it little leſs than Treaſon to whiſper a Word againſt the Power of the Prerogative. That Change was not on a Demiſe, when Changes always are expected; not to turn out Enemies, and take in Friends, not to remove Knaves and Fools, and admit Men of Capacity and Honeſty; but the very Reverſe. That whole Set of Miniſters had been applauded in Addreſſes from the Parliament to the Throne, and from almoſt all the Counties and Boroughs in *England*: and thoſe that ſucceeded, had never a good Word from a good Man in their Lives. Yet, to mutter againſt the Right of the Sovereign, in giving of Places, was thought ſo heinous, that a Man could not drop a Hint of the Unreaſonableneſs of it, but he was ſtigmatiz'd for a ſeditious Republican: and had ſuffer'd accordingly, had Information been given againſt him. None were then left at Court but a few Trimmers, who can turn with every Wind: None were in Favour, but ſuch as had been in eminent Diſfavour with King *William*. You ſhould not ſee a Scoundrel, who had no Employment under the former Adminiſtration, and could talk loudly of the Church's Danger, of Hereditary Right, and rail at the Revolution and Toleration, but he expected to be advanc'd as a *Sufferer for the Church*, which was the Vogue to recommend all that were to make their Court. This you would hear Hundreds repeat with all the Gravity in the World; and, which was more extraordinary, they expected to be believ'd, tho' they themſelves knew it was all Farce from the Beginning to the End. This was ſaid and acted every Day at St. *James*'s. If one ſhould turn our View to the Management of the *Faction* in *Ireland*, what a Primate, what a Chancellor, what Judges and Juſtices ſhall we find there? I have that Reſpect for the Character of the firſt,

that I ſhall leave it as I found it. As for the Chancellor Sir *C—— P——*, what was his Merit, but his pleading for the *unalienable Right*, in Oppoſition to King *William*'s, and his preſent Majeſty's? What a rare Governor he made, may be ſeen in the Addreſſes from *Ireland*, which name him as the Author of all the Diſtractions under which that Kingdom has labour'd? How many hundred, if not thouſand Men, were liſted, during his Adminiſtration, in the Service of the Pretender? And when the Caſtle of *Dublin* was crowded with ſuch Prieſts as *Swift* and *Higgins*, had not Mr. *Moleſworth* good Reaſon to ſay, *They that have turn'd the World upſide down, are come hither alſo!* If the Houſe of Lords reſented it, you muſt remember that Houſe was then compos'd of twelve *Iriſh* Biſhops, and about ten Lay-Peers, and were the ſame who oppos'd the Proteſtant Houſe of Commons in *Ireland*, who were proceeding in a parliamentary Manner againſt *P——s* for his tyrannical Government, particularly with reſpect to the City of *Dublin*, whoſe Rights and Privileges he ſo ſcandalouſly invaded.

I might take Notice, that all Parts of that Kingdom ſuffered under his Tyranny; that the Friends to the Revolution were every where turn'd out of Place and Commiſſion, and the moſt ſuſpected of the new Converts put in their Places: That thoſe Converts continu'd to aſſociate with rigid Papiſts, and did nothing which ſhew'd any Sign of Converſion in Principle or Inclination.

Such was the Fate of that miſerable Nation, and *Scotland* was in no better a Condition; ſo that it muſt be allow'd the *Tories* were the beſt State-Engineers in the World; they ſhot with chain'd Bullets, and mow'd down whole Kingdoms before them. The Court believ'd all they did was right, and that the *Whigs* could not be too ill us'd.

Whence this Infatuation ſprung, and how it took Root; whether it was the Effect of a Southerly Wind four Years ago, and of *French* Air; whether of *M——m*'s ordinary Witchcraft, or *A——*'s Leſſons, I will not take upon me to ſay; perhaps there might have been a *quantum ſufficit* of both. I know there are ſome that unriddle the Secret in this Manner: They ſay, that before *Sacheverel* was try'd and condemn'd, *H——y* had found Means to have private Conferences with her late M———y; that he put the Doctor on preaching, and the Commons upon impeaching him, on purpoſe to ſet the Nation in a Flame, and raiſe a Clamour againſt the Miniſtry. That the *Change* was agreed upon, whether the Prieſt had preach'd, or been try'd or not: That it was reſolved by *H——y*, and his Cabal, who were to be remov'd, and who to be employ'd; particularly that the D— of *M———h*, who had for ten Years together been beating the *French* from one End of *Europe* to the other, ſhould be diſgrac'd: That my Lord *T———nd*, who had provided ſo well, by the Barrier Treaty, for the Security of *Holland*, and the Intereſt of his own Country, ſhould be recall'd, and the Lord *Str——d* ſent to bully the *Hogan Mogans*. Theſe Things are aſſerted, and with good Ground, the Effects having admirably well anſwer'd the Cauſe. Certain it is, the *Whigs* never gave any juſt Handle for their Diſgrace. They never diſcover'd the leaſt Diſlike to the Houſe of *H——r*; and their dutiful Behaviour to the Perſon

of

of the Q——n, however it has been miſrepreſented, was ſuch, that her M———y was pleaſed to ſay of one of the diſplac'd Miniſters, very much abus'd by the Faction, *That ſhe never knew any one behave himſelf with Reſpect to Her more like a dutiful Subject, and an accompliſh'd Gentleman.*

It is very material to our Purpoſe, to enquire who were the Authors of the Diſcountenance and Injuſtice the Whigs then met with, 'tis highly neceſſary to look back, that by conſidering paſt Perils, we may prevent future, and take Care not to truſt any ſuch wicked Men again. It behoves every honeſt Man to examine into the Merit, the Views, the Intereſts of thoſe that ſtand Candidates for Members of Parliament, and to vote for ſuch only as have always been zealous for the Proteſtant Succeſſion and Intereſt. Upon this Foot if you proceed, you will generally find the *Whigs* Men of more Honour and Religion, truer to their Country, and leſs addicted to the *French*, than their Competitors: Their Views and Deſigns ſquare better with the Acts of Settlement and Toleration, than thoſe of their Rivals. In the Name of God therefore, let all the Perſons in *England*, that have Votes to give, declare for a *Whig* Parliament.—If the Reverſe of all that be true, with Reference to the *Tories*; if they are debauch'd in Principle, and corrupt in Morals; if they are Blunderers in Buſineſs, and open to Bribery; if their avow'd Deſigns tend to the Overthrow of the Conſtitution, and at the ſame Time it be their Intereſt to purſue thoſe Deſigns; while the only reaſonable Proſpect, the only Safety the *Whigs* can propoſe to themſelves, conſiſt in the Preſervation of our Religion and Laws, as now ſettled: If this, I ſay, be the Caſe; then, I preſume, it will follow, that it is the Intereſt both of the Church and People of *England*, not to chuſe *Tories* for the enſuing Parliament.

The Argument will appear the ſtronger, the better you weigh the ſeveral Branches of it.

As to the Merits of each Side, there is not a Wretch of common Senſe, common Honeſty in *England*, that will put them upon an Equality. Take Man for Man, you will find among the *Whigs*, more Men of Honour, Conſcience, Sobriety, and Charity, than among the *Tories*; which I conceive no Body will deny, who conſiders, that the Body of the *Tories* is made up of Drunkards, Swearers, Whorers, Perſecutors, Foxhunters, and Papiſts. Give me Leave to ſay, my Lord *C*——, is at leaſt as equitable a Diſpenſer of Juſtice, and one of as much Morals as his Succeſſor and Predeceſſor; you muſt then add to his Scale a ſuperior Genius in Law, Eloquence, and Affairs of State. Let me tell you, that the D. of *M*——— has as much Courage, Honour, Integrity and Wiſdom, as his Grace of *O*———, which I believe will ſcarce be diſputed: To his Account muſt be further plac'd, by Way of Advantage, an hundred Victories, without one Retreat, from the common Enemy the *French*. Let me aſſert, that my Lord *T*———*d*'s Eloquence and Abilities are as bright as Lord *B*———*ke*'s; to the former's Character muſt ſurely be added Virtue, Fidelity, and the Merit he acquir'd by his Negotiations Abroad, ſo much to the Intereſt of *England*, and the Satisfaction of our Allies, in the *Barrier* and other Treaties. I am ſure there is not a *Tory*, who ever heard of Mr. *B*———*ly* and General *S*———*pe*, but will allow the

latter to be as much a better Stateſman as he is a General, and not inferior to the *Traveller*, Mr. *B———y*, in Learning, Honour, good Senſe, and Zeal for the Conſtitution.

Having thus taken a View of the Men, let us examine what Deſigns it is likely, according to Appearances, to Mens paſt Conduct and Profeſſion, and their preſent Mien, each Party hath in View. There is one Point, and I believe but one, wherein they both ſeem upon the Square with each other, and that is with Reſpect to Employments. To confeſs the Truth, I am of Opinion, neither Side hath ought to ſay againſt the other upon this Head; both have ſhewn an equal Concern for themſelves, and Contempt of others; both have been earneſt to get *Advocates* when they wanted them; and both have alike abandon'd them when their Turn was ſerv'd; both have made fair Promiſes, when out of Power, and have been far ſhort of Performance when in; both have juſtly incurr'd the Scandal of *Ungrateful*; and as the Quarrel is *Perſonal*, both deſerve to be as much deſpis'd as they deſpiſe; but as it is *General*, as it is the Cauſe of *Whig* and *Tory*, *Liberty* and *Slavery*, every honeſt Man will ſtrip that Cauſe of the *Perſons*, and defend it as he thinks it merits to the utmoſt of his Ability. They will deteſt thoſe vile Proſtitutes, who deſert their Friends, and renounce their Principles, to creep into a warm Place; who carry themſelves as inſolently in it, as they did courteouſly out of it; who are never at Home when they are *Miniſters*, and never Abroad when they are *Sufferers*.

To the eternal Honour of ſome among us, Places and Penſions have been rejected, when proffer'd upon baſe Terms; ſo that ſtill, as deprav'd as we are, there are *Engliſhmen* Proof againſt the Witchcraft of Favour, and above the Power of Gold; Examples rare, and the more worthy our Admiration! I am ſenſible I ſhall offend the Modeſty of thoſe Great Men, who have thus ſignaliz'd themſelves, if I ſhould preſume to name 'em; but as much as I honour them, I regard my Country more, and think it fit *England* ſhould know, that the Earl of *Sun———nd* refus'd a Penſion of Three Thouſand Pounds a Year, when he was remov'd from the Secretary's Place, in which the Earl of *D———h*, who had always been a ſtaunch Churchman, ſucceeded him, and did what was deſir'd of him. That the Lord *C———r* would not come into the late Scheme, to keep the Great Seal, which was offer'd to buy him off from the Intereſt of his Country, but ſtood his Ground, with that unſhaken Firmneſs and Integrity, which has always diſtinguiſh'd his Character. But not to lay too great a Streſs upon the few Inſtances that can be produc'd of this Kind, we will conſider what Deſigns the *Whigs* charge upon the *Tories*, and what the *Tories* charge upon the *Whigs*, with the Grounds of the ſeveral Accuſations.

Some *Whigs* ſay, and have ſaid theſe thirty Years, that the *Tories* have had it in their Intentions to introduce Popery and Slavery; that they have been Enemies to King *W———m*, and obſtructed all his Meaſures; nor have they been able to diſprove it. They pronounce them *Jacobites*, and inſtance their oppoſing the making the Prince of *Orange* King, the Aſſociation, the two Wars with *France*, the Abjuration-Oath, *&c.* The *Whigs* ſay, the *Tories*, during

during the late Adminiſtration, preferr'd profeſs'd Enemies to the Houſe of *Hanover*, turn'd all their moſt zealous Friends out of the Fleet and Army, threaten'd the *Whigs* with a *Coup de Grace*, as the *Examiner* call'd it, or, as a good *Engliſhman* would have phras'd it, a *Maſſacre*, and aſſure you, that if King *George* had not been proclaim'd on the Firſt of *Auguſt*, preciſely between the Hours of One and Three, twelve Hours later, we muſt have all ſunk, Religion, State, Proteſtant Succeſſion, and all. Others go farther, and argue with good Senſe, that they could not help being *Jacobites*, becauſe it was their Intereſt. That they had all along appear'd againſt the Houſe of *Hanover*, and the Confederacy, and therefore it was natural they ſhould have Recourſe to *France* and the *Pretender*. The Truth is, they continu'd firm in their Engagements, and the Generality of the Kingdom ſeem'd fully ſenſible how much they merited the Reproaches that were then made 'em, and the Treatment they have ſince met with; that they had been trafficking in unjuſt Deſigns, which, no doubt, will be prov'd upon them, the Traitors ſeiz'd and examin'd, and Papers and Evidence produc'd, while they have nothing to vindicate themſelves with, but matchleſs Impudence, and an Intrepidity in Lying. The *Whigs* indeed have always been of too merciful a Diſpoſition to bring Offenders to condign Puniſhment; they were never diligent enough in this Search, or elſe *Greg* had not been the only Traitor who had ſwung for it in the laſt Reign. But if this Lenity ſhould be continu'd, if no Enquiry ſhould be made, the Enemies to the Government will cry, *'tis becauſe there are no ſuch Things in Reality.*

How notably the *Tories* argue, when, to ſave their Leaders, they ſay, Suppoſe they had laid ſuch a traiterous Scheme; yet ſince it is now broke, they ought to be truſted again, to enable them to accompliſh ſuch another. If ſo, then, and then only, ſhould you be inclin'd to ſend them to Parliament; if you would have an End put to your Conſtitution; if you would loſe your Proteſtant King, your Religion, and Liberties; if you would have the *Pretender*, the *Maſs*, and *wooden Shoes*, ſend his good Friends the *Tories* to repreſent you. But if you would have the Church of *England*, and the Rights and Privileges of the People ſecur'd to you and your Poſterity, chuſe a *Whig* Houſe of Commons, who will be both able and willing to do it.

For ſuppoſing you had juſt ſuch another *Jacobite* Houſe of Commons as the laſt, which paſs'd the *Schiſm Bill*, and confirm'd the Peace, how might the Conſtitution be prejudic'd by it? What Steps would they take? What would they do with our Funds, our Allies, our Miniſters? And what Hopes could we have, but in the Houſe of Lords, which we hope will be as throroughly *Whig*, or *Engliſh*, as Heart can wiſh? Is it for his Majeſty's Intereſt, that a Parliament in which his Royal Highneſs was refus'd his Seat, as much his Right as ever it was the Prince of *Denmark*'s? Is it, I ſay, for the King's Intereſt to meet thoſe Men that ſo injur'd his Son? No ſurely. There's no Queſtion but the Lords will be true to the Intereſt of King and Kingdom; that 'tis out of the *Tories* Power to ſhake his Majeſty's Poſſeſſion; yet in Revenge they wou'd ſerve him as they did King *William*, obſtruct his Meaſures,

and

and not enable him to perfect thoſe Treaties, which are for the Good and Safety of *England.*

If *Mardyke* was fortify'd with a thouſand Cannon, *Dunkirk* rebuilt; if the *Netherlands* were invaded by the *French*; if the *Spaniards* were over-running *Portugal*; if the *Pretender* was forming an Army in *Lorrain*, under the Protection of *France*, the *Tories* would never be for a War. They own it, that the *Whigs* are in the right when they ſay ſo. They call the Conqueſts of the laſt War *Knight-Errantry:* They make merry at our Victories, Thankſgivings, and Prayers, crying, 'twas huzzaing one Day, and faſting another; and moſt abſurdly aſſert, that the gaining of ſeveral Battles, one hundred Towns, and a thouſand Miles of Country in all the Parts of *Europe*, will not anſwer 500,000 *l.* Expence, as one of their moſt topping Authors, with inconceivable Impudence, aſſures us in a late Tract. They rail againſt Land-Expeditions, becauſe 'tis the only Way of prejudicing the *French*; they having no Fleet to deſtroy, nor Trade to interrupt, worth the maintaining 20 Men of War: They are never for a Standing Army, but when they are ſure 'twill be made uſe of to enſlave us; witneſs the 20,000 Men they gave King *James*; and Sir *Chriſtopher Muſgrave* ſaid in the Houſe of Commons, *'Twas a deplorable Caſe he had no more.* They are for no *General* who *delights in War*, and takes more Pride and Pleaſure in beating our common Enemies the *French* Abroad, than in a pacifick *Batoon* at Home. They account none *Traitors*, but thoſe who have been true to the Government ever ſince the Revolution, and have evidenc'd their Fidelity by their Blood. The two greateſt Offenders with them, are, the D— of *M*—— and Earl of *O*——*rd*; the one for his Victories in *Flanders*, the other for his Victory at *La Hogue.* In every Article of their Conduct, the Intereſt of *France* and the *Pretender* is at the Bottom. By *Church*, they mean *Perſecution*; by *Hereditary Right*, the *Chevalier de St. George*; by *Landed Intereſt, Places and Preferments*; and by *Seats in Parliament, Penſions and Bribes.*

What they charge the *Whigs* with, are a Parcel of ſtale thread-bare Lies, or new viſionary Objections, which have no Foundation in Fact or Reaſon.

They ſay the *Whigs* are for an immediate War, which is a Lie: The *Whigs* are not for any but a neceſſary War, and ſuch a one as the Voice of the Nation ſhall put them upon, whether now or hereafter. We were, 'tis true, ſhamefully betray'd by the late Peace, and our Trade given up to *France* and *Spain*, which are Matters fit only for the Conſideration of a free *Engliſh* Parliament, ſuch as we expect from free *Engliſhmen.* The *Tories* ſay, the *Whigs* want a War to ſecure their Power, which is another Lie. The *Power* of the *Whigs* depends on the Favour and Wiſdom of their Maſter, and the Affection and Choice of his People. Whether Peace or War, *England* cannot be ſafe, but in the Hands of thoſe that are zealous for the Proteſtant Intereſt, for the King's, and the Nation's; and whether *Whigs* or *Tories* are moſt ſo, let all the Freeholders of *England* judge impartially, and ſhew it by their Votes. The *Tories* ſay, the *preſent Power* of the *Whigs*, is the Conſequence of the Wars in the two late Reigns; which is another Lie. The

preſent

preſent Power of the *Whigs*, is the Conſequence of their *Zeal* for the Succeſſion in the Illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover*, for the reducing the exorbitant Power of *France*, for Liberty and Property. The *Tories* ſay, the *Whigs* muſt and will have a War, right or wrong; which is another notorious Lie. They never had a War, but what was a juſt and neceſſary one; and they that have three Quarters of the Wealth of the Nation in their Poſſeſſion, can never be in the wrong ſo far, as to enter into an unjuſt or romantick one.

The *Whigs*, if they can procure a Houſe of Commons to their Minds, will ſhew how intirely they are of his Majeſty's Sentiments, deliver'd in his Declaration, to maintain the Churches of *England* and *Scotland*, as they are by Law eſtabliſh'd. They are averſe to *Superſtition* and *Perſecution*, give intire Aſſent to the Creeds and Articles of the Church, have the greateſt Veneration for the Biſhops and Clergy, excepting ſuch only as by their Principles and Practices are a Diſhonour to their Profeſſion, ſuch as have neither Piety nor Prudence, Learning nor Vertue, Senſe nor Charity: Such, in a Word, as *Sach——l*, *H—g—s*, *Sm——h*, *Mil——n*, and the reſt of them of the High-flying Order. They are rather for increaſing, than leſſening their Revenues, to put them above Temptation and Contempt. They would indeed reſtrain the Licence of the Pulpit, as it tends to foment Diviſions, and is dangerous to the State; and there is not a ſober, wiſe, and religious Clergyman in the Kingdom, but approves and deſires it. They are for maintaining the Rights of the Biſhops, as well in Convocation as Parliament; and have ſhewn their Reſpect for the Reverend Bench, by furniſhing it, as far as was in their Power, with ſuch Members as all good Churchmen reverence and eſteem for their great Piety and Merit.

It may be objected, that ſo many black Articles ought not to be charg'd upon the *Tories*, without good Evidence and Proof. It is true, they ought not; and therefore I am ſo fully convinc'd of it, that I will give up all I have ſaid for mere Fiction and Slander, if you can name one ſingle Man among their Leaders, who is neither a Bigot or Debauchee, a Perſecutor, or a Rake, notoriouſly diſaffected to the Conſtitution, as founded upon the Revolution. Among all who call themſelves ſtaunch *Tories*, name me the Man I cannot prove to be an inveterate Enemy to Moderation and Liberty of Conſcience, and I will be a Convert that Inſtant to their Cauſe.

Things being thus, may we not fairly conclude, that when theſe Enemies to the *Revolution* and *Toleration* have again got a Majority in Parliament, they will drive on to deſtroy all that's built on thoſe Foundations? Suppoſe, for Inſtance, our next was to be intirely a *Tory*-Parliament, as that which paſt the *Schiſm-Bill*, would they make any Scruple of depriving the *Whigs* of their Votes in Elections, and diſabling them from holding the Places they turn'd them out of.

If we had no other Conſideration but the Security of the *Church of England*, to ſway with us not to chuſe *Tories* to repreſent us, it would have Weight enough with any thinking Man: For as they are by Principle, if they have any Principles at all, for the *Divine*, *Hereditary*, *Unalienable*, *Indefeaſible Right*, they

they muſt of Conſequence be for the *Pretender*, whom I ſuppoſe they will not now call an *Impoſtor*, as they did plentifully enough in the laſt Reign. And can you imagine that a Papiſt bred up by the moſt bigotted and tyrannical even of all Popiſh Courts, and altogether a moſt bitter Enemy to our Religion and Nation, would not, were it in his Power, eſtabliſh Popery, not out of Conſcience, but out of Revenge, for the Treatment he has met with from the Proteſtant *Church of England*. Beſides, *Toriſm* and *Popery* in many Things differ only, as that which is abſurd differs from that which is more ſo; and if ever the *Tories* ſhould gain their Ends, and get a Parliament to their Minds; if the *Pretender* was introduc'd by them, and this Conſtitution ſubverted, there would ſoon be an End of the pureſt Church in the World.

I explain myſelf, that by *Tories*, I do not mean thoſe true and zealous Sons of the Church, who are Enemies to *Fanaticiſm* on a religious Account only, who are for maintaining all her juſt Rights, and rather for enlarging, than abridging them, who were inſtrumental in the Revolution, or Approvers of that Cauſe, and are now loyal and dutiful to his Majeſty: Theſe *Tories* are as good *Engliſhmen* as any in the Kingdom: But the *High-Flyers* and *Jacobites* treat them as rudely as they do the *Whigs*, becauſe they are not for *Perſecution*, nor were for giving away our Trade to the *French*; becauſe they vote as they think it for the Intereſt of their Country, and not for ſuch Men as the Faction would impoſe upon them. True, ſome of theſe well-meaning Men have frequently been miſ-led by Miſrepreſentations, and carry'd away with the Stream, when the *Church-Peal* has been rung in their Ears, to vote for ſuch as their Prieſts have ſaid were her true Sons, tho' perhaps they did not viſit her a tenth Part ſo often as their Opponents. By *Tories*, I all along mean thoſe that under Pretence of the *Church's Danger*, which they know to be a *Lie*, continue the Scheme they began upon the Change of the old Miniſtry, in Favour of *France* and the *Pretender*; who would ſacrifice Religion, Liberty, Property, and every Thing to their Avarice and Ambition. Theſe are the Men I deſire the Reader to underſtand always, when I name the Word *Tories*, the Diſciples of *Leſley*, *Hicks*, *Welton*, *Smith*, and others, Scandals to our Country and Religion.

That our Ruin would be inevitable, were the *Hereditary Right* to take Place, no Man in his Senſes can queſtion. Beſides the *Chevalier*'s *French* Education, his Hatred of our Conſtitution, as well as Church, who has he about him but ſuch as would rather ſtill ſtarve Abroad, than come Home on any other Terms than eſtabliſhing Tyranny, to maſſacre and enſlave all true Lovers of our Country? But ſuppoſing their Miſery had taught them better, and they would be afraid of another 30 Years Baniſhment, it were ſufficient to fright us from truſting thoſe that are for his Intereſt, were we to imagine he had none but *Jacobite Tories* about him. Are they not always preaching up an uncontroulable Power, and that the Prince ſhould command the Lives, Liberties, Fortunes, nay, and Wills of his Subjects? What would be the Iſſue of that, but Bondage and Poverty, without the Comforts of Religion

ligion to ſupport us? For our Churches would be ſoon ſhut up, or turn'd into Popiſh Temples, our Common-Prayer into the Maſs, our Trade into Beggary, and our Lands into a Wilderneſs. What would become of the Landed Intereſt, when the Hands that it depended on are either murder'd or baniſh'd? What wou'd become of Property, when 'twas at the Mercy of a *Jacobite* Miniſtry? What of Religion, when it had no Security but the good Nature of the *Pretender?* All theſe Terrors are, God be thank'd, diſtant; and ever diſtant they will be, if the Freeholders of *England* vote now for good Proteſtants and good Subjects; Men who practiſe Obedience, tho' they do not aſſert it to be always paſſive, and diſtinguiſh between Revolutional and Republican Principles. Repreſentatives of contrary Sentiments, would immediately rivet our Deſtruction; it would come upon us *like an armed Man*; for how could they effect it, without their *Dernier Reſource*, the *Aſſiſtance* of *France?* which that they were making ſure of, one need not be at much Pains to prove to you. Why elſe were *P——r* and *M——r* ſent to *France* before the Peace? Why were all the Confederates diſguſted in the Peace? Why was *St. J——* diſpatch'd to *Verſailles*, to be cloſeted and careſs'd by *Lewis* XIV. when the *Chevalier* was acknowledg'd King at *St. Germains?* Why was D—— *H——n* pick'd out to go Ambaſſador to him, a Man known to be as zealous for his Intereſt as any in the three Kingdoms; and who, as *Lock——t* ſays in his Memoirs, had engag'd to fight his Way from *Lancaſhire* to *Edinburgh*, to meet him and join him? In a Word, why were the late Managers put at the Helm, if it had not been to mortify, humble, and weaken the *Dutch*, the Guarantees for the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, and cajole and ſtrengthen the *French*, who for almoſt 30 Years had harbour'd two *Pretenders* to this Crown, which the Laws of God and Man had ſet upon other Heads? I cannot here avoid mentioning again one of the *Prime* of thoſe Managers *S——*, who had ſo great Influence upon the paſt Meaſures, and to whom, as much as to any Man living, our late Miſery may be imputed: He it was that encourag'd moſt, if he was not the original Contriver of that curs'd Scheme of withdrawing our Troops from the Confederate Army, an Evil which perhaps our Grand-Children will not be able to remedy. He was active in the Treaty of *Utrecht*, which deſtroy'd all the Advantages of the late War, and all the good Effects of our Victories. He promoted the Bill of Commerce all he could, and, no doubt, would have promoted any other *French* Bill, after the *French* King had given ſuch a fine Account of his *Parts* and *Perſon.* If this Man, or any Brother-in-Law of his, ſhould plead with you for your Votes in *Berkſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, or any other Shire in *England*, will you give 'em to them, after what I have remember'd you of concerning him? I ſay remember'd, becauſe I'm ſatisfy'd you knew all of it before, he was far from dealing doubly with us. His Looks, his Life, his Pride and Power, all had one Bent; and he was ſo far from hiding his Hatred to the Houſe of *H——r*, that he miſs'd no Opportunity of inſulting their Friends. It has pleas'd Heaven to put an End to our Fears, and ſhall we bring them upon us again, by taking the old Snakes into our Boſoms? We owe to our ſecond Deliverer King *George*, this Mark of our Duty and Affection, to ſend none

to meet him in Parliament, but thoſe that diſtinguiſh'd themſelves in the worſt of Times, by their Zeal for his Succeſſion.

I do inſiſt upon it, that without a *French* Power, the Enemies to this Government and Miniſtry can never ſucceed in their traiterous Projects; for though the inferior Clergy and Multitude be vitiated to a ſtrange Degree, yet there is ſtill an old *Engliſh* Spirit in the People, which I hope will exert itſelf in the enſuing *Elections*, in Oppoſition to the factious Spirit conjur'd up by *Sacheverel*, and ſuch mutinous Prieſts, in their riotous Progreſſes. 'Tis hop'd the Moderation of the Government in the Proſecution of ſome of the Rioters at *Briſtol* and elſewhere, will have that good Effect, that the Offenders, in Gratitude for ſuch extraordinary Clemency, will give no more Provocation to Juſtice, but will take Example by their Brethren now in Gaol at *Briſtol*, under a very moderate Puniſhment for a very enormous Crime; that they will think of thoſe that have run their Country for the Riot there committed, whom elſe no Mercy could reaſonably have ſav'd from the Gallows, for having murder'd a peaceable Citizen, who only came to perſwade them to Peace.

There will be a very great Cry among you about *Foreigners:* The Reaſon is, the ſtaunch *Tories* are afraid of every Body that comes into *England*; for that, as they affirm, they all turn *Whigs*, and always will do ſo, unleſs they are *French* and *Papiſts*. There are not ſuch a *Sect* in the *Proteſtant* World as our *Engliſh Tories*; all *Proteſtants* are in Love with Liberty, where-ever they meet with it, and embrace every Tenet which advances Chriſtian Charity. Almoſt all *Proteſtants* Abroad are induſtrious, great Lovers of Trade, and jealous of their Property, when 'tis ſecur'd to them by Laws. They all act like honeſt and wiſe Men, and of Courſe they muſt be *Whigs*. When you hear the *Tories* complain of *Foreigners*, tell them they made no Complaint of the Army of *French* and *Iriſh* Prieſts and Papiſts, which invaded us after the *Utrecht* Peace. Tell them the Duke *D'Aumont* brought over with him ten Times as many *Frenchmen*, in his *Louis d'Ors* Embaſſy, as King *George* has brought *Germans*. Theſe Men ſeem mightily concern'd, that his M——y has a *Proſelyte Turk* or two about him, who have faithfully ſerv'd him ever ſince he brought them from *Hungary*, where he was valiantly fighting for the Chriſtian Religion, while King *James* was eſtabliſhing *Popery* in *England:* But they did not ſay a Word, when *Laules*, the *Iriſh* Agent for the *Pretender* at *Madrid*, chang'd the Scene of his Agency to *London*, and had Acceſs in the moſt endearing Manner to the Miniſters. I will ſhew the Faction, that the *Whigs* have Manners, and will confine that Acceſs to the Living. The Act of *Limitation* excludes all Foreigners from Employments, let them have deſerv'd ever ſo well of our King; and that Act ſtands as firm as any Statute in our Law-Books. The Faction cannot charge the Court with giving up the Rights of *Engliſhmen* to Outlandiſh People; and yet of theſe Outlandiſh People, I could name you many who have done more Service to our Country, and who love its Liberty and its Religion, more than Nine in Ten of the moſt zealous Sticklers for the *Divine Right* and *Church-Independency*. Farther; what, I pray, is their *Pretender*, but a *Foreigner?* Is he ever the

better

better an *Engliſhman*, for having been rock'd four or five Months in an *Engliſh* Cradle, and been bred ſix or ſeven and twenty Years in a *French* Court? Therefore, honeſt Freeholder, as often as thou heareſt the *Tories* cry out againſt *Foreigners*, remember 'tis only becauſe they dare not cry out againſt the King. They did the ſame in King *William*'s Time, and with the ſame Reaſon, becauſe King *William* deliver'd our Church and us from the Danger they had brought us all into of Popery and Slavery. If ever they talk of the *Palatines*, put them in Mind of the 10,000 *French* and *Iriſh* Soldiers, that were to have been tranſported from *Dunkirk* to *Scotland* about ſix Years ago, for the Service of their Cauſe: Or of the *Iriſh* Army they ſent for, to ſettle that Slavery and Popery which King *James* was bringing upon us. The *Palatines* were *ſluggiſh*. The *Iriſh*, as *ſluggiſh* as they are in their own Country, would doubtleſs have been buſy in ours, to plunder our Houſes, and poſſeſs themſelves of our Eſtates. If this Argument has not much Weight with it, 'tis at leaſt as much to the Purpoſe, as the Clamour of the *Tories* for the *Palatine* Invaſion, as if they had come to conquer us. For as to eating our Bread, they have not conſum'd the hundredth Part ſo much as has been traiterouſly tranſported to feed the *French*, when they were at War with us to deſtroy our Church, Trade, Liberty and all. Beſides, it has been prov'd in many Diſcourſes, and on many Occaſions, that People are the Riches of a Nation, and that no Trading Nation ever rejected a Law of *Naturalization*: Nay, 'tis very well known, that the *Dutch* put forth ſeveral Edicts, to encourage thoſe very *Palatines* to ſettle among them; and were not wanting in trying Ways to intercept thoſe that came hither; and I hope it will be allow'd, that the *Dutch*, who are every whit as induſtrious as our *Tories*, knew what Uſe to make of thoſe *Palatine* Sluggards, and had as much Reaſon to be as ſparing of their Bread as we, conſidering there is not the two hundredth Part of the Corn they ſpend, that's the Growth of their own Country.

It muſt be own'd, we ſhall not need to fear either *Germans* or *Dutch*, if we truſt the ſtaunch *Tories* with the Government: They will deliver us from the Apprehenſions of being eaten up by Proteſtant Foreigners. If they invite over a *French*-bred Prince, and a *French* Army, 'tis to ſettle the *Hereditary Right*, and with that *Idolatry*, and *Tyranny*. Doubtleſs thoſe *Frenchmen* would be very glad to be gone again, when they had once taſted the Sweets of *Engliſh* Plunder. Would not the Court be worſe than ever a *Hounſlow* Camp was? What devouring Locuſts would ſwarm every where in our Streets? and Death would be the welcomeſt Thing a Man could meet with, to be deliver'd from his Pains and Terrors. If the Pretender did not make his Baſtard-Brother, the Duke of *Berwick*, General for Life, there would be Mareſchals and Generals enough to enſlave us to *France*; and we ſhould be ſo far from thinking of preſerving our Liberties, that no wiſe Man would think his Life worth keeping. The *Tories* would copy after their Brethren the *Papiſts*: When they are down, then *Moderation* and *Equality* are the Cry; but when they have the ſecular Power on their Side, *Down with Preſbytery, down with Whiggery; the Cauſe of the Church will not ſuffer Schiſm to be*

eſtabliſh'd by a Law. Poor Creatures! how long would it be before their *High Church* would be treated by Popery, as much like a *Schiſmatick*, as *High Kirk* would be. But 'tis ſo little a Leap from *Toriſm* to Popery, that there's no Danger of their ſuffering Martyrdom to avoid it, and we ſhould ſoon ſee what their Concern for the Church would come to.

What need we mention, that the Preſs would be ſtopt, if theſe *Tories* had the Power; that we ſhould never hear Truth again, without riſking our Necks; for to purchaſe and diſperſe any Pamphlet writ on the Side of Liberty, would be Treaſon, and the Puniſhment ſuch as the *Tory* Jury procur'd for *Algernoon Sidney*, who had diſpers'd his Book in his Cloſet only, and that in Manuſcript; who loſt his Head for writing an Anſwer to one of the moſt villainous Books againſt our Conſtitution that ever was writ. How did the ſame Faction deal with the Reverend Mr. *Johnſon*, for writing his honeſt half Sheet, addreſs'd to King *James*'s Army? How did our Streets ring with the Howlings of tormented Wretches in that, and King *Charles* his Brother's, Reigns, who were whipt and flea'd for daring to ſpeak or write in the Cauſe of Liberty? And what would a *Tory* Miniſtry do under the Direction of a *French* Vice-Roy? For *Perkin* muſt be contented to be Vice-Roy under ſuch a *Trincalo*. What, I ſay, would the *Tories* do with all thoſe that ſhould dare write or ſpeak a Word for the Rights and Privileges of the People? If a poor Scribbler ſhould be deliver'd of a Pamphlet not to their good Liking, immediately would a Meſſenger be ſent to ſeize him, and to drag him to *Newgate*; from *Newgate* he would be brought before another ſuch a *Tory* Judge as their *Jefferies* was; and then the Wretch would have nothing for it, but *Libera nos Domine.*

Obſerve the different Spirit of the Faction: In all King *William*'s Time, there were not above two or three proſecuted for Writing; whereas in five Years of the *Tory* Miniſtry, the Æra of the *Oxford* Decree, and the Addreſſes of Abhorrence, there was one Earl's Son put to Death, and twenty Gentlemen proſecuted and puniſh'd for it, beſides Printers, Publiſhers, and Book ſellers. A Paragraph of News, in a Letter to a Friend, coſt Sir *Samuel Barnardiſton* a Sentence of 10,000*l.* an angry Word ſhut Mr. *Pilkington* up in Gaol in an Action of 100,000*l.* and Mr. *Dutton-Colt* had the ſame Treatment for a like Offence. By the Help of their upright Chief Juſtices, they were grown ſo terrible, a Man durſt not ſay it was Noon-Day at Twelve o'Clock, leſt they ſhould think fit to take Offence, and *Jefferys*'s Warrant ſhould contradict it. Some of the *Tory* Jury-Men, as *Withers*, and others of the Stamp, are now ſtanding Candidates for the next Parliament. Thus have they recommended themſelves to their *Electors*; and if *Engliſhmen* are weary of ſleeping quietly in their Beds, or remaining ſafe in their Houſes; if they would not be haul'd away to Priſon for an unguarded Expreſſion againſt their arbitrary Governors, and be flead by the common Hangman for dropping a Word againſt Popery or Slavery, let them have a Care how they give a Vote for ſuch as were of any of thoſe *Tory* Juries, or for any of their Abettors. *Jefferys*'s Clerk has had the Aſſurance to ſtand twice or thrice to repreſent one of the honeſteſt Boroughs in *England*, *Aileſbury*; and, by the Help of Sir

J—— Pack——ton's Conſtable, he has been return'd. Will any Freeholder give a Vote for ſuch Men? If the extraordinary Commiſſion to try the Rioters at *Briſtol*, though it was ſo neceſſary, gave Offence to the Faction, what Abhorrence ſhould all true *Engliſhmen* have for thoſe that had a Hand in that bloody *Weſtern* Aſſize, wherein a thouſand good Proteſtants were either butcher'd, or ſent Slaves to the *Indies* by a ſtaunch High-Church Chief-Juſtice, and his Aſſiſtants, all of the ſame Party.

It is what the *Tories* glory in; and therefore we might avoid mentioning what Affronts they offer'd to the Memory of our Deliverer King *William*, whoſe Reign was never ſtain'd by one bloody Scaffold, for that cannot be thought a Stain on which dy'd the notorious and inſolent Traitor *Fenwick*: Who never did an unjuſt Action, and who often choſe to ſuffer Hardſhips himſelf, rather than let any of his Subjects think themſelves injur'd. Sure if ever Prince deſerv'd well of a People, it was King *William*, if Bravery, Wiſdom, Clemency, and Juſtice could intitle him to it. But how was he treated by the *Tories* in his Life-time? How has his Memory been inſulted ſince his Death? How did they affect to triumph over it? What Attempts did they make to blacken his Reputation, almoſt before he was cold in his Bed, giving out he was in a Plot to ſet aſide the then Queen? In which I am at a Loſs which to be moſt aſtoniſh'd at, the Ingratitude, Barbarity, or Falſity of it: To him they ow'd their Religion and Liberty, and thoſe of them that had any, their Eſtates; for Property would have gone, and always will go with Liberty; and yet that they ———; but their whole Conduct is uniform: That vile Reflection was of a Piece with the reſt of their Ingratitude, and that is the beſt one can ſay of them.

Nothing was omitted by ſome of their reverend Doctors to aſperſe his Character; and, without pretending to a Spirit of Prophecy, one may foretel the next Parliament, if of a *ſtaunch Tory* Stamp, will endeavour to fix ſome laſting Stain upon his Fame, for the invaluable Legacy he left us in the Proteſtant Succeſſion. But the World and Poſterity have done, and will do him Juſtice; and perhaps the preſent Age may reſent one Time or other the Inſults put on his Memory by an inſolent ungrateful Faction.

If I have been ſomething warm upon this Head, I cannot but think myſelf excuſable, when I remember the Faction did not obſerve a common Decency in their Language of him. How ill were all his faithful Servants rewarded? Nor was common Juſtice done his Domeſticks, in Point of their Arrears. Did not the *Drawing-Rooms*, *Ruels*, *Coffee-Houſes*, nay, *Churches*, ring with open Reflections upon the beſt of Kings. It is with great Difficulty I can preſerve my Temper: For my Part, I ſhall never be *Frenchify'd* enough to think the worſe of King *William*, becauſe he was *Dutch*, nor the better of the *Pretender*, becauſe he is *French*: I could no more rejoice at his Death, than I ſhould at the *Chevalier*'s maſtering us; which would ſoon be follow'd with the Funeral of *England*.

I will not frighten the honeſt Freeholder ſo much, as to let him imagine there's any Danger of ſuch a *horrid Revolution*. We have God and a good and great King on our Side; and if the *Britiſh* Electors add to them a good Par-

Parliament, we may ſafely leave the reſt to them. We can deſire no greater Bleſſing in this World: Our Security depends on it. But if they will be blind to their Peril, and put their Safety into the Power of a Faction who ſo lately betray'd them, they have no Reaſon to expect a new Interpoſition of Providence, they having by an Election of a diſaffected Repreſentative done all in the Power of Men to deſerve the contrary. If they ſhould be ſo mad, which I muſt confeſs I do not much fear, conſidering the preſent Poſture of Affairs, and the honeſt Diſpoſition of the Majority, I cannot but think what Calamities muſt be treaſur'd up for us, *and Yokes heavier than our Forefathers were able to bear.* By whom theſe only can be prepar'd and impos'd upon us, I have ſhewn at length; and ſince the Truth of the Fact, and the Reaſon of the Argument are evident, one would hope there is not an *Engliſhman* in his Senſes that will give his vote for one of thoſe *ſtaunch Tories*, that would be acceſſary to bring that Yoke upon us; and I dare ſay, there is not a *ſtaunch Man* in *England*, but would give himſelf and his Country into the Hands of the *French*, rather than ſee the preſent Adminiſtration ſo eſtabliſh'd as to make him deſpair of a *Change*.

It will be of great Uſe to all Electors, to conſider how near we were to our Ruin, that they may endeavour to ſend ſuch Men to Parliament, as did what they could to prevent it. For this Reaſon, it may be of Service to conſider, that the Dangers and Miſeries to which we were expos'd were entirely owing to the *Tories*, who ſquander'd away twenty Millions, while their Envoys were patching up the Peace with which we are ſo ſafe and happy; and would hinder us, if they could, from making any Alliances for our Defence and Security, in Caſe their Peace ſhould not be ſo laſting as the *French* King's *Bona Fide* may make it. To the *Tories* do we owe the Corruption of our Morals and Principles, and the taking away the Force of all Obligations humane and divine. To the *Tories* are we indebted for the Riots, Mutinies, and Inſurrections they have executed and attempted, to deprive us of the Bleſſings we enjoy under the King. To the *Tories* do we owe all this, and a great deal more; the Ruin of Trade and Reputation, and all the Advantages we might have got by a ten Years glorious War, and the Expence of an hundred and twenty Millions of Money.

Theſe Things it may be of Uſe to weigh, as alſo that this is the moſt critical Juncture ever happen'd; that if the Country errs in their Choice of Repreſentatives now, it may probably be never more in their Power to do themſelves Juſtice on thoſe ill Miniſters, whoſe Adminiſtration brought us to the Precipice from which his Majeſty's Succeſſion to the Throne prevented our falling. Let every Freeholder ſeriouſly weigh theſe Things; and then the Sale of his Vote, tho' for a hundred Pounds, will appear a wretched Bargain, ſince he ſells with it an Opportunity of eſtabliſhing our Proteſtant Conſtitution in Church and State for ever.

Notwithſtanding all that I have ſaid againſt the *Tories*, I am far from arrogating to our own Party, all the Senſe of the Nation: But I may venture to affirm, that they have all the political Senſe, which is put to any better Uſe than to ſerve the Intereſt of *France* and the *Pretender*.

If

If the *Tories* could once get the Game in their Hands again, I will not ſay they would repeal the Triennial Act, as I do not ſuppoſe the *Whigs* will do it; but they would render all Parliaments uſeleſs, by putting the Majority into Hands that were always Enemies to Parliaments, when they had not by Force or Treachery got Poſſeſſion of the Power, which they knew how to uſe ſo effectually, as to hinder the Parliament doing any Thing againſt their Intereſt.

Could one have imagin'd, that after ſo many Parliaments had addreſs'd the late Queen in favour of the old Miniſters, for ſecuring the *Spaniſh* Monarchy to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the like, that it would have been poſſible for any Party to get a Houſe of Commons to vote for a *Peace*, which gave *Spain* to the *Bourbon* Family, and to approve of the Actions of *Managers*, who by Fraud and Violence had thruſt themſelves into the Places of the beſt *Miniſters* that ever Prince or People was bleſs'd with.

Can one imagine, that an *Engliſh* Parliament ſhould ever be weary of a juſt, neceſſary, and victorious *War*, or think it a Crime to conquer and *delight* in it? That there could be ſuch an Aſſembly in St. *Stephen*'s Chapel, as would addreſs one Day againſt an Article of State-Management, and the next Day give Thanks for it? Yet theſe Things, and a hundred more of this extravagant and deſtructive Nature, have been done to compliment a *Tory* Adminiſtration; and what would not the ſame Men, or Men of the ſame Party do, to compliment a *Jacobite* one? Therefore the honeſt Freeholder will now look about him, judge for himſelf, and not be abus'd by Pretences: When he goes to the Election, he will enquire of his Neighbour, if he does not know it before-hand, whether any one of the Candidates were for the *Peace*, and the *Commerce*-Bill, to diſſolve the Confederacy, prevent the reducing the exorbitant Power of *France*, and to ruin our Trade? Whether any one of them, pretending Zeal for the Church, voted for the *Schiſm Bill*, which the prime Leader of the Faction owns, by himſelf and his Mercenaries, was brought into Parliament, not for the Church's Sake, but Party Sake, to cauſe Diſſention among the Managers, and bring others not more deſerving into Play? Thus were ſeveral thouſand Families expos'd to ſtarve, and thoſe Families as good Proteſtants as any in the World, for the *Faction* to try their political Pranks by it. Will an *Engliſh* Proteſtant Freeholder vote for a Man, that could come into ſuch a cruel Scheme purely to oblige one or two ill Miniſters? Let every good *Briton* then ſet a Mark on the *Schiſm*-Men, and on thoſe that turn'd Mr. *Steel* out of the Houſe of Commons, becauſe he had written againſt the *Pretender*, and vindicated the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*; which he could not do without falling upon the Miniſtry that had endanger'd it: Let them not be frighted with viſionary Dangers of a *War*, of *Foreigners*, of *Preſbytery*, of repealing the *Triennial* and *Limitation*-Act; but let them conſider ſeriouſly, that a ſtaunch *Tory* Majority would moſt moſt certainly repeal the Acts of *Right*, *Indulgence*, and *Settlement*; that their *Church* would be *Perſecution*, their War with the *Dutch*, and all Proteſtant Friends Abroad, and all their Foreigners *French* Papiſts: Which brings me

alſo

alſo to conſider the Merits of each Party more particularly; and upon the whole, we ſhall find their Deſerts to ſtand thus.

The Merits *of the* Whigs.

I.

King *William*, Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Anne*.

II.

The Proteſtant Church of *England*.

III.

The Toleration, Aſſociation, Abjuration, *&c.*

IV.

Ten Victories over the *French*, 100 Towns, and 1000 Miles of Ground taken out of the Map of *France*.

V.

The Acts of *Settlement*.

VI.

The Union.

VII.

The Guaranty, and 100 other good Treaties Abroad broken *per Contra*.

VIII.

King *George*, and the illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover*.

TOTAL.

The Security of Religion, Liberty, and Property.

The Merits of the ſtaunch Tory-*Faction.*

I.

The Perſecution in King *Charles* and King *James*'s Reign: The Blood of my Lord *Ruſſel*, Col. *Sydney*, Mr. *Corniſh*, *&c.*

II.

King *James*, and his Attendants Popery and Slavery.

III.

The Oppoſition, the Abdication, Toleration, Aſſociation, Acts of Settlement, War with *France*, and every Thing tending to the Security of our Proteſtant Church and Liberty met with ever ſince the Revolution.

IV.

The Peace, the Dozen, the Commerce with *France* and *Spain*, the *Catalans*, *Mardyke*, and a new Harbour for a *French* Fleet in Sight of us.

V.

The *Tack*, the *Occaſional*-Bill, the *Schiſm*-Bill, *&c.*

VI.

A Spunge for all Funds, and a ſecond *Exchequer* ſhut up.

VII.

The Diſpenſing Power to ſet up Will and Pleaſure, inſtead of Law and Juſtice.

VIII.

The *Pretender*, Maſs, and Wooden Shoes.

TOTAL.

No Church, no Trade, no Liberty, no Property, no Kingdom.

Utrum horum mavis accipe.

Chuſe which you pleaſe.

A SECRET HISTORY *of One Year.*

By ROBERT WALPOLE, *Eſq*; 1714.

THE Circumſtances of the Revolution 1688, and the Turn of Affairs which has now happen'd in *Great-Britain*, ſince the Death of the late Queen, are founded on ſuch a viſible Analogy of Cauſes and Effects, that they may well bear the ſame Name, *viz.* THE REVOLUTION.

The Occaſion of the Revolution in 1688, is ſumm'd up by the Writers of theſe Times in theſe Words, viz. *That the Evil Councils of the former Reigns had introduc'd ſeveral Illegal Practices in the Adminiſtration, and had brought the Laws, Liberties, and Religion of theſe Kingdoms into great Danger, from the Encroachment and Invaſion of Arbitrary Power, Popery, Indefeaſible Divine Right of a pretended Succeſſor*, &c.

It is not the Buſineſs of this Tract to determine, one Way or other, the Juſtice on both Sides of the Complaint, the Author being not to act the Politician here, but the Hiſtorian. If I paſs my Judgment, it ſhall be after I have firſt related the Facts as they lye before me in the Courſe of Time, and in the Manner as near as I can, in which every Thing has been tranſacted.

We have many Hiſtories of the Revolution, but very few of them go on with the Accounnt of what was done in the Year *immediately* AFTER; or, if they do, they give no full Relation; perhaps they were not able to do it, not having Opportunity to ſee what was done within Doors.

From this Ignorance of Authors, Two Things have happen'd: *Firſt*, That the Enemies of the Revolution have taken the Liberty to cenſure the late King *WILLIAM*, as acting on Principles of Self-Intereſt and Ambition, deſigning from the Beginning to depoſe his Father, and ſet himſelf up in his Stead; all which Things thoſe who knew the King, have much Reaſon to believe he was innocent of; and that all the Steps which elevated him to the Throne, were ſuch, as were not only Fortuitous and Unforeſeen, or at leaſt unexpected by his Majeſty, but what he had no Reaſon to expect, and what it was not POSSIBLE he ſhould.

Secondly, From this Ignorance of Writers, Poſterity is brought to cenſure King *WILLIAM*, for what ſome call a Criminal Clemency, in not purſuing the Chief Ends of the Revolution, *viz. To deliver the Nation from* the Tyranny, *and to puniſh the Perſons guilty of it*, which, ſay they, as it was the Chief End of inviting him over, ſo it is expreſly promis'd by him in his Declaration.

In giving an Account of ſome Tranſactions in that Year, theſe Two Points will neceſſarily be cleared up, *but the laſt eſpecially*; and this may be calculated for the Uſe of thoſe People who are wllling to bring the Parallel down to the preſent Time.

I find many People are afraid leaſt the preſent Government ſhould fall into the ſame univerſal Miſtake, and by forgetting to do Juſtice upon the Miniſters of State, who have carry'd on the uneaſy Adminiſtration of the Four laſt Years, ſhould give them an Opportunity to play the ſame Game over again, and to bring us into the ſame Dangers of Popery and the Pretender as we were in before.

To fortify the Government in their Reſolutions againſt this, they wiſely lead us back to the Revolution of 1688, and ſhew us how fatal it was to the King and Kingdom, that Judgment was not executed upon the Criminals of the preceding Reign, viz. *Upon thoſe who had concurr'd with K.* James, *&c. in his Arbitrary Deſigns, and who had adher'd to him to the laſt.*

I ſhall join with them in this Complaint, as I do likewiſe in the Inferences drawn from it; adding only this, That the like Juſtice ſhould have been executed upon thoſe who after the Revolution, being by the Goodneſs of his Majeſty intruſted with the publick Adminiſtration, betray'd the King and Kingdom; for publick Miniſters, when they prove unfaithful, may be ſaid to abuſe not *only* the Clemency and Favour of their Prince, *but* to abuſe their Country *alſo*, who may be ſaid to put Truſt in them by the Prince's Recommendation.

I being thus writing for an Impartial Diſtribution of National Juſtice, I muſt be allow'd to wave the Enquiry into the Diſtinction of *Whig* and *Tory* in general, and to give a true, though ſecret Account, of what happen'd at Court, immediately after the ſaid Revolution of 1688. Thoſe People *who, for the Good of their Country*, are zealous for doing Juſtice on State Offenders, will know what Uſe to make of, and what Inferences to draw from the Hiſtory, the Matters of Fact whereof I am aſſur'd no one will diſpute.

It was on the 6th of *February* 1688, that I think the Revolution might be ſaid to be compleated, by paſſing that eminent Vote in the Houſe of Peers, viz. *For filling up the vacant Throne with the Perſons of their Deliverers, and putting the Crown, by Authority of the Eſtates of* England *aſſembled in Convocation, upon the Heads of King* William *and Queen* Mary. The Day was eminent for being the ſame Day that King *Charles* II. died, the ſame Day that Queen *Anne* was born, and for that King *James* came to the Crown, the ſame Day that he loſt it.

The Difference in Circumſtances between that *Revolution* and the preſent, ſeems to lye in this only, *viz.* That the King came *there* before the Settlement of the Succeſſion is the Cauſe, and his Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Crown is the Effect; there the Coming of the Perſon of the King was the Cauſe, and the Settlement of the Crown was the Effect. I mention this, becauſe it is what *Britains* ought never to forget, *viz.* That the firſt Revolution has not been the Type of this only, but the Parent of it; and that King *William* reſtor'd the Nation to that Liberty, by which the Settlement of the Succeſſion in the Proteſtant Line of *HANOVER* has been made able to take Place; as this will be acknowledg'd by all thoſe who are Friends to the preſent Eſtabliſhment, ſo I ſhall take Occaſion to ſhew them, that no Miſtakes of the late King in his Reign can be juſtly cenſur'd, but that ſuch Cenſure would in

Effect

Effect weaken the Heads of the preſent Intereſt; but of that I ſhall ſpeak by itſelf on another Occaſion.

The chief Objections againſt the Management of the King conſiſted in Two Parts: 1. That he ſuffer'd *Amaleck* to eſcape; I uſe the Objector's Words, *that is*, that he ſuffer'd an Act of Indemnity to paſs, to pardon all thoſe who by his Declaration he ought to have brought to Juſtice; and, 2. That he employ'd *Jacobites*; or to put this alſo in their own Terms, *That he receiv'd thoſe very People into his Favour, who were the Tools of King* James, *and employ'd and entruſted thoſe who had betray'd their Country to a Popiſh Prince, and concurr'd in giving up the Liberties and Religion of their Country to Slavery and Superſtition.*

I do not ſay, but many of theſe Things may in the Letter of them be true, neither ſhall I make any Apology or Defence for the ſame, but ſhall relate to the Publick, *verbatim*, what I receiv'd many Years ago from a venerable Head, who perhaps was an Ear-Witneſs.

It was upon the Occaſion of the Diſputes which happen'd towards the latter End of King *William*'s Reign, that very great Meetings of Noblemen and Gentlemen was held at a certain publick Place. The Deſign of their Meeting was, in order to uphold the Intereſt of the King, againſt a new Party then ſtarted up at Court, who had formed themſelves upon the Intereſt of the high People, and were call'd, according to the old Court Diſtinction, *the Country Party*. The Handle to, or Subject of theſe Debates was the Diſſolving the Parliament, and the Entring into a new War againſt *France*, looking back a little on the Act of Reſumptions, and diſbanding the Army. It was at one of theſe Meetings that the following Things, or ſomething like them, happen'd to be diſcours'd of, a noble Lord in the Company ſpeaking with ſome Warmth of the ill Treatment, which, as he thought, the King met with in theſe Matters. The Diſcourſe naturally led us all to reflect upon the Perſons who were the principal Promoters of theſe Bills; and entering into the Character of ſome of them, it would not eſcape us, that ſuch and ſuch, who were quoted by Name, were Perſons who owed their Friends to His Majeſty's Clemency, and who, had it not been for the Act of Indemnity, had taken an effectual Courſe with themſelves to have prevented the Miſchief they were then a doing, by flying beyond Sea to avoid the Juſtice of the Parliament.

'YEA, *ſays a Noble Lord*, if they and Twelve or Fourteen more, which 'he named alſo, had been made Examples of, the King had never been thus 'handled; and, if His Majeſty had not IMMEDIATELY put himſelf into the 'Hands of thoſe very Men, whom he ought to have put into the Hands of 'the Executioner, he had not been brought to ſuffer theſe ignominious 'Things.

He went on with ſome Heat to ſhew the Error which the 'King committed at the Beginning of his Reign, in treating theſe Men with Lenity inſtead of Juſtice, and with Kindneſs inſtead of Severity.' He told us, THAT 'the King did not know the *Engliſh* Nation; THAT they were not to be 'won with Kindneſs, any more than to be cruſh'd by Oppreſſion; that the

'*Engliſh* Temper is only to be manag'd by Juſtice; that a Government here 'muſt no more mix too much Mercy with their Adminiſtration than Ty-'ranny; that the People will equally oppoſe them in both; that they were 'not equally unlawful indeed, but that they were equally dangerous to the 'Prince; with this Difference alſo, that the Firſt was moſt ſhocking and 'hardeſt to bear; for that as Ingratitude was the Worſt Sin one Man could 'commit againſt another, ſo it is always the moſt Afflicting to a benevolent 'Diſpoſition, and in the End the moſt provoking, and hardeſt to be for-'given.

He told us he had 'often repreſented this very Thing to His Majeſty in 'the Beginning of his Reign, and that he had oppoſed the Paſſing *the Act 'of Indemnity* with all his Might; that he told the King in *totidem verbis*, 'what he had told us juſt now; but that the Goodneſs of His Majeſty's Diſ-'poſition over-ruled him in all that Affair; that one Day ſpeaking very ſe-'rioufly of it to the King, His Majeſty ſmiled, and told him again he was 'too cenſorious; THAT he (the King) could not entertain ſuch Thoughts of 'the *Engliſh* Nation; THAT he was reſolv'd to oblige them too far to make 'it poſſible they ſhould ever requite him ill; *but* THAT it was not his 'Buſineſs to make any of his Subjects *deſpair*; THAT it was in his Power 'to puniſh, whenever they ſhould forget his Clemency; THAT to fall upon 'them with the utmoſt Rigour was to add too much Weight to them, to 'ſuggeſt them to be conſiderable; that he ſhould fear their Strength, and 'think it Prudence to deſtroy them, leſt they ſhould deſtroy him; THAT 'he had ſuch Confidence in the Affection of all his People, that it was below 'him to fear a few diſaffected Party-Men, and that ſince he was above their 'Power, he had no Deſire to make any Man miſerable; THAT if they abuſed 'his Mercy, their Sin would be doubled, and he ſhould puniſh them after-'wards with the greater Satisfaction; THAT he had fully made good his De-'claration, putting the publick Juſtice in a Condition to chaſtiſe them all; 'THAT he had no where ty'd himſelf up to *Severities*; THAT King *James* 'had made himſelf the *Scape-Goat*, had taken upon him the Sins of the 'People, and was gone into the Wilderneſs; that this Step had alter'd many 'of the Meaſures propos'd in the Declaration, and this in an eſpecial Man-'ner; that dethroning the whole Party was doing the Nation a general 'Juſtice, with which he hop'd they would be ſatisfy'd, and that for his own 'Part, ſince he was now to be King, he deſir'd to be King of all his People, 'and not to begin his Reign with Blood, beſides he ſaw them all ſubmitting 'to him; if they had ſtood out, had fought with him, and been the further 'Occaſion of any Slaughter, or Ruin to the Country, by their oppoſing, 'then indeed he ſhould have been inclin'd to have brought the Heads of them 'to Juſtice; but as they had univerſally ſubmitted, and as ſoon as K. *James* 'was gone laid down their Arms, reſtor'd the Nation to an unexpected 'Tranquility; he thought they had a Claim to his Clemency, as a Town 'beſieg'd, ſurrendring at Diſcretion, tho' the Lives of the Garriſon are at 'Mercy by the Law of Arms, yet they are generally ſpar'd, and the Con-'queror contents himſelf to make them Priſoners of War, the taking the

'Town,

'Town, not the Blood of the Garriſon, being the End and Deſign of the 'Siege.

With this Diſcourſe and ſuch like, which his Majeſty frequently repeated, his Lordſhip told us he was effectually ſilenc'd; *and indeed*, that it was a full Satisfaction to him that the Act of Indemnity was both reaſonable and ſafe; 'which however, his Majeſty could not prevail with many People to paſs, 'till he declared poſitively one Day in Council that he would not come into 'Severities, adding, THAT he would give all his Subjects an Opportunity 'to deſerve well by their future Conduct, and to make Amends to the 'Nation by reforming what had been amiſs, rather than by ſuffering for it, 'telling them, he hop'd they would be ſatisfy'd with his coming, which had 'reſcu'd them from Popery and Slavery, and reſtor'd their Liberties, withou 'obliging him to enter into the publick Reſentments, and to puniſh Crimes 'committed before he had any Thing to do with them: That there was a 'great many Men who had offended from a miſtaken Notion of Duty to their 'Prince; and tho' it was true, that the Command of a King to a Subject 'does not juſtify that Subject in any illegal Action, yet, as in Felony, the 'Wife was not executed for the Crime in her Huſband's Company, becauſe 'ſhe is ſuppos'd to be influenc'd by her Huſband's Authority, much more 'might the Authority of the Sovereign miſguide many, and that, at leaſt 'ſuch deſerved Pity, tho' they were really and juſtly Guilty, and it would 'be a hard Matter to diſtinguiſh thoſe who had been thus drawn in, from 'thoſe who were Originals in the late Diſorders, and that, at the worſt, too 'much Clemency was the leaſt Error, and therefore his Majeſty was reſolv'd 'to paſs an Act of Grace; that he could have done it by his own Prepara- 'tions, but being willing it ſhould come in a Parliament Way, he had re- 'ſolv'd it ſhould come from him to the two Houſes, and be paſs'd there in 'due Form; alſo his Majeſty cauſed an Act of Indemnity to be brought 'into the Houſe of Lords, from himſelf on the 10th Day of *June* 1690. as 'by the Journals of the Houſe may appear.

When his Lordſhip was going on to vindicate the King in this Manner againſt the Opinions of thoſe who were reflecting on this Act of Clemency, it led the Company neceſſarily into that Part which I mention'd before, *viz.* Of the King's employing and entruſting the Adminiſtration in the Hands of thoſe Men whom he ought by the Tenour of his Declaration to have deliver'd up to Juſtice.

I omit purpoſely to give you the Detail of the Argument us'd by the warm People at that Time for the Affirmative, *viz.* That Juſtice on the Guilty is Compaſſion to the Innocent, that Examples are neceſſary to be made in *Terrorem*, that the Calamities the Nation was brought into, and the Danger they were in of more, call'd loudly for Reſentment, and that to ſhew Mercy to ſuch Men was denying Juſtice to the Country, contrary to the expreſs Words of *Magna Charta*, and ſo omitting to ſhew this wholeſome Severity has been the Encouragement to the ſame People to carry on the ſame wicked Deſigns under other Diſguiſes, not only in that King's Reign, but even now, which has brought us almoſt to the ſame Condition we were in before, and made it

neceſſary

neceſſary to do almoſt all the Work over again, *&c.* which in the ſame Converſation were moſt of them mention'd, and which are now again made the Subject of Complaint in ſome Pamphlets, calculated for the preſent Occaſion; and to prevent any Forbearance being now ſhewn to the Members of the late Adminiſtration, *I ſay*, theſe Things *I omit*, that I may give Account of what follow'd: A certain grave Gentleman, well known, if it were convenient to publiſh his Name, valu'd then by all the Company for his Learning and Wiſdom, as well as for his Quality, being alſo, as I have heard, a Member of Parliament, and of the Council at that Time; having heard with Patience all that his Lordſhip urg'd in this Caſe, and eſpecially what he had repeated from the Mouth of his late Majeſty King *William*, applying himſelf to the Lord who had ſpoken immediately before, deliver'd himſelf to this Purpoſe: Firſt, 'He ſaid, THAT he humbly conceiv'd the Diſpute now among them 'might be much ſhorten'd, if the Matter of Fact were hiſtorically ſtated; 'THAT although he was ſatisfy'd their Lordſhips could not but know the 'Truth of what he was going to ſpeak, yet that poſſibly it might not occur 'to them juſt at that Time particularly. As to what Steps the King had taken, and what Hands his Majeſty made Uſe of in the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs, *before the Time of which they were ſpeaking*, and therefore it was needful to look back into, not the Particulars only, but alſo into the Time and Seaſons in which every Tranſaction of that Reign took Place; that there needed nothing but a little CHRONOLOGY to ſet all theſe Things to Rights, and to vindicate the King effectually, as well from the Charge of an unſeaſonable Clemency, as from that of employing the Enemies of his Kingdom, wherefore he beg'd they would be pleas'd to look back, with him, to the firſt Twelve Months after the Revolution, that is to ſay, after King *William* and Queen *Mary* were proclaim'd King and Queen of *England*, &c. for he conceiv'd the Revolution to be finiſh'd when the King's Reign began.

It muſt be allow'd, MY LORD, *ſaid he*, that the King, tho' well acquainted with the Affairs of *Britain* for a Foreigner, yet for the Office of a King was a Stranger to many Things, which he found it neceſſary to be inform'd in, for his Government in the Adminiſtration; and particularly his Majeſty found himſelf at a Loſs in not knowing the Characters of Men, which, in ſhort, he could no other Way come at, than by the Recommendation of others; nay, ſo far was his Majeſty from a general Knowledge of the juſt Characters of the Nobility and Gentry of *Great-Britain*, that he had frequently the Misfortune, when ſome were recommended to his Service, to be oblig'd to enquire even whether they were *Engliſh* or *Scots*. The Inconveniences to his Majeſty, which follow'd this want of the Knowledge of Men, were very great, and in particular, that he frequently employ'd and advanc'd Men, who he afterwards found were not worthy of his Favour, and whom he ſoon found Reaſon to diſmiſs from his Service, with no little Diſſatisfaction, as I ſhall have Occaſion to ſhew preſently: and ſecondly, 'thoſe People, on whoſe Recommen-'dation his Majeſty depended in extraordinary Caſes, had too many Op-'portunities to make their Market of the Royal Favour, and raiſing their

'For-

'Fortune by impoſing on the King, had frequently leſs Regard to the 'Honour and Intereſt of their Sovereign, in their putting People upon him, 'than to the Profit which they made of their Recommendation; this often 'made his Majeſty complain, as he did in his Anſwer to the Parliament's Ad-'dreſs, about the Affairs of the *Darien* Company in *Scotland*, *viz. That he* '*had been ILL SERVED*; His Majeſty added, he was not inſenſible of this 'Defect, even at the firſt Entrance into his Affairs, and conſulting with the 'ableſt Men for Counſel, not only of his foreign Retinue, but perhaps the 'ableſt in *Europe*; at that Time Duke *Schombergh*, and the Earl of *Portland*, 'deliver'd themſelves to this Purpoſe, agreeing perfectly well one with another 'in their Advice, *viz.* That as his Majeſty could not perſonally know 'the Character of all the Nobility and Perſons of Quality, who it was likely 'would ſeek Employment in his new Adminiſtration; he could not take 'a ſurer Rule to judge whom it was fit to truſt, than that of obſerving who 'had been moſt vigorous in the Oppoſition to the Old Meaſures, and par-'ticularly *not thoſe only* who had ſuffered moſt of the rigorous and illegal 'Perſecution of the abdicated King, *becauſe* in them *perſonal Revenge might* '*be thought to have ſome Share in their Acting*, or perſonal Intereſt *for the* '*Recovery of their Fortune, and making themſelves whole after the Loſſes they* '*had received*; *and therefore, although they might be thought to act ſincerely* '*for the Revolution, yet it might not be from ſuch juſt and diſintereſted Principles* '*as others*: But that therefore theſe Men were to be firſt pitched upon, who 'had ſhewed themſelves Patriots of their Country, by their acting voluntier 'in the *Revolution*, tho' no particular Motion *from their Perſonal* were to be 'found; and that theſe might juſtly be ſuppoſed to ſeek the Good of the 'Publick, from the mere Love of the Liberty, Religion, and Intereſt of 'Poſterity.

He went on to ſhew that the King, who was too wiſe a Man not to give the due Weight to ſuch a Counſel, proceeded according to this Rule moſt exactly. He told them it appear'd by the Proclamation of the Great Men in his Majeſty's Court, the Liſt of which were to be ſeen, and where it would be found that the King according to the Advice given him as above, put thoſe Men firſt into Employment who had firſt and moſt early appeared in Oppoſition to the illegal Meaſures of the preceding Government: 'And 'I muſt tell your Lordſhip, *ſaid he*, with Submiſſion, that it is a very great 'Miſtake to ſay that the King immediately employed the ſame Inſtruments 'in carrying on his Government of the Nation, which had been the Agents 'of King *James*'s Tyranny in deſtroying the Conſtitution, for that none 'of theſe were employed at all, until His Majeſty had firſt tried the Fidelity 'and Capacity of the other: In this, My Lord, *continued he*, I have no 'more to do than to appeal to Your Lordſhip's Memory, and the Hiſtory of 'theſe Times, whereby I am ſure I ſhall be juſtify'd in ſaying to Your 'Lordſhip, that the King put the whole Adminiſtration of Civil Affairs, 'into the Hands of Three Perſons, ſince call'd *Whigs*, before he ſhewed any 'Countenance or Favour to the other; but, *ſaid he*, it is true, My Lord, 'that the Caſe differed ſomething in the Military Part, which was not oc-

'caſion'd

'caſion'd, by any want of purſuing the ſame Meaſures, but from a parti-
'cular National Misfortune, *viz.* That by a long and profound Peace, there
'were not Men to be found in the whole *Engliſh* Nation, qualified for Gene-
'ral Command; and tho' it is true that this might be owing partly to the
'Error of the preceding Reign, when Men of *Engliſh* Principles had for ſome
'Time been diſcouraged, and thoſe few that had been found, had been
'cloſetted out of the Army by King *James*, yet that ſo it was in Fact will
'not be contended.

'He obſerved however, by way of Digreſſion, here, that the King did not
'for the Want of ſuch Officers, put Arms and Forces into the Hands of the
'Officers of the *Popiſh* Army, but gave Regiments to ſuch Men of Fortunes
'and Families among the Nobility and Gentry, who had appear'd for him,
'and who were willing to accept of Commands, being all Men zealous for
'the *Revolution*; and ſupply'd the Places of General Officers, with ſuch Ex-
'perienc'd Foreigners as he had brought with him for that Purpoſe, many
'of whom loſt their Lives in his Service; and after this raiſed the *Engliſh*
'Gentlemen, who took Service under him, to ſuch Dignities and Preferments
'in the Army, as the Courſe of their Service, and Merit of their Behaviour
'call'd for.

Some of the Gentlemen he named, who were honour'd with Regiments in the Firſt Troops raiſed; as the Duke of DEVON, Duke of BOLTON, Lord DELAMERE, Sir ROB. PEYTON, Sir GEO. HEWIT, Colonel EARL, now Lieutenant-General; Colonel WHARTON, Brother to my Lord *Wharton*; Sir HEN. INGOLDSBY, Sir ED. DEERING, and the like, all eminent and zealous Promoters of the *Revolution*; ſome of whom, as he obſerved, had loſt their Lives in the Purſuit of it; as Sir GEO. HEWIT, Colonel WHARTON, Sir ED. DEERING, Sir ALB. CUNNINGHAM, and many others.

Some indeed of King *James*'s Colonels were continued in Command, *ſaid he*, but they were only ſuch as had abandoned his Service with their Regiments; as Lord *Cornbury*, Sir *John Lanier*, Colonels *Laughton*, *Coy*, *Kirk*, and others.

But to return to the Stateſmen, *ſaid this Relator*, no ſooner was the King ſettled upon the Throne, and that it became neceſſary to form the Houſhold, and fill up the great Offices of State, but His Majeſty, as I obſerv'd to your Lordſhip, threw himſelf into the Hands of the *Revolution Party*; and albeit that many of thoſe who had left King *James*, had deſerved very well of the King, by their appearing in Seaſon, to diſcountenance the *Popiſh* Army; yet His Majeſty did not ſo IMMEDIATELY caſt his Eyes upon them, as upon thoſe who had been Sufferers under the Mal-Adminiſtration, and as had made a Stand againſt the Encroachments of Arbitrary Power, as much as in them lay, both in Church and State. THESE His Majeſty advanced into Offices and Dignities, *in the Firſt Part of his Reign*; to THESE he committed the Firſt Adminiſtration of publick Affairs; THESE ruled the State, the Church, the Bench; and, in a Word, His Majeſty put himſelf and the Kingdom wholly into their Hands, the very firſt Step that he took in Government.

I am

'I am not blaming the King, *ſays he*, for his Conduct, 'for nothing could 'be more natural to a wiſe diſcerning Prince, than to believe that thoſe Men 'who had ſuffer'd ſo deeply under, and made ſuch loud Complaints againſt 'the Male-Adminiſtration of the King that was then fled, ſhould be the moſt 'likely to preſerve the Conſtitution, and to aſſiſt him that was then King, 'in a Legal, Juſt, and Impartial Governing the ſame Kingdom; it could 'not enter into His Majeſty's Thoughts, that Ambition, Partiality, Cor-'ruption, Self-Intereſt, Neglect of the Publick, could be found in the 'Hands of theſe Men, who had with ſuch Zeal, and at ſo much Hazard, 'aſſerted the Rights of the People againſt the ſame Enormities in the pre-'ceding Reign; and had Men acted according to the Dictates of common 'Senſe, it could not well have been otherwiſe.

He went on then to name a compleat Liſt, which he had ready on his Tongue, of all the Great Officers, Miniſters of State, Judges, Biſhops, Privy Councellors, *&c.* whom King *William*, at his firſt Acceſſion to the Crown, plac'd, as is uſual in ſuch Caſes, in the Houſhold and in the Adminiſtration; whoſe Names I cannot ſet down, or indeed remember at this Time; but ſome of them are as follows.

Mr. *H*———, after Lord *T*———, Admiral of the Fleet.
Duke of *D*———, Lord Steward.
Earl of *Wiltſhire*, Gentleman Uſher to the Queen.
Lord *W*———, Chancellor of the Dutchy.
Earl of *D*——, Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold.
Lord *W*——, Comptroller.
Lord *Lovelace*, Captain of the Band of Penſioners.
Mr. *Hampden*, Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Lord *Delamere*, Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury.
Earl of *S*———, Secretary of State.
Lord *Sidney*, Secretary of State.

Admiral *Herbert*,
Earl of *Carbery*,
Sir *Michael Wharton*,
Sir *Thomas Lee*,
Sir *John Chickley*,
Sir *John Lowther*,
William Sacheverell, Eſq; } Commiſſioners of the Admiralty.

The Lord *Coot*, Treaſurer to the Queen.

Lord *Delamere*,
Lord *M*——,
Lord *Godolphin*,
Sir *Henry Capell*,
Mr. *Hambden*, } Commiſſioners of the Treaſury.

Dr. *B*———, Biſhop of *S*——.
Dr. *Hughs*, Biſhop of *Oxford*.
Mr. *Pollixfen*, Attorney General.

Sir *George Treby*, Solicitor General.

Lord *Booth*, Brother to the Lord *Delamere*,
Sir *Richard Temple*,
Sir *John Warden*,
Sir *Robert Southwell*,
Sir *Robert Clayton*,
Sir *Patience Ward*,
} Commmiſſioners of the Cuſtoms.

And many other of the like Stamp, in other Offices of Truſt and Profit.

After having thus run over the Liſt of Names, in which were many more than I can recover at this Time. He went on to aſk his Lordſhip, 'Whether theſe were not all ſuch Men as he had diſmiſs'd? and whether they 'were not all of them ſuch as had a Share in the inviting of the King over, 'and as had eminently appeared againſt King *James?* To which when his Lordſhip had aſſented, as in Juſtice he could do no other, he aſk'd his Lordſhip, 'If he knew how many of theſe noble and worthy Perſons His Majeſty was 'obliged to diſmiſs again, within Three Years at moſt, for the moſt ſcandalous and unexampled Conduct that has been met with in any Age, at 'leaſt within the Memory of Things? And how the King was treated, his 'Councils betrayed; his Court made a Market to buy and ſell the Employments and Truſt of the Kingdom; his Foreſts and Woods rifled and 'plunder'd; the Government expoſed; and the whole *Revolution* itſelf endanger'd under the Adminiſtration, and by the Conduct of ſome of theſe 'Men.

His Lordſhip was ſilent at this ſmart Enquiry, and after ſome Pauſe, reply'd coldly, 'He had heard ſomething of it. Nay, my Lord, *ſays the Firſt* '*Relator*, was you not preſent at *Hampton-Court*, when the King himſelf 'told us, he did not think it had been poſſible that Men of ſuch Characters 'could act in ſuch a Manner? And do you not remember the Occaſion? '*To this his Lordſhip reply'd*, That he did indeed remember the King was 'very uneaſy, but he did not charge his Memory ſo much with Particulars.

'Nay, my Lord, *reply'd the Relator*, do not ſay you forget. I cannot 'think Things of ſuch a Nature can ſlip your Memory, for you have often 'expreſs'd your Abhorrence of ſuch Doings; but I know you are willing to 'bury the Remembrance of them, for the Sake of the Perſons, who were 'otherwiſe Men of Honour and of Fortunes; ſome of them being in their 'Graves, nothing ſhould be remember'd to their Prejudice: But my Lord, '*ſaid he*, the Queſtion at preſent relates to other and greater Perſons; and 'we are obliged to vindicate the one which is attack'd, though it be at the 'Expence of the other, becauſe Juſtice is due to one as well as Charity to 'the other; the Honour of the King who is living, is concern'd in the Reproach, and His Majeſty ought no more to ſuffer, than thoſe Perſons who 'now are ſo; if the Enquiry is ungenerous upon the Dead, it is owing to

'thoſe

'thoſe who have firſt aſſerted the King, and made theſe Reflections be abſo-
'lutely neceſſary to His Majeſty's Vindication.

But, my Lord, that I may ſteer a middle Courſe between theſe two Extremes, I beg Leave to repeat ſome of the Matters of Fact which obliged His Majeſty to change Hands ſo ſoon, and which, by the frequent Complaints which came before His Majeſty ſo often, made him ſhew his Diſpleaſure; and albeit I may hint at ſome few, yet I ſhall forbear, as much as poſſible, the Names of any, and the rather becauſe I am ſatisfy'd, *ſays he*, your Lordſhip knows the Perſons by the Story.

'He then aſk'd his Lordſhip if he did not remember a Complaint againſt
'Sir *F*—— *S*——*d*, for that a Gentleman had bought of my Lord a Place
'in the Houſhold, and paid 250*l.* for it; and that when he came, by Ap-
'pointment, to be introduced, there was no ſuch Employment ever heard
'of. That another had bought and paid for a Place of conſiderable Value,
'upon Information that the Perſon who had the Place before was dead, who
'was ſo far from being dead, that he had not been indiſpoſed in the leaſt,
'or abſented one Day from the Duty of his Employ; that when the great
'Lord was told of the Thing, he pretended to know nothing of it, and
'ſent them back to Sir *F*—— *S*——, who had receiv'd the Money in his
'Lordſhip's Name; who ſhuffled it back again to my Lord, and he to a
'Third, till the People were ruin'd by the Want of their Money and long
'Attendance.

'His Lordſhip did not deny theſe Things, but ſaid they were but an Ex-
'ample or two; that there would always be Miſtakes and little By-Steps, a-
'mong the Courtiers of every Side, one as well as the other. This moved
'the ancient Perſon to tell his Lordſhip, that had the Examples been few,
'he would have been of his Mind, that it was not worth Notice, and that
'it would have juſtify'd his repeating them; neither would it have been a
'ſufficient Reaſon why the King found himſelf obliged to diſcard and throw
'out the Perſons who acted in ſuch a Manner; but it was well known to his
'Lordſhip that theſe Things were grown to ſuch a Height, that the very
'Co—t became ſcandalous, and the Enemies of the Revolution began to open
'their Mouths, and that with juſt Reaſon; THAT His Majeſty was juſtly
'provoked at it, and taking up a Reſolution both to reſent what was paſt,
'and to prevent the like, he found it ſo univerſally to affect thoſe, who for
'the former Reaſons he had thought to be his beſt Friends, that it exceed-
'ingly troubled him, and at laſt brought him to the Neceſſity of diſplacing
'ſome of the moſt eminent.

'He told his Lordſhip, that for the Reaſons mentioned before, he would
'not name the Perſon to every Action, but that in general his Lordſhip
'might remember how far the whole Court was corrupted, how almoſt every
'Thing but the King himſelf, *and ſome thought that Exception needleſs*, was
'bought and ſold; few Places given, or Favours obtain'd, but for Money;
'and oftentimes Places ſold, and the Poſſeſſors turn'd out, without any Of-
'fence, to make good the Sale, and then trifling Occaſions found out to
'diſpoſſeſs the new Purchaſers, to reſtore the old ones, and get MORE

'MONEY; Places ſold Two or Three Times over, and then Abatements 'obtain'd, before Men could get their Money again; he inſtanced in the 'Band of Penſioners in the Government of *Ireland*, after the Settlement of 'it, in the Houſhold, in the Treaſury, and in ſeveral other Caſes, too long 'to be repeated.

'He went on to recite ſome ſome particular Caſes, which, for the Reputa-'tion of ſome Men living, I forbear to repeat; how the King was impos'd 'upon to advance whoever thoſe Men directed, and what Price they made 'of their Favours to thoſe who they were obtain'd for; how at laſt they 'came that Length, that if his Majeſty did not gratify them in every Thing 'they deſir'd, they would obligingly threaten to leave him; telling him, 'how neceſſary they were to him; how great their Intereſt was in the Coun-'try; they had, in ſhort, the Face to hint, that they not only made him 'King, but that they kept the Crown upon his Head; a Thing which the 'great Genius of the King could not ſtoop to: It was no Wonder that his 'Majeſty watch'd his Opportunity to let them know they were miſtaken, and 'that he could reign without them.

When he had gone thro' this Part of the Complaint, he proceeded to mention the Conduct of thoſe great Men to the King in Perſon, how they continually importuned him for additional Places, threw back upon him as an Argument, or rather a Reproach, their former Services and Sufferings; and that ONE came to that Pitch as to tell his Majeſty, almoſt in plain Terms, that he had never been King but for him; and that he did not think himſelf ſuitably rewarded, tho' he poſſeſs'd at that Time about 3000 *l. per Annum* in Places; and had ſo ſenſible an Influence, and became ſo popular by the King's Favour, as to have the Court of the Mob made to him, and to obtain the Name of *King of Hearts*.

He then aſk'd his Lordſhip, if he did not remember how upon the continued Importunity of the ſaid KING OF HEARTS, his Majeſty became ſo uneaſy, that he told him one Day, *He would be glad that Lord would put all his Demands into one Head, that he might ſee if the whole Kingdom could ſatisfy him.* That upon the firſt Thing that ever his Majeſty thought fit to deny to another great Lord, he returned ſhort upon the King, that he was very ſorry his Service was not agreeable to his Majeſty, and begg'd his Majeſty's Leave to retire into the Country; to which the King, to his Surprize, aſſenting, he withdrew with ſcarce Reſtraint enough upon his Paſſion, to preſerve him in his Duty: How upon this Lord's Diſguſt, another came to his Majeſty, and made him the like Complaint: To whom his Majeſty return'd nothing but this; that ſeeing that his Lordſhip was going from the Court, it would be proper to leave his KEY behind him.

His Lordſhip ſmiled at the Hearing all this, and only replied, two or three Times as he went on, that Sir ——— had a good ill-natured Memory.

The Relator proceeded to what I did not expect to hear; but, *ſays he*, 'Your Lordſhip knows very well, that this is not all; for that ſome of theſe 'Men did not content themſelves, to treat the King in this Manner, but

'went

'went yet farther *(viz.)* to carry their Diſcontents to ſome private Conſulta-
'tions, for the forming another Revolution, and to let the King know, that
'it was more in their Power, to make him uneaſy, than he thought of.
'Your Lordſhip is not ignorant who they were that went this length; nay,
'more than that, who was the Man, who diſcovered this wicked Part firſt
'to the King, and what Acknowledgment his Majeſty made to him
'for it.

'But I have gone far enough, *ſays the Relator*, the Indemnity having buryed
'all theſe Things in forgetfulneſs, I ſhall not uncover the Carcaſes of the De-
'ceaſed, any farther than Neceſſity obliges me, beſides, *ſays he*, your Lord-
'ſhip knowing all theſe Things to be true, I need but juſt name them,
'that alſo being ſufficient to anſwer the Complaints of thoſe People, who
'object againſt the King's employing *Jacobites*, and paſſing an Act of In-
'demnity. For, my Lord, *ſays he*, you may here ſee the true Reaſon (1)
'why the King was obliged to employ other People, and (2) why many of
'thoſe who came over with him, and were forwardeſt in the Revolution,
'were ſo ſoon his Majeſty's Enemies, and flew in his Face, oppoſing all his
'Meaſures, and giving him all the Uneaſineſs poſſible, that is to ſay, that hav-
'ing treated him in ſuch a Manner as above, and having thereby made them-
'ſelves intolerable to him, they filled our Ears with Complaints of the King's
'employing other People, which it is evident his Majeſty did not, till having
'firſt employed theſe, in all the moſt conſiderable Poſts of the Government,
'as well for Profit as for Truſt; they had taken ſo many Ways as I have
'now mention'd to inform him, that they were not to be depended upon,
'and that however they might deſerve well of the Government by *Suffering*,
'they would never deſerve well by *Doing*; that however they had been ill
'uſed under the old Government, they did not thereby appear qualified to
'be concern'd in the new.

'His Lordſhip ſeeming to reſent the firſt Part of this Diſcourſe, could not
'be brought to do ſo to the laſt, which made *the Relator* re-aſſume his
'Diſcourſe. I forgot my Lord, *ſaid he*, to hint to your Lordſhip, that
'there was one Thing done by theſe Men, which gave the King great
'Diſtaſte in the Beginning of his Reign, which was their continued puſhing
'at Pluralities of Places, that albeit they were as above put into all the great
'Poſts of Honour, Truſt, and Profit, in the Government, yet they were
'continually preſſing and importuning his Majeſty for more Places, not only
'for their Friends, *as is before noted*, but for themſelves. This your Lord-
'ſhip knows his Majeſty had a particular Averſion to, and *added he*, your
'Lordſhip cannot but remember, how warmly his Majeſty expreſſed himſelf
'on that Head, once on the Occaſion of the *Lord Sidney*, preſſing for a certain
'Addition to his Places, he had been made a Peer, and Secretary of State,
'and had the firſt Regiment of Guards given him, together with a Grant of
'*Greenwich Park* and Houſe, and ſeveral other Things, but deſired to be
'Maſter of the Ordnance alſo, which he did obtain afterwards, yet his Ma-
'jeſty ſtood out a long Time, and particularly told his Lordſhip, that he had
'many Reaſons which made him averſe to Emulations of Places, that he

'thought

'thought it look'd as if they were not *Saving*, but *Devouring* the Kingdom, 'as if they had made a Conqueſt, and were falling on the Prey, that it 'ſtreighten'd him alſo in conſidering other People, who he had Reaſon to 'ſay had much Merit, and ought to have ſome Expectation alſo; but *be-* '*ſides*, he thought it would in the End create Jealouſy and Uneaſineſs in the 'People, and that if they did not think hard of him, (the King) they would 'be ſure to do ſo of the Gentlemen themſelves; *that* they would be re- 'proach'd with aim'd at aggrandizing themſelves, and ſeeking their private 'Advantages not the publick Good; that heaping many Offices upon one 'Man, was generally of evil Conſequence to the Perſon, and brought with 'it the Enmity of thoſe who went without them, and expoſed Men to many 'Reflections; not to mention the Inconveniencies, which attended the Go- 'vernment itſelf, from ſuch a Practice.

'It ſeems my Lord, *ſays the Relator*, theſe Things, however pungent, did 'not affect my Lord *Sidney*, ſo as make him abate his Importunities, or 'that his Majeſty tied himſelf up ſo ſtrictly, as to deny his Lordſhip what 'he then ſought: Nay, he obtained after that to be Deputy or Viceroy of '*Ireland*. But the King having declared himſelf ſo openly at that Time, and 'afterwards on another Occaſion of like Nature, was a Means to prevent 'the Importunities of a great many Courtiers, who were, before that, re- 'ſolved to loſe nothing for Want of aſking for: After that Time they ceaſed 'puſhing at that Rate they did before; which was very much to his Ma- 'jeſty's Satisfaction.

'The noble Lord, I have mentioned, joined with this latter Part of the 'Diſcourſe with great Freedom, and ſaid *it was true:* The King had ſome 'Difficulty with his Courtiers upon that Head; and that the Importunity of 'ſome Men, for heaping Place upon Place, were very ſcandalous and offen- 'ſive; and indeed, ſays his Lordſhip, I think it is one of the worſt Things 'that attends any Court, but eſpecially this of *England*, that Men when they 'deſerve well of their Prince, and of their Country, know how to do any 'Thing better, than how to be ſatisfied with ſuch Rewards as are ſuitable to 'their Services, and to their Merit; but the Favour of their Prince is thought 'to be an Advantage which they ought to make uſe of to improve their 'Eſtates only, and to make a Prey of their Country, puſhing at every thing 'they can make themſelves Maſters of. This ſcandalous Practice, *continued* '*he*, has often been the Ruin of the greateſt Favourites; and never fails to 'fill the People with Diſcontents and Uneaſineſs, at leaſt at thoſe Favourites, 'if not at their Maſters; as was the Caſe of Cardinal *Woolſey* and *Henry* the 'Eighth, the Earl of *Leiceſter* and Queen *Elizabeth*, the Earl of *Somerſet* 'and King *James* the Firſt, the Duke of *Buckingham* and King *Charles* the 'Firſt, and of many others both before and ſince.

'Nor, ſaid his Lordſhip, does it fall out thus, but the publick Reproaches 'affect the Sovereign himſelf: Who albeit the Error lies in the avaritious 'Favourite, graſping too eagerly, where a good and gracious Maſter is loth 'to deny him any thing. Yet the publick Murmurings oftentimes are point- 'ed at the ſaid Sovereign himſelf, who is thought wanting to his Crown

'and

'and Dignity, in not reſtraining his Bounty, and in not limiting his Fa-
'vours by the Dimenſions of the Perſons Merits, *which oftentimes is narrow*
'*enough*, rather than by his own Royal Goodneſs; the Favourite, *continues*
'*he*, has but ſmall Regard to the Reputation of his Maſter's Judgment, as
'well as to his own, who will accept of any exorbitant Grant which he
'muſt know is ſuperior to the Character he bears, and to the Services he has
'been able to perform, becauſe he knows it will open the Mouths of the
'People againſt his ſaid Maſter, as well as againſt himſelf, and therefore,
'*ſays he*, it was that many People blam'd the late E. of *P——d* for Con-
'triving a Grant for himſelf ſo great, that the Houſe of Commons took
'Umbrage at, and addreſs'd the King not to paſs it. It is true, ſaid his
'Lordſhip, the Earl of *Po——d*, had deſerv'd very well of the King, and
'alſo of the whole Nation, and no Man would have thought hard, that he
'ſhould be rewarded with ſomething very conſiderable; but when the De-
'mand came to that Height, as to ſeek what neither the Crown ought to
'beſtow, or any Subject leſs than the Heir Apparent, to receive, *(viz.)* the
'Revenues of the Principality of *W——s*. This ſeem'd to reflect ſo much
'on the Modeſty of the Perſon to receive it, that it was very ill taken by
'Abundance of People, it brought Envy and hard Thoughts with it on the
'Ea—; and I have heard, *ſaid he*, ſome ſought to improve it to a Reproach
'upon the Conduct of the King himſelf.

After theſe Things had been thus largely diſcours'd, and many People of the ſecret Hiſtory of thoſe Times laid open by this Gentleman, which I omit, becauſe it does not relate to the Subject which I am now diſcourſing of, but perhaps may be uſeful on a farther Occaſion, which may follow this Part. My Lord having finiſh'd his Diſcourſe of Pluralities of Offices in the State, turning to the Gentleman mention'd before, ſaid his Lordſhip, but Sir, —— pray give me Leave to aſk you one brief Queſtion, What do you infer from all that has been ſaid; do you hereby argue, that King *William* ought to have employed thoſe Men in the Adminiſtration, who had been guilty of the Maleverſation of the preceding Reign; or do you repeat this invidiouſly, by Way of Reproach, upon the Memory of the Perſons, or Party, who were immediately concern'd? If either of thoſe is what you aim at, I have ſomething farther to enquire, but firſt deſire you will explain yourſelf: The Gentleman reply'd, without the leaſt Heſitation, thus: *Your Lordſhip cannot infer that either of theſe is the Meaning of my Diſcourſe.* I think it is very evident, that the Publick are under great Miſtakes about the Conduct of the King and People, and go away with Reproach in their Thoughts upon his Character, conceiving Prejudice in their Minds againſt his Majeſty's Prudence and Wiſdom, if not againſt his Sincerity, for want of remembering what was done by him before the Time in which what they ſpeak of was tranſacted.

It cannot reaſonably be imagin'd, that a Prince of ſuch Penetration as was King *William*, could be ſo overſeen as to put the Government of the Kingdom IMMEDIATELY, *Pray my Lord obſerve the Words*, I ſay, immediately into the Hands of that very Sett of People, who had endeavour'd to diſpoſſeſs him of his Power; this had been to have built up with one Hand, and to have pull'd

pull'd down wtth another; and to have put a Mark of Infamy upon the Revolution itſelf, and to have acted againſt himſelf; and truly, my Lord, ſaid he, it has ſeem'd very wonderful to me, that ſo inconſiſtent a Notion ſhould have prevail'd ſo much on the Thoughts of Men, to the Prejudice of his Majeſty's Wiſdom in a Thing ſo ſecret, and which your Lordſhip and ſo many Thouſands now living are Witneſſes to; 'tis not therefore the Queſtion, *added he*, Whether the King did well in employing theſe Men; but whether he did not, before one of them was employed, put himſelf and the whole Adminiſtration into other Hands, and whether he was not obliged by their ill Conduct, their Avarice, their engroſſing Pluralities of Places, their Corruption, Extortion, and other bad Practices in the Government. If this Part is true, as I believe, I have made evident to your Lordſhip: Then, *my Lord*, all the Reflections that are made upon the King for employing King *James*'s old Inſtruments, falls to the Ground, and this is one Part of what is intended by looking back to theſe Things.

But, my Lord, ſays this Relator, there is yet another material Thing couch'd in theſe Things, which, tho' your Lordſhip is apprized of, yet there may be many People who know nothing of it; and this relates to the Charge which ſome froward Men bring againſt his Majeſty, for paſſing a general Pardon, in which, beſides what your Lordſhip has obſerv'd from King *William*'s own Mouth, of his Majeſty's Deſire to put all his Subjects into a Condition to make amends for their former Miſcarriages, and give them Opportunity to deſerve well of him for the future, I ſay; beſides, I wiſh your Lordſhip would recollect your Memory in the Particulars following:

1. Whether in that Part, which I mention'd juſt now, relating to the Conduct of ſome of thoſe People who his Majeſty firſt intruſted, and wherein I hinted that they enter'd into dangerous Conſultations for the ſhewing their Reſentments; ſome of them had not brought themſelves into a Condition, which made them ſtand more in need of a general Pardon, than even *Jefferies* himſelf, or any of the People, who, they ſay, were the Inſtruments of King *James*'s Arbitrary Government.

2. Whether the general Pardon, which was iſſu'd by the King, immediately following the Revolution, was not a Condition of the private Accommodation made between the King and theſe Men, who, having been made ſenſible of their Error, and being in the Hands of the moſt generous Prince in the World, were receiv'd into Favour, contrary to their Expectation, as well as to their Merit; and whether that Pardon, however it ſeem'd to be, for King *James*'s People and Reign, was not obtain'd by ſome of theſe very Men, whoſe Party not knowing the Occaſion, made ſuch loud Complaints of the Unreaſonableneſs of the King's Clemency, clamour'd for Juſtice upon Offenders, little dreaming who ought to be the firſt that ſhould have felt the Effect of it.

My Lord ſeem'd ſurpriz'd at this Part, and would have been thought not to have heard of it before; but the Relator gave him a Circumſtance, and Three Names of the Great Men, which I muſt not repeat, which made it evident to the Company, that his Lordſhip was too well acquainted with the

the Caſe, to need any Information, upon which his Lordſhip appearing in ſome Confuſion, ſaid, they were Things not to be ſpoken of.

The Relator, as if he thought himſelf a little injur'd in that Reſtraint, aſk'd his Lordſhip's Pardon for differing with him in that Point, becauſe he ſaid the King was cenſur'd for that very Action, which the Crimes of thoſe Men extorted from his Clemency; and his Majeſty kept the Secret to his own Prejudice, he did not think any Man that had a Value for his Majeſty's Honour and Character, ſhould ſuffer it to be bury'd with him, and that were he to go to the Bottom of theſe Matters, which could not be in a private Converſation, he could let him know, that the Treatment which his Majeſty receiv'd from theſe Men was ſuch as was inconſiſtent, not only with their Duty, but even with their Principles, on which the Revolution itſelf was founded, and that he wonder'd to hear any Man that knew theſe Things, ſhould blame the King for employing other Hands; that for his Part, the only Thing that he could blame the King's Conduct in, was, that he ſuffer'd theſe Things to be huſh'd up, and bury'd his Reſentment in Silence, which, ſaid he, your Lordſhip knows very well, was not for want of a Senſe of the ungrateful and diſhoneſt Part of it, but from a wiſe Reflection upon the Conſequences of it, which muſt have been fatal to the Perſons, and muſt have left the Revolution naked and friendleſs; the King not knowing in that Surprize, what Sort of People to take by the Hand next, he foreſaw a furious War coming on the *Engliſh* Nation, which was unſettled; ſeveral that have appear'd for the Revolution had yet oppos'd the placing the Crown on his Head, and proteſted againſt it in the Houſe of Peers. The *French* were powerful both by Sea and Land, their Fleet equal to the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, tho' join'd together; their Land Forces, made up of *Veteran* Troops, almoſt as numerous as all the Standing Forces of Chriſtendom. *Ireland* was in a Tumult, King *James* preparing to land there; the Proteſtants diſtreſs'd in the North of *Ireland*, and driven out of all their Strength, but *London-Derry* and *Inniſkilling*; the Highlands of *Scotland* not reduc'd, and the Army on that Side no Match for them; theſe and many other Things moved his Majeſty's Prudence to cover his Reſentment at the Conduct I have mention'd, and to haſten out a Pardon, that all Sides being made eaſy, the whole Body of the People might ſtand upon even Terms, and have an Opportunity put into their Hands to deſerve well of the King, and thoſe that had been culpable might have an Occaſion to retrieve their Miſtakes by better Conduct. If any of theſe made Uſe of the King's Clemency, to encourage them in new Deſigns againſt their Country, their Guilt was the greater; but I cannot ſee how the King can with Juſtice be reproach'd, the Circumſtances in which his Affairs ſtood being conſider'd; if his Clemency was too great, it was in not relating the Conduct of thoſe Men, as much as in not puniſhing King *James*'s People.

But, my Lord, ſaid this Gentleman, the ſubſequent Conduct of the King will farther clear up this Matter, and will prove paſt Contradiction what I have already obſerv'd; for that when his Majeſty had found Reaſon to change Hands, and diſmiſs many of thoſe People, who, as I ſaid before, had been

firſt entruſted, and had uſed him ſo ill, he did not even then make an effectual thorough Change, but put in Men of the ſame Stamp as thoſe were who were diſmiſs'd, having an Averſion always to the hot Men of the other Side; neither was it till the Year 1691, which was almoſt three Years after the *Revolution*, that they came into any conſiderable Poſts; nor had it been ſo then, if the ill Conduct of the other People had not brought them to loſe Ground, and given their Enemies Opportunity to form that which is now call'd *The Country Party*; which *Country Party*, ſaid he, have ever ſince built themſelves up by the Miſtakes of the other, found Means to make themſelves neceſſary to the King, for the carrying on his Affairs in the Houſe of Commons, where they began to be formidable.

His Lordſhip criticized here upon the Time, and told him he thought he was miſtaken as to the Periods of Things, for that the King took in ſeveral of the People they were ſpeaking of, much ſooner than that; but, ſays he, *Who did he puniſh?*

The *Relator* reply'd, that his Lordſhip had given a very good Anſwer to that Queſtion himſelf, in the Words he had quoted from the King's own Mouth, and that he needed not a better Authority *(viz.)* That King *James* had made himſelf the SCAPE GOAT; and that he need not put his Lordſhip in Mind, that the SCAPE GOAT in the Old Law was to bear the Sins of the People, and be turned into the Wilderneſs; which Suffering was accepted by Heaven inſtead of a Puniſhment upon the People. So that it was evident His Majeſty's Meaning was, that King *James* having ſuffer'd the Loſs of his Crown, and the Diſpoſſeſſing of his ſuppoſed Poſterity, and the Baniſhment of himſelf and Family from his Dominions, was a ſufficient Sacrifice for all thoſe who adhered to him: That beſides this, ſome who fled with the King were proſecuted to a Final Baniſhment from their Country, and have continued under that Sentence to this Hour; and the Lord *Dartmouth* and Lord *Jefferies* were kept Priſoners in the *Tower* to the Time of their Death, though without any Proſecution; which however is a kind of putting to Death: So that his Lordſhip could not ſay there was no Puniſhment, tho' there was not much Blood ſpilt.

As to the Chronology of his Diſcourſe, he told his Lordſhip that he referr'd to the Hiſtory of the Times they were talking of; and that the Taking the People his Lordſhip named into Service, ſtood thus:

Sir *John Trevor*, ſworn of the Privy Council; not till after he was choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, *viz. January* 1, 1690.

The Admirals were not appointed till after Lord *T———n* (tho' the Man that had brought the King over) had, as was generally believ'd, fail'd of his Duty, and, as the King believed, had betray'd the *Dutch* Admiral into the Hands of the *French*; or, for Want of Courage, abandoned him. The New Admirals were Sir *John Aſhby*, Sir *Richard Haddock*, and Mr. *Killigrew*; appointed *Auguſt* the 9th, 1690.

The firſt Great Remove of *Revolution Officers* was made *April* the 25th, 1691.

Colonel

Colonel *Kirk*, one of King *James*'s Officers, after faithfully relieving *Londonderry*, when Colonel *Richards* had baſely neglected it; and after faithfully and gallantly behaving at the *Boyne*, *July* 1, 1690, was not made a General Officer till the 31ſt of *Auguſt* 1691.

The Earl of *Rocheſter*, *Ranelagh*, Lord *Cornwallis*, and Sir *Edward Seymour*, notwithſtanding the Indemnity, were not received till *March* the 6th, 1691, and the reſt in their Order; ſo that, as he ſaid, the Adminiſtration of the Government reſted in the Hands of the *Revolution Party* above two Years; but that, *ſaid he*, which was farther to be remark'd was, that the King did not take thoſe Steps in thoſe Removes, till the other People had by their Miſmanagement ſo diſguſted the Kingdom, that their Intereſt declin'd manifeſtly, as appear'd in the Houſe of Commons, from which Change it was thought the King guided moſt of his Meaſures; and therefore he ſaid, his Lordſhip, if theſe Things were examined more nicely, would not find that he had been miſtaken in his Reckoning at all.

His Lordſhip ſeem'd not willing to enter farther into this Diſcourſe; but told him, he did not think to have ſpoken ſo much of theſe Affairs at that Time; that he was ſorry to hear ſome Part of his Diſcourſe, being in Hopes many of thoſe Things had been buried in Oblivion; that it was true, it was very frequent in the Mouths of the People, that the Pardon granted by the King was a Favour only to the *Jacobite* Party, and he had often join'd in it, not calling to mind that particular Circumſtance, which though it had ſome Truth in it, yet had never made much Noiſe, nor did he think it could be of any Uſe to revive it.

The Relator reply'd, he was as willing to forget Miſtakes as his Lordſhip, and would be as cautious of repeating theſe Things as poſſible, except when he heard the King reproach'd as a Breaker of his Engagements, and as one diſregarding his own Declaration; and that then he could not in Juſtice reſtrain himſelf from ſo clear a Vindication of his Majeſty's Conduct, which he thought was his Duty as a Subject.

After this the Buſineſs of the Day calling them off for ſome Time, we had no more of that Diſcourſe; but at our next Meeting, there being not a ſufficient Number of the Company met to go upon their Affairs, the Diſcourſe of theſe Things was demanded, wherein the whole Secret of the famous Debate, about breaking the Army, was taken Notice of; in which *this Relator* gave a ſurpriſing Account of the firſt Conſultation on that Affair, and how the greateſt Part of thoſe who fell upon the King on account of a Standing Army, were of the Number of thoſe very Men who were moſt intenſe in the *Revolution*; and many of them ſuch as the King having firſt employed, he had been obliged to diſmiſs again for their ill Conduct.

There he gave us an Account of the Anſwer which his late Majeſty gave to thoſe Officers of the Army, who offered Him to turn the Pa———t out of Doors, and make him an Abſolute King; and how the King generouſly choſe, however unkindly he thought himſelf uſed, to give up all his Friends and all his Forces, rather than to make the leaſt Encroachment on the Liberties of the Subject.

He gave us alſo a ſecret Hiſtory of the Offer made by the ſelect Number of *Engliſh* Gentlemen to his Majeſty, for the Raiſing the 10,000 Men for the *Dutch* by private Subſcription; that at the Beginning of the laſt War the *States General* being inſulted by the *French*, preſs'd ſo earneſtly for that Supply, according to the Treaty made with them in 1676, by King *Charles* II. and that His Majeſty had in vain moved it three Times in the Houſe of Commons.

He told us on what Foot that Project was laid, who were the Perſons concern'd in it, who was ſent over to *Holland* about it, what Anſwer was given to it, and why it was not accepted at that Time.

He entered into a particular Scheme of the King's Meaſures for the New War, and how his Majeſty thought it ought or ought not to be carried on; and eſpecially the King's Reaſons for, and Opinion of, the Recovery of *Spain*.

He gave us a Plan of the Deſign his Majeſty had laid for a *South-Sea* Company, by a Conqueſt on the Continent of *America*, as well on the Gulph of *Mexico*, as on the Coaſt of the *South-Sea*; upon the Foot whereof that Clauſe was inſerted in the Grand Alliance, That whatever the *Engliſh* conquered in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies* ſhould be their own.

But as I have not Room for theſe Things in this ſhort Tract, and alſo that they do not relate to the Tranſactions of *The ONE YEAR*, to which I am confined by my Title, I reſerve theſe Things, and ſeveral others equally inſtructing, to a farther Occaſion, if a Second Part of this Affair ſhould be thought fit to be publiſhed.

To conclude this brief Hiſtory I obſerve, That it ſhould ſeem, if theſe Things are true, that in this Age we are under very great Miſtakes concerning the true State of Affairs in the Firſt Years of the *Revolution* of 1688, and Conduct of King *William* in the Beginning of his Reign, but that we are quite wrong in all our Notions of the Behaviour of theſe Men, whom we eſteem famous for their Concern in that great Tranfaction of the *Revolution* of 1688; and that many of them did not act with that diſintereſted View for the Good of their Country, as they are generally ſuppoſed to have done.

3. That aggrandizing themſelves, engroſſing Favours, multiplying Places, and carrying on Party Intereſt, appeared to be the Sum of their Deſigns; and that many of them too much purſued theſe Things, at the Expence of their Country's Tranquility, if not at the Expence of their own Morals.

4. That the Scandal raiſed upon the Conduct of the King, for having pardoned thoſe for the Concern they had for the Management of Affairs under King *James*, is altogether unjuſt; and that there is more in that Affair than the World has been made acquainted with.

That by theſe unjuſt Managements, the great Opportunity of cruſhing the evil Spirit of Diviſion and Diſſenſion in *England*, and fixing us all in a peaceable and unanimous Concurrence with, and Subjection to, a Juſt and Glorious King, was loſt.

The Life of ARISTIDES *the* Athenian; *who was decreed to be baniſhed for his Juſtice.*

Tranſlated from an ARABICK Manuſcript; ſuppos'd to be written Originally in GREEK, by *THEOPHRASTUS.*

Dublin, Printed in the Year 1714.

Thus where the Rabble *rule, the* Great, *th'* Inſlave;
And Vertue's *Self's Deſtructive to the* Brave.

Vide PLUT. *Lives.*

The PREFACE.

'*TIS the Faſhion to write PREFACES, both to our own Works, and to other Men's*; * S——m *and* St. † A——h *have done the former, and the Learned* ‖ *Mr.* F——h *the latter: And I ſee no Reaſon, why I ſhou'd not do it as well as they, except it be, that I am not in the Number of the Diſaffected, and 'tis a thouſand Pities but I were: For ſurely I have now before me the happieſt Opportunity of Railing at the Government, and making rueful Prognoſticks, that ever true Lover of Liberty was bleſs'd with.*

We had (might I ſay)
We had delightful Proſpects ———
We had full Hopes, that ——
We had Hopes, that ———
We had not the leaſt Doubt, but ——
Nay! we had ev'n reckon'd upon't as a ſure Blow, that ——

But now inſtead of all this;
We have not any Hope ———
We have no Hopes, that ———
We have not the leaſt Proſpect ——
Nay! we have not any Expectation of ever living to ſee it otherwiſe. —
Our Enemies will tell the reſt with Pleaſure.

But now, to the Merits of my AUTHOR; I need not tell the Letter'd World, *that the Learning of* Greece *was, in a great Meaſure, tranſlated into* Italy; *and that it ſuffer'd greatly there, in the Common Ruin, from the Incurſions of the* Goths *and* Vandals; *as the Remains of it at* Athens, *and other learned Cities, did afterwards, from the barbarous Invaſions of the* Saracens. *And as much of the* Roman *Learning, has been recover'd from the* Tramontane, *and more Northern Nations of* Europe, *where the Lumber was left, as the Swarm re-*

* Sarum. † Aſaph. ‖ French.

turn'd;

turn'd; ſo the loſt *Learning of* Greece, *is chiefly to be expected from the* Eaſt: Ariſtotle *travell'd thither long ago; and in all Probability his Scholar,* Theophraſtus, *attended him; tho' he had not the ſame good Fortune in returning: I don't doubt therefore, but the* World *will now be exceedingly rejoiced at the Recovery, of even theſe ſmall Remains of that Great Man; and that I, the EDITOR, will have the Bleſſings of late Poſterity, for my Piety towards him.—— But, becauſe 'tis perhaps no Secret, how I came by this precious Piece: I don't care if I tell the* World *that I had it from a Traveller who lately ſojourn'd in this City, in his Way to* London. *He was a Man of middle Age, and ruddy Complexion; he commonly appear'd wrapt up in a* Graſier's *Coat, with a remarkable Scar upon his Noſe, occaſion'd (as he ſaid) by the* Plague, *which broke out upon him in that Part: By his own Account he had liv'd Fifteen Years in* Conſtantinople, *were he met with this* Manuſcript *in the Hands of a learned* Cadi; *who, contrary to the Practice of his* Brethren *of the* Bench, *propos'd* Ariſtides *as his Pattern in all his judicial Deciſions; and, as a ſpecial Mark of his Favour, allow'd* our Traveller, *who was very well ſkill'd in the* Arabick, *(which, he ſays, is the Learned Language of the* Turks) *to take a Copy of* it: *And* He, *as an Acknowledgement of the Humanity, with which I had the Happineſs to entertain him at his Arrival in this City, made me a Preſent of* that *Copy: And what is more, enabled me to make a* Preſent *to the* World *of it, by inſtructing me in that* Language, *and helping me to render it into my* own. *And now the only remaining Difficulty is, how to reconcile the* Criticks *to the Truth of this Diſcovery. And, perhaps the Genius of this Treatiſe, will be a better Argument of its being written by* Theophraſtus, *than any Thing I can ſay in Proof of it; but, if this won't do, I here declare upon the Honour of an* EDITOR, *that I—— ay, but hold ſay they,* Plutarch has written the Life of *Ariſtides,* and you have told us a Thouſand Things here, that *Plutarch* does not ſay one Word of — *And where's the Wonder of that,* ſay I? Theophraſtus *liv'd ſome Hundreds of Years nearer the Truth than* Plutarch, *and 'tis a hard Caſe if he cou'd not know more of it — Well, but, ſay they —* Plutarch *quotes* Theophraſtus *in the Life of* Ariſtides; *and yet he mentions none of theſe Things.— Nay, nay, Sirs, there I have you faſt —— For if* Plutarch *quotes* Theophraſtus, *in Relation to* Ariſtides, *why then* Theophraſtus *wrote of* Ariſtides. *Therefore —— And if you ſay, that* Plutarch *mentions none of theſe Things, with humble Submiſſion I ſay You — for he mentions many of 'em; not all indeed, but who can help that? perhaps, tho' he quotes* Theophraſtus, *it is not this Part of his Works he refers to; and if it be, perhaps, he did not think it worth his while to relate the groſs Follies and Abſurdities of the* Little *Aſſembly of* Eubæa: *Or it may be, he thought 'em ſo monſtrous and incredible, that* Poſterity *would never believe him — Or, it may be, twenty other Things.——*

Ay, but ſay they, if Theophraſtus *had written this Treatiſe; ſurely* Suidas, *or* Diogenes Laertius, *or —— Why now, that I won't ſay one Word to. My whole Strength lies in ſomething that belongs to that Objection; and depend upon't, it ſhall never be diſcover'd till I meet with an* Adverſary *worthy of my* Might. *I throw this out as a* Bait *to catch the* Critics: *They think it a fair* Handle; *but*

but when they come to feel it, they'll find it a Hook; *and when I once get it into their* Gills, *you ſhall ſee how I'll play 'em.*

The Firſt *that I have in my Eye, is my Old Friend* M———w: *He'll but juſt glimpſe upon the* Title Page, *then ſkip over the* Preface, *and away to the* Body *of the* Book; *which he'll anſwer* Paragraph *by* Paragraph, *before ever he reads it through, or knows the Deſign of it; (for that's his Way) then ſays he,* ———

1ſt, I ſay and prove, that *Ariſtides* was ——
2dly, I ſay and prove, that *Ariſtides* was not ——
3dly, I ſay and prove, that *Ariſtides* liv'd ——
4thly, I ſay and prove, that *Ariſtides* did not live ——
5thly, I ſay and prove, that ——
6thly, I ſay and prove, that ——
7thly, I ſay and prove, that ——
8thly, I ſay and prove, that ——
9thly, I ſay and prove, that ——
10thly, I ſay and prove, that —— *and ſo on.*

Then again:

I am credibly inform'd, that the venerable Mr. *Plutarch*, and Mr. *Suidas*, do not conſent to the *Account* here given, that, *&c.*———

And laſtly;

If *Ariſtides* was ——— Why then *Ariſtides* was not:
But *Ariſtides* was not. ——— Therefore ———

Again:

If *Ariſtides* liv'd ——— then *Ariſtides* did not live.
But *Ariſtides* did not live. ——— Therefore ——

'ST! *not a Word: Let him go on till I have him faſt; and then, you ſhall ſee how I'll ſouce him; and I will ſo* pull *him, and* haul *him, and* tumble *him, and* touze *him: I'll ſo* up *him, and* down *him, and* dangle *him, and* dance *him; that he'll wiſh himſelf at the Bottom of the Sea: I'll* expoſe *him, more than ever he* expos'd *himſelf, (and that's a bold Word) Nay! I promiſe you, that I'll make him more* ridiculous *than he appear'd at the* Tholſel; *or even at the* Barr *of the* Houſe.

All my Fear is, that when I hang him at my Hook, *and ſhow him about for a* Gudgeon; *then the Wretch when he finds his Folly,* (I beg Pardon, that's impoſſible) *I mean, when all the World laugh at him for an* Oaph, *why then he'll publiſh a new Edition of his* Remarks, *(for that's to be the Title* ——) Some Remarks upon a late Book intituled, *&c. with a Correction of one* Error; *and then the* Witty *Word* Errata *at the Head of it; as a ſly, implicit Acknowledgment of all the* Blunders *that went before: But if that won't do; then will he collogue ſome poor* Sizer, *upon the Hopes of an* Exhibition, *to take*

the

the Nonſenſe *upon himſelf*; to the utter Ruin of his Reputation, and Advancement in the World.

And yet, after all this, he'll have the Aſſurance to ſay among his Friends, that if he could ſee this Manuſcript, then he'd try whether it were Truth: *For you muſt know, the* Wretch *is a great* Pretender *to the* Orientals, *though he does not yet underſtand the Punctuation of a* Hebrew *Pronoun.*

N. B. The reſt of this Preface is to be found at the End of the Tract —— that's New!

The LIFE *of* ARISTIDES.

ARISTIDES the *Athenian*, the Son of *Lyſimachus*, was of the Tribe of *Antiochis* and Borough of *Alopece*; he had his Education in the Law; and from his Youth up, apply'd himſelf with great Diligence to Publick Pleadings; which was then reckon'd the ſureſt, and moſt honourable Method, of arriving to the higheſt Dignities of the State: In which, by his ſingular Vertue, unweary'd Application, and great Abilities, he quickly acquir'd ſo great a Reputation for Eloquence and Integrity, that in the celebrated Controverſy betwixt the *People* and the *Thirty Tyrants*, *(a)* (where the Fate of *Athens* was the Prize) none were found throughout the whole State, of ſo much Courage and Reſolution, as openly to oppoſe the Inſolence of their Oppreſſors; beſides *Ariſtides*, his familiar Acquaintance *(b) Cleſthenes*, and one or two more.

His Friends did all they cou'd to diſſuade him from ſo hazardous an Undertaking: They repreſented it, as *deſperate and impracticable, beſeeching him*, with Tears in their Eyes, *not to engage in it: 'Twas impoſſible to ſave the State; and why ſhould he pull down inevitable Ruin upon himſelf and his Houſe.*

Ariſtides liſten'd to their Intreaties with great Atention; yet not in the leaſt mov'd from his Purpoſe: He thank'd them for their kind Concern, and friendly Advice; but begg'd they wou'd ſpare themſelves any farther Trouble upon that Subject. *For his Part, he always apprehended, that a good Citizen was born for his Country; and that if he fell in the Service of it, he had done his Duty. He was not inſenſible of the Danger that threaten'd him; but (c)* Athens *had engag'd all his Care, he could not fear for himſelf while that was at Stake.*

The Hiſtory of that *important* Controverſy is ſo well known, that I need not repeat it; 'tis ſufficient to ſay, the Event was (beyond all Expectation) anſwerable to the pious Reſolutions of thoſe generous *Patriots* that engag'd in the Defence of their *Religion* and *Liberty*; the *Tyrants* were expell'd, and the Government was again ſettled upon it's *Antient Baſis.*

From this Time, *Ariſtides* was ſo well eſtabliſh'd in the Affections of the People, and in the good Eſteem of the greateſt and moſt eminent Men of *Athens*, that he was thought worthy to be ſent ſoon after into *(d) Eubœa*,

(a) Thirty Tyrants, late Miniſtry.
(b) Sir Simon Harcourt.
(c) England.
(d) Ireland.

under

under the two honourable Characters of *One* of the *Chief Governours*, and *Firſt Archon* of that large and fruitful Iſland, ſituate in the *Ægean* Sea; and divided from *Attica* by the narrow Channel of the *Euripus*. The *High-Prieſt (e)* of the Place, a Man of eminent Piety, of excellent Knowledge, and great Experience, was join'd in Commiſſion with him.

Never was any Government more happily adminiſter'd; every Thing was eſtabliſh'd up to the Wiſhes of all good Men; Peace and Truth flouriſhed; Religion was reſtored to its antient Purity and Luſtre; Juſtice was admirably diſpatch'd, and impartially adminiſter'd; the Rights of the People were preſerved undiminiſh'd; and the *Injuries of former Times* were redreſs'd as far as poſſible.

'Tis ſaid of *Ariſtides*, that above all Politicians, he imitated and admir'd *Lycurgus*, the celebrated *Law-giver* of the *Lacedemonians:* He was a ſevere Adorer of Juſtice, and *ſteadily adher'd* to the *Conſtitution of Athens*, which was an *Ariſtocratical* Government. 'Twas his Opinion that a good Citizen, ought to offer himſelf to the Service of his Country unmercenary; and without the Reward, not only of Riches, but even of Glory itſelf: And therefore it was, that if at any Time, the Applauſe of his good Actions did not riſe up to the Merit of the Performance, he was perfectly unconcern'd; for he ſaid, " His Buſineſs was not to purſue Praiſe, but to perform laudable Actions. This diſintereſted Integrity was ſo very remarkable in him, that at the Recital of theſe Verſes of *Æſchylus*, in the *Theatre*, relating to *Amphiarias*.

He aims at being Good, not ſeeming ſo;
Profound of Mind, the Fruit thereof to ſhow;
Where ſage Advice, and prudent Counſels grow.

The Eyes of all the Spectators were converted on *Ariſtides*, as if this Vertue, did in a more eſpecial Manner appertain to Him; for He was a moſt undaunted Champion for Juſtice, not only againſt *Friendſhip* and *Favour*, but againſt *Wrath* and *Malice:* And this was that, of all His Virtues, with which the Vulgar were moſt affected, becauſe of its continual and common Uſe: And this alone is ſufficient to clear that Aſperſion, which his Enemies were ſo induſtrious to caſt upon Him, *Namely*, That He was of a violent and tyrannick Diſpoſition; for as much as the Divine Appellation of *Juſt*, is a Title inconſiſtent with ſuch a Diſpoſition; and ſuch, as no *Tyrant* was ever yet poſſeſs'd of, or ſought after. Not to mention, that tho' *Violence* was the general Charge, by which they labour'd to traduce Him; yet when they conſpir'd his Ruin, the greateſt, and almoſt the only Accuſation they brought againſt Him, was an Act of *(f)* Mercy.

Juſtice, makes ſuch as are in Proſperity, Power and Authority, to lead the *Life* of a *GOD*; the contrary, that of a *Beaſt*. *Ariſtides* therefore, had at firſt the Fortune to be lov'd and ador'd for his Sirname; but at length to be envy'd and malign'd. For when he firſt came into *Eubœa*, He was exceed-

(e) Archbiſhop of Tuam.
(f) Noli proſequi, *for* Lloyd.

ingly careſs'd by all Orders of Men in that Iſland; *but moſt by thoſe who cared leaſt for Him:* They even contended who ſhould pay Him the greateſt Proofs of Reſpect and Veneration; and did Him ſuch Honours, as were never before heard of, among any of his Predeceſſors in thoſe Stations.

But, at length, when they found on all Hands, that *Ariſtides* was not to be biaſs'd by all the Honours they could do Him; that he propos'd no other *End* but *the Welfare of* Eubæa; they thought it vain to expect He would ſerve their *Private Intereſt*, who had Himſelf no Intereſt ſeparate from the *Publick*. When they found that *Favour* and *Affection* were of no Force, they then apply'd themſelves to his *Fears*; in Hopes to work that by *Terror*, which they could not effect by *Kindneſs:* But, alas! *They never were ſo much miſtaken as here:* Fortitude and Juſtice were inſeperable in *Ariſtides*; He dreaded nothing but Diſhoneſty, and therefore he felt no *Fear*, becauſe he knew no *Guilt*.

Diſtracted and enraged at this Diſappointment, they conſpir'd his utter Deſtruction; and *(g) Molo*, a leading Man amongſt them, ſwore, *He wou'd have his Head.*

Whilſt Things were in this Condition at *Eubea*, *(h) Themiſtocles*, a Man of great Power and Intereſt at *Athens*, prevail'd ſo far with the *Ariſtocracy*, that he had Himſelf choſen ſole Governor of *Eubæa*, whither he arriv'd ſoon after. The Enemies of *Ariſtides* took Occaſion from hence to raiſe their Courage, and ſpeak with Confidence of their Succeſs againſt Him; inſomuch, that many, who had before flatter'd Him, *now* threw off the Maſk, and declar'd themſelves openly. They ſpread Abroad a Report, I won't ſay how juſtly, *(for Falſhood was, at that Time, arriv'd to the Refinement and Perfection of a very curious and ſubtle Science, both at* Eubæa *and* Athens) that *Themiſtocles*, the Son of *Neocles*, was *Ariſtides*'s certain Adverſary, *in Behalf of the Populacy.* Some ſaid, *That being Boys, and bred up together from their Infancy, they were always at Variance with each other, in all their Words and Actions, as well ſerious as divertive:* And from this Contention, they ſoon made Diſcovery of their natural Inclinations; the one being cloſe, adventurous, and ſubtle; the other of a very open and frank Diſpoſition; yet always intent upon the Exerciſe of Juſtice, not admitting in any Degree falſifying in Language or Deceit, no not ſo much as at Play.

Others did not ſtick to contradict this with great Confidence; affirming, *That* Themiſtocles *and* Ariſtides *had not any Acquaintance with one another, before that grand Conteſt betwixt the* People *and the* Tyrants *abovemention'd; and that then they were in one Intereſt: And ſince the* Faction *againſt* Ariſtides *were the known Adherents of thoſe* Tyrants, *they did not doubt but they continu'd in the ſame Intereſt ſtill.*

But here, to give a Light into this Part of the Relation, it will be neceſſary to look back a little higher into the Hiſtory of theſe Countries; where we ſhall find, that towards the *Forty-firſt Olympiad*, a deſperate Rebellion broke out at *Athens*; wherein the *Senate* were for the moſt Part murther'd or

(g) Moleſworth. (h) *Duke of* Shrewſbury.

expell'd;

expell'd; the Government was entirely overturn'd; all Laws, Humane and Divine, were violated after an unheard of Manner; and, in the Concluſion, the principal Rebel, *(i) Lewmorcos*, eſtabliſh'd himſelf ſole and abſolute *Tyrant* of *Athens*, and all the Dominions belonging to it: Who knowing that his Power could only be preſerv'd by the ſame Inſtruments, by which it was firſt acquir'd, engag'd all his Aſſociates to him by the ſtrongeſt Ties of Affection and Intereſt. He had greatly endear'd Himſelf to 'em by an open and kind Converſation, and by expoſing Himſelf upon all Occaſions of Danger and Difficulty, equally with the meaneſt of his Adherents; but above all, by rewarding them with Land, inſtead of Money, He had bound them eternally to his Service; becauſe that their Intereſt and his were from thenceforward inſeperable: They were therefore obliged to ſupport Him, ſince if he fell, 'twas unavoidable but they muſt fall with him. 'Twas upon this Policy that He depriv'd all thoſe that had oppos'd him of their Eſtates, and ſettled them upon thoſe that follow'd his Fortune, that they might ſtill be obliged to adhere to it: And becauſe the Forfeitures of *Attica* were but few in Compariſon, He was obliged to ſettle great Colonies of his Followers in *Eubæa*, a great Part of which was diſtributed among them.

And altho', after the Death of *Lewmorcos*, the Government was again *(k)* reſtored to its ancient Form; yet the *States* of *Athens* did not think it adviſeable to diſturb their Poſſeſſion; hoping, that this Indulgence wou'd engage their Affections, and bring them to be well diſpos'd towards the *Ariſtocracy*, by whoſe Favour they were allow'd to enjoy what they had acquired by *Rebellion* and *Uſurpation*: But, alas! they were miſtaken in the *Temper* of the *Men*. There is *a Malignity in ſome Diſpoſitions which no Kindneſs can conquer; and upon which Indulgence never yet had any other Effect, than to ſwell their Vanity, and raiſe their Inſolence to new Demands, and farther Expectations.* Like thoſe proud Excreſcences in ſome Sores, that baffle the Vertue of gentle Applications, and can never be brought to yield to any thing but *Cauſticks* and *Inciſions*.

Moſt of the *old Rebels* were now dead, but their Poſterity, for the moſt Part, did with their Fortunes inherit their Principles likewiſe; though indeed it muſt be own'd, that many of them deteſted and abhorred thoſe Principles; and by their ready Submiſſion, and ſincere Affection to the Government that was over them, made the beſt Atonement they cou'd for the Rebellion of their Anceſtors. And even thoſe that were Villains in their Hearts, were yet ſo far diſcountenanced by the Virtue and Authority of *Ariſtides*, that they thought it their Intereſt to conceal their Malice the beſt they cou'd; inſomuch that the *Old Leaven* ſeem'd to be now almoſt entirely worn out; till at the Arrival of *Themiſtocles*, a few *factious* and *malignant Spirits* ſet all again into a *new Ferment*.

Theſe were the Men, who under the Government of *(l) Duplos*, the *Son of a Rebel*, were preferr'd to the higheſt Honours in *Eubæa*; but after the Ex-

(i) Oliver Cromwell.
(k) The Reſtauration of the Royal Family.
(l) Lord Wharton.

pulſion of the *thirty Tyrants*, were again depos'd, and reduced to a private Condition.

One of theſe, named *(m) Ericos*, had been *Chief* of the *Ephetæ*, and after he was diſplac'd from that Truſt, for ſuffering (among other Crimes) grievous Treaſons againſt the State to go unpuniſh'd, was choſen *(n) Preſident of the Aſſembly of the People*; in which Station, no Man was ever better qualify'd, to carry on his own *Private Deſigns*, under the Pretext of the *Publick Good*. He was a very artful and popular Man, of great *ſeeming Sincerity* and *real Falſhood*: 'Twas common with him to make the deepeſt Proteſtations of his Integrity, *(o) That he had nothing at Heart but the Welfare of his bleeding Country; and if he could live to ſee that recover'd from the Diſtempers it groan'd under, he would be contented to die the next Moment.* And 'twas obſervable, that always when he made theſe *ſolemn Aſſeverations*, to ſhew his *Sincerity*, he laid his Hand upon his Heart; though it was well known, that Nothing he ever ſaid, came from thence; for he had the Picture of *Envy* in his Face, a certain *livid Paleneſs of Aſpect*, which betray'd his inward Thoughts, and contradicted every candid Thing he ſaid. With all his *Diſſimulation*, he had a very *boiſterous* and *precipitate Eloquence*, which he always employ'd upon all Things alike; running out with as much *Eagerneſs* and *Vehemence* upon the meaneſt Trifle, as he did upon Points of the higheſt Importance: And indeed it was the Perfection of his Oratory, to exaggerate every thing after an unaccountable Manner, to raiſe a *Mole-hill* to a *Mountain*; to ſwell any little Overſight or Omiſſion *in the Man he did not like*, into a Crime of an *enormous* and *gigantick Size*; and ſuch as threaten'd nothing leſs than the very Being of *Eubæa*. But it was quite otherwiſe when one of *his own Faction* came before him; upon thoſe Occaſions he was obſerv'd to be very *deaf*, and very *ſhort-ſighted*; you muſt ſpeak perhaps ten Times before he heard you; and when he did hear you, *'Tis true it was a raſh Action, or a giddy Expreſſion; indeed other People might ſee farther than he; but, for his Part, he cou'd not diſcern any great Harm in't: And truly, if People muſt be barr'd the Freedom of their Actions, and muſt not be allow'd to ſpeak their Thoughts, he cou'd not but think the* Liberties *of* Eubæa *were in a very miſerable Condition.* When this would not do, and the Crime was too flagrant to be gloſs'd over at that Rate, then a *nice Diſtinction*, and a *tender Regard for the Rights of the Subject*, was ſure to do the Work. One Time a *(p) factious Villain*, that had made himſelf very notorious for ſowing *Sedition* in the Iſland, was brought before *Ericos*; where it was prov'd, beyond all Poſſibility of Doubt, that he had publiſh'd and diſpers'd many *Treaſonable Writings*, tending to raiſe a Rebellion, and overturn the Government: *Ericos* heard all this with great Regret; and at length riſing up, very gravely enquir'd, *Whether it could be prov'd upon that Offender, that he knew how to read?* The Audience were very much ſurpriz'd at ſo ſtrange a Queſtion; knowing that *Ericos* himſelf

(m) Mr. Brodrick, *Lord Chief Juſtice of the Queen's Bench.*

(n) Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.

(o) This ſpoke by him the firſt Day of the ſitting, when he was choſen Speaker.

(p) Patrick Campbell.

was

was acquainted with the Man, and knew, as well as any Man living, that he had his Livelihood by an Employment, which no Man was ever known to undertake, that was altogether illiterate: However, that Doubt was eaſily got over; and when it was prov'd that he could read; why then, the Queſtion return'd, *Whether it could be proved that he had read that Book, for which he was accus'd? For if he could not, why then it could not be proved that he publiſh'd it with an evil Intention; and if he did not, ſurely no Man ought to be puniſh'd for doing an ill Thing, unleſs he did it with an ill Deſign.*

Another Time *(q)* a Fellow was brought before him, for *Crying up Reſiſtance againſt the Government* (though the Laws had expreſly forbid it) *and Swearing* (without any Manner of Provocation, without any Injury done him, or any likelihood of any) *That if the (r)* Ariſtocracy *ſhould touch his Property, he would cut their Throats.* This was thought a very heinous and intollerable Offence; and, indeed, Ericos *could not but own that it was ſo, if it was meant as People ſuppos'd: But after all, who knows what* Ariſtocracy *he meant? Did he mention the* Ariſtocracy *of* Athens; *or did he ſay* the Ariſtocracy? They anſwer'd, *That he ſaid only* the Ariſtocracy; *and they thought he need ſay no more, becauſe their Diſcourſe had been of no other* Ariſtocracy *but that of* Athens. *That proves Nothing,* ſaid *Ericos, he might have meant the* Ariſtocracy *of (s)* Ionia *for ought you know.* And truly ſo he might, for the *Ariſtocracy* of *Athens* was, at that Time, the Titular *Ariſtocracy* of *Ionia:* But however it happen'd, no Body took Notice of the Quibble at that Time; and ſo the Offender eſcap'd.

I thought this Digreſſion neceſſary, to give you a Light into the Character of *Ericos*, and to prepare you for all the Extravagancies which the People run into under his Preſidency.

Ericos had a *(t) Son* who was poſſeſs'd of all his Father's Malice, but wanted his Art to colour and conceal it. He reſembled him not only in the Envy of his Aſpect, but in the Vehemence of his Temper. He had all his Fire, all his Rage, and (becauſe he was *wholly devoid of Prudence) more* than *all* his Violence in *Words* and *Actions.* In a Word, he was Heir to all the Malignity of his Nature, and inherited every thing of his Father but his Underſtanding.

To ſecond and ſupport young *Ericos* in every thing he ſaid, there was *(u) Hyptonides*, ſirnam'd *The Blunderer*; *(w) Amauros, The Malicious*; and *(x) Palaiographes, The Prancer:* Three Men of like Parts, and Paſſions, and Principles; their Tempers ſuited to a Wonder, their Underſtandings tallied to a Hair, and their Intereſts were always the ſame: The only Difference was, that *Palaiographes*, being bred up in a greater Scene of Action, and to Buſineſs of a more publick Concern, had from thence (as well as from a certain Inſenſibility of Nature, which made him incapable of Bluſhing) advanc'd himſelf to ſome conſiderable Heights of Aſſurance above his Companions. Add

(q) *Trial at* Ardmagh.
(r) *The Queen.*
(s) France.
(t) *Young* Brodrick.
(u) *Col.* Upton. (w) *Mr.* Moore.
(x) *Recorder* Forſter.

to this, that by his Education at the Bar, *(from a perverſe Imitation of Eloquence)* he had acquir'd a certain *Facility* of Speaking after a handſome *unmeaning* Manner; inſomuch, that many who heard him, obſerving the *Wiſdom* of his *Air*, and the *Earneſtneſs* of his *Action*, could not be perſuaded but there was *a great deal in what he ſaid, though they could not comprehend it.* The Truth on't is, that though he wanted *Penetration* to reach the *Force* of a ſignificant Expreſſion; yet he had *Memory* enough to retain the Sound of it: And by this Means he had furniſhed himſelf with the *Rote* of *very important Words*; which he never fail'd to run over, every Day of his Life, with incredible Unweariedneſs, and very little Variety. A merry *Writer* of that Age, us'd to ſay of him, *That he never heard him ſpeak, but he always put him in Mind of the* Bird *and the* Bells; *he run the ſame Round eternally, and never chim'd more than* ſix *Sounds in all his Life.* The Difference was, that ſometimes he began at one End, ſometimes at another, and ſometimes in the Middle. At one Time, it was *Liberty, Property, Revolution, Glorious, Immortal Memory.* At another, it was, *Memory, Immortal, Glorious, Revolution, Property, Liberty.* And then again; it was, *Revolution, Liberty, Property, Glorious, Immortal,* and ſo on. But what is the moſt ſurprizing Circumſtance in his Character, is; that by repeating thoſe Words upon *all Occaſions*, and that in a moſt *earneſt* and *vehement* Manner, he had perſuaded the People, *that there was an abſolute Neceſſity of repeating them: and that if they ſhould fail to ſay them over, at leaſt* three Times *every Day of their Lives; the Religion and Liberties of (y)* Eubæa, *were from that Moment loſt, for ever!* Nay, he wrought ſo far upon the Minds of the *ſuperſtitious* People; that he prevail'd upon them to inſtitute *a ſolemn annual Feaſt* in Memory of thoſe Words; *ſeemingly* in Memory of thoſe Words, but in *Reality*, to *ſupport his own Intereſt*, when he was in Power; and when he was *turn'd out*, to ſpirit up a *Faction againſt the Government*; to ſow the Seed of Diſcord in the Hearts of the People, and to perpetuate *Sedition* in the Iſland: In hopes, by that Means, at one Time or other, to bring Things into ſuch a Confuſion, as might produce an *Alteration* to his Advantage: Becauſe, that *whilſt they continu'd in the Condition they were then in*, he and his Adherents could not have the leaſt Proſpect of any Preferment in the State.

I mention'd two others with *Palaiographes*, who have ſcarce any Thing conſiderable in their Characters, that is not imply'd in their Names. However, it may not be altogether unworthy the Reader's Curioſity, to know that *Amauros* had acquir'd his Sirname, from the many *malicious* and *ill-natur'd Things* which he was obſerv'd to ſpeak in the Aſſembly; though in Reality they were none of his, *they were only whiſper'd through him:* For whenever any one had any Gall, or Malice in his Heart, he immediately communicated it to *Amauros.* And *he*, without any more ado, deliver'd it to the *Aſſembly*, as the *Oaks of* Dodona *deliver'd the Oracles.* But however, it was very obſervable after ſome Time, that the *bitter* Things, which *paſs'd through him*, had left a *deep Tincture* behind 'em; and that after he had been ſome Years ſpeaking

(y) Ireland.

the

the *Malice of other People*; he now began, with new Violence, to utter his *own.*

Beſides theſe already mention'd, there was *Momus*, who, after *Ericos*, was the Man of beſt Underſtanding, among the Enemies of *Ariſtides*, who, though he was of *Abilities ſuperior* to *Palaiographes*, yet he was but *Second* to him in the Praiſe and Eſteem of his Party; becauſe his Pride would not permit him to be popular: This Vice was very diſcernable in every Thing he did; but chiefly betrayed itſelf in two contrary Inſtances; a moſt *Tyrannick* Inſolence to all *below* him, and a ſervile and ſtrange Complaiſance to all *above* him; he was *inſufferably* inſolent to create an Awe and Veneration of him in vulgar Minds; but moſt *affectedly* humble, to court thoſe Returns of Reſpect from his Superiors, which fed his Vanity; and which, it was the higheſt Mortification to him to miſs of. He had ſo many *diſtinguiſhing* ill Qualities, that it was difficult to ſay which was *predominant*: But thus much is agreed on, on all Hands, that they were *all Evil* to ſo *eminent* a Degree, that they could never be exceeded, but by one another: For no Man ever preſum'd to be more *proud*, more *ambitious*, or more *ill-natur'd* than *Momus*; and yet, 'tis ſaid, his Pride was exceeded by his Ambition, and *both* by his ill-nature: He was ambitious and proud to a *Proverb*; but he was ill-natur'd to a Miracle. This had gain'd ſo entire an Aſcendant over him, that it gave a Tincture to all his other Vices, and enter'd even into his Pleaſures. For (z) *Momus* was not content to be diſſolute at the common Rate; he had no Reliſh of a Debauch, that was not attended with the Ruin of Innocence and Vertue; as if the Gratification of his criminal Appetites conſiſted rather in *Deſtruction* than in *Enjoyment*. I cou'd mention under this Head, Inſtances of *baſeſt* Treachery, and moſt unparallell'd Barbarity in him; but, that I wou'd not add to the Calamities of the Unfortunate, by recording their *Infamy*, at the ſame Time that I would perpetuate his. 'Twas a Happineſs to the World, that he had ſuch an Aſpect, as rais'd a ſecret Horror and Deteſtation of him, at firſt Sight: Providence had ſo appointed, as it were on purpoſe, to guard innocent and undeſigning Perſons, from the Deluſion of his fair Words, and the Treachery of his Mind. He had all *Avernus* in his Looks; ſuch a Malignity as no Art cou'd alter, no Induſtry conceal. When he laugh'd, 'twas as *Homer* expreſſes it, *He laugh'd hideouſly*. For 'twas obſerv'd, that there was more Malice in his Smiles and beſt Looks, than in the Revenge and Wrath of other Men. He had loſt a conſiderable Employment at the Departure of *Duplos*, which he wou'd have kept at any Rate: For *Momus* had no Principle but his Intereſt; nor regarded any *Party*, but in Order to that; and therefore he cou'd at any Time eaſily ſacrifice *both* to his Ambition: And as he never could forgive his own Folly, for not having endeavour'd by all imaginable Methods, to preſerve his Employ; ſo it was not to be expected that he wou'd ever forgive thoſe that had deprived him of it: He therefore was a moſt inveterate and implacable Enemy to *Ariſtides*, and all his Friends: And the more, becauſe *He hop'd to recover by his Ruin, more than he had loſt at his Advancement.*

(z) Whitelet.

The

The firſt Thing that *Momus* propos'd to the Aſſembly, was this: *He had learn'd (he ſaid) from long Obſervation; that Contradictions were of a very perverſe and obſtinate Nature, and that the Parts of 'em, were ſuch ſworn Oppoſites, that they could never be in the ſame Place together, without quarrelling: And therefore, he humbly propoſed, that, for eſtabliſhing Peace and Unanimity among the good People of* Eubæa, *theſe* Enemies *might be reconcil'd, and made conſiſtent with one another for the future; and that a Decree of the People ſhould paſs for that Purpoſe:* As for Example: *Whereas theſe two Propoſitions* —— Such a one was elected Citizen of ſuch a Place, on ſuch a Day; and was not elected Citizen of that Place, on that Day ——*As Things now ſtood, were moſt inveterate Enemies, and ſworn to deſtroy one another wherever they met; they might hence forward be reconciled, and live together in perfect Unity: And that if any one hereafter, ſhould dare be ſo impudent, as to ſay they claſh'd or quarrell'd with one another, he ſhould incur the* high *Diſpleaſure of the People. And this, he aſſured 'em, would ſtrengthen the* honeſt *Intereſt of* Eubæa, *more than any Thing they could think of.*

The ſober Part of the Aſſembly were amaz'd at the Propoſal, and look'd upon *Momus* as ſtark Mad; but were more amaz'd, when they obſerv'd the *Preſident* approve of it, as a very *ſeaſonable* and *wholeſome* Advice: And immediately, putting the Queſtion, it was carry'd by a great Majority; but with this Limitation, that no Contradictions ſhould be reconciled, but ſuch, as ſome of the *honeſt* Part of the Aſſembly ſhould petition for, within a certain Number of Days, from the Date of the Decree.

After this; it was propos'd, that whereas *Solon* had made a Decree, *That ſuch as were convicted of any heinous Crime, of Impiety for Example, or Bribery, or Prophaneneſs, or were deeply in Debt,* &c. *ſhould be utterly excluded from the Conſultations of the People; it being very improbable that Perſons of wicked Lives, or deſperate Fortunes, ſhould endeavour any Thing conducive to the Peace and Proſperity of the* State; *but rather that they ſhould deſign the Confuſion, and Ruin of it; that themſelves might be enriched in the Spoils of honeſt Men.* It was humbly conceiv'd, (with Submiſſion to the Wiſdom of that great Man,) that he was under ſome Miſtake in that Point; or at leaſt, that he had propoſed it in too general and uncertain Terms; and therefore they humbly deſired, that for the future, that the Law might be underſtood with this Diſtinction; *That, whoever was guilty of thoſe Crimes, ſhould not be admitted into the Aſſembly of the People; unleſs he had committed them for the Welfare of his Country; and to qualify himſelf to fall in with the* Preſident's *Meaſures; and to promote his generous Deſigns for the Good of* Eubœa; *and was carry'd accordingly.*

In the next Place, *Palaiographes* propos'd to the Aſſembly, that, *Loyalty and Submiſſion to lawful Authority, were to his certain Knowledge, very troubleſome and inconvenient Vertues; very dangerous alſo, and utterly inconſiſtent with the Liberties of a* Free-People; *And therefore, he humbly deſired Leave to bring in an Accuſation againſt* Ariſtides, *in Behalf of himſelf, and* Seventeen *more* Free Citizens, *his Friends; for endeavouring (for near three Years paſt continually) to oblige them to the Practice of thoſe Duties; and that, with a malicious and ſeditious*

ſeditious Intention to deſtroy their Liberties, and to introduce Tyranny *and* Arbitrary Power.

Ericos told him, That *his Requeſt was very wiſe and reaſonable; and that he did not doubt, but it would be cordially agreed to, by that honourable Aſſembly, as ſoon as Things were ripe for that Purpoſe; but at preſent, he feared they were not enough diſpoſed and prepared for ſo glorious a Deſign: And therefore deſired him to poſtpone it for a ſmall Space.*

Palaiographes eaſily ſubmitted to the ſuperior Wiſdom of *Ericos:* However, he humbly mov'd, in the mean Time, and preparatory to the *grand* Deſign; *That the* People, *of their great Wiſdom, would take it into their ſerious Conſideration, to paſs a Decree, that* thoſe Vertues *might be utterly aboliſh'd for the future; as deſtructive of the* Rights and Privileges of the Subject; *and that* Sedition, Obſtinacy and Rebellion, *might from hence forward be ſubſtituted in their* Place; *as the only ſure Guardians againſt* Superſtition *and* Slavery.

This Propoſal was receiv'd with prodigious Applauſe; and as ſoon as it was agreed to, a worthy Member roſe up, and humbly mov'd, *That* Palaiographes, *and his* Seventeen Friends, *who had lately practiſed thoſe new-created Virtues,* after a very extraordinary and unheard-of Manner, *ſhould have the Thanks of that honourable Aſſembly for ſo doing:* Which was done accordingly in very *full* and *ample* Terms.

Amauros obſerving what had paſs'd, thought he had as good a Title, to the Favour of the People, as his Companion; and therefore he humbly requeſted, *That as they had been pleaſed to aboliſh ſome Vertues, at the Inſtance of* Palaiographes, *they would not think it unreaſonable, to alter one in favour of him.* He ſaid, *the* Sirname *he was known by, was a very invidious Appellation; and though it contain'd in it ſomething that was* very convenient and neceſſary for *their* Purpoſe; *yet, (he knew not how it happen'd) he found that all* good Men *abhorr'd and avoided him for it. Now, he had obſerv'd that* Juſtice, *tho' it was a very nice and ſcrupulous Vertue,* (and entirely inconſiſtent with their Deſigns,) *yet it had a very agreeable Sound; and though he did not care for the* Thing; *yet he had a great Veneration for the* Name: *And therefore, he humbly mov'd, that, That honourable Aſſembly wou'd be pleas'd to paſs a Decree, that* inveterate Malice, *might from thence forward aſſume the Stile and Title of* Strict Juſtice. *This,* he ſaid, *would not only be an inexpreſſible Advantage to him, but likewiſe to the whole* Aſſembly; *it would give a new* Gloſs *and* Sanction *to all their Reſolutions; would eſtabliſh their* Reputation, *and ſtrengthen their* Authority, *beyond any Thing they could deviſe.*

Ericos well obſerving the Tendency of that wiſe Propoſal, begg'd likewiſe, *in Behalf of himſelf and his Friends; that for the future,* Envy *alſo might alter its Name and be called,* Love of Liberty and *Eubœa*; and *Momus,* with great Earneſtneſs, made the ſame Requeſt for *Pride* and *Ambition,* and *Ill-nature*; and accordingly they were all carry'd in the ſame Decree, with great Applauſe.

But, in Order to prepare the Reader's Belief, for all the monſtrous Extravagances already related; as well as many other *Incredibilities* to come; I

ſhould have told him, that the Power of Aſſemblies was at this Time ſo *Arbitrary* and *Unlimited*, that it was an avow'd and receiv'd Maxim at *Eubæa*, that a Decree of the People could effect any Thing whatſoever to full Purpoſe, excepting only *the Change of one Sex into another.*

When therefore the *Faction* had, by the Methods abovemention'd, prepar'd, and purg'd, and modell'd the Aſſembly to their own Liking, they then thought it high Time to fall upon *Ariſtides*; for whoſe Sake alone, they had paſſed all thoſe wiſe and wholeſome Decrees, before ſpoken of: And the firſt Occaſion they laid hold of againſt Him, was as follows.

There was at *Eubæa* a Garden, and a pleaſant Park, belonging to the *Ariſtocracy* of *Athens*; whither the People reſorted, at certain Seaſons, to take the Air, and divert themſelves with ſeveral Kinds of Paſtimes and Entertainments. But one Night *Ariſtides* and his *Colleague*, had Intelligence, *That ſome Rogues deſigned to do a great deal of Miſchief, and create a dangerous Diſturbance in the Garden*; and therefore they ordered it to be ſhut up for that Night: All honeſt and peaceable *Citizens*, were very well pleas'd with the Prohibition; and thought their *Governours* were the beſt *Judges, when it ought to be open'd, and when ſhut*; but it ſeems *Amauros*'s Brother was not of that Opinion; and therefore he and ſome more of his Aſſociates, call'd out to the Gardener, and *ſwore they would cut his Throat, if he did not let them in*: He told them, *that if his Life lay upon it, he could not do it; that it was as much as his Place was worth, and, that if he loſt that, he might ſtarve; and therefore earneſtly entreated, they would not urge him to his Ruin. The Park*, he ſaid, *was free for them, and they might indulge in all the Diverſions of it* (which he aſſur'd them would be very agreeable) *as much as they pleas'd; but as for the* Garden, *he had expreſs Orders not to open it that Night upon any Account.* They told him, *they regarded neither him nor his Orders; and if he wou'd not open to them, they'd open to themſelves:* Upon this, without any more Words, they immediately tore down the Pales, forc'd their Way into the *Garden*, and trampled every Thing under Foot, after an unmerciful Manner. Not content with this, *Amauros*'s Brother called out to the People, *and ſwore, if they would follow him, he would go directly for* Athens, *and rob the* Ariſtocracy *of thoſe* two *precious* Jewels, *upon which they ſo much valued themſelves, to the People; and aſſumed a Superiority over thoſe, who were otherwiſe their* Equals; *though he was ſure, that, by* Right, *they belonged as much to the* other *Citizens as to* Them; *and, that the* Ariſtocracy *had cheated them of 'em.*

Ariſtides, greatly incenſed at this unheard of Inſolence, called the Magiſtrates of the Place together; ſhew'd them the *Pales* that were broken, and the Flowers that were trampled under Foot: Told them moreover, *That the* Jewels *were the undoubted* Property *of the* Ariſtocracy, *which they had been in Poſſeſſion of for Immemorial Ages; and which* the worſt of their Enemies *never diſputed their Right to: And, in the Concluſion, hoped they would do the* Ariſtocracy *as much Juſtice as they would do any the* Meaneſt *of their* Citizens, *in the like Caſe; and he was ſure,* They deſired no more.

Palaio-

Palaiographes (who was an *under Officer* to the Chief Magiſtrate) chanced to be by, when *Ariſtides* ſpoke theſe Words; and though he could not diſcern any Evil in 'em, yet he did not know but there might poſſibly be ſome *made out of 'em*, and therefore he immediately committed them to Writing, as well as his Memory would ſerve him; and after he had conn'd them over for ſome three Quarters of a Year, and adviſed with all his Friends about them, he at laſt began to believe, *That there was a deep Deſign in them, though he could not ſee to the Bottom of it.* He was ſure, That *Liberty* and *Property* were ſtruck at; and *Revolution*, and *Glorious Memory* too, were meant, tho' they were not mention'd; nay, now he remember'd, *Memory* was certainly mention'd, and therefore the reſt were *meant.* And, as to *Liberty* and *Property*, *'tis true*, ſays he, *There is no great Harm, if the Ariſtocracy had ſometimes (though perhaps not in this Caſe) as much Juſtice done them, as a Cobler or a Corn-cutter of* Eubæa; but then, *Why ſhould* Ariſtides *deſire it?* Deſiring, *is as much as to ſay*, Demanding; *and that is* Liberty *and* Property: *For why ſhould the People do any more Juſtice than they pleaſe?*

With theſe, and ſuch like Arguments, (when the Aſſembly was met, and all Things were ripe for the Purpoſe) did *Paliographes* inveigh, with *great Violence*, againſt *Ariſtides*; and, in the Concluſion, told them, That *as He always believ'd and ſaid, ſo now He was fully convinc'd*, (and He hoped they were ſo too by this Time) *that* Ariſtides *deſign'd to deſtroy* all *their* Liberties, *and to introduce* Superſtition *and* Slavery *upon their Heads*; *but if all this did not ſatisfy them, he had one Argument more, which he was ſure was* Irrefragable, *and might ſerve inſtead of a Thouſand, to prove, that* Ariſtides's *whole Conduct tended to* Tyranny *and* Oppreſſion; *and that was, That in the very Caſe in Hand*, (namely, the Controverſy betwixt the *Ariſtocracy* and *Amauros*'s Brother) *He had taken upon him* peremptorily to pronounce, *That* the Garden Pales were broke, *before that the People, who were the proper Judges, had declar'd that they* were: *And this he did with a very* black *and* deep *Deſign*, to influence the Eyes of the People, and to make them ſee as he pleaſed; *which ſurely muſt be of the laſt ill Conſequence to their Lives, Liberties and Fortunes.*

He ended; and his *irrefragable Argument* was ſucceeded by a loud Hum of Applauſe. The People were ſo much enraged at this *dangerous Encroachment* upon their *Liberties*, that they immediately made a Decree, that for the future, *Whoever ſhould take upon him to call a Spade, a* Spade; *or, a Packſaddle*, a Packſaddle; *or, a broken Pale*, a broken Pale; *before the People*, who were the proper Judges, *had pronounced them to be* a Spade, a Packſaddle, or a broken Pale, *was guilty of High Crimes and Miſdemeanours, and ſhould be baniſhed for Ten Years from* Eubæa, *as an open Enemy to the* Lives, Liberties, *and* Fortunes *of the People:* And that *Whereas* Ariſtides *had already been guilty of* thoſe Crimes, *therefore he ſhould immediately be baniſh'd their Territories.*

This *Decree* was thought very extraordinary, and indeed very *ſevere* upon many Accounts; for beſides the *flagrant* Iniquity of it, it bore hard upon many honeſt and plain-dealing People, that lov'd to ſpeak out, and declare their Thoughts without Reſerve: Particularly, it was thought to lay a very

ſevere and hard Reſtraint upon *Themiſtocles*'s Wife, a Lady of very open and free Converſation, that lov'd to call every Thing by its own Name, and was particularly remarkable, for calling a *Spade*, a Spade.

The next Occaſion they took againſt *Ariſtides*, was this: There was at *Eubæa*, a crazy, half-witted Fellow, (whom yet ſome People believ'd to be more a Knave than a Mad-man) whoſe Name was *Manes*. This Fellow got up one Day upon the Houſe-top, and roar'd ſo loud, that (as the Aſſembly afterwards declared) a hundred Cities heard the Sound, and ſhook from their Foundations: Telling the People, that *if they would give him a certain Sum of Money, he would tell them a Story of a Cock and a Bull.* Now you muſt know, that by the Story of the *Cock* and the *Bull*, was meant a Story of a huge Giant on t'other Side the *Ægean*, whom the King of *Perſia* ſupported, in Oppoſition to the *Ariſtocracy* of *Athens*; and pretended, that he was one *of the Poſterity of the* Heraclidæ. *Now*, ſays *Momus*, *notwithſtanding this grievous Offence, committed by* Manes, *whereby the Friends of the* Giant *were greatly* encourag'd, *and his Enemies* ſcar'd out of their Wits; *yet* Ariſtides, *inſtead of breaking him upon a Rack*; *or tearing him aſunder with wild Horſes*; *or impaling him*; *or burning him alive*; *what do you think?* — *Why, truly, he ordered a Proſecution at Law againſt him* —— no more —— *a* feint *Proſecution at Law for ſome three Quarters of a Year*; and then *obtained his Pardon from the* Ariſtocracy. —— In Anſwer to this, *Ariſtides*'s Friends told them, that *it was true*, Manes *had publiſhed an Intention of telling ſuch* a Story; *they could not ſay indeed, that an Hundred* Cities *heard him, but poſſibly an Hundred* Men *might*; *or ſomewhat more: But then*, from the Nature of the Thing, *it was evident to them, that thoſe Men were the Enemies of the* Giant, *and not* his Friends; *but, ſuppoſing they were his* Friends, *could they be encouraged by a Story of him before they knew what it was? How did they know, but he would tell them, that he was hang'd or knock'd on the Head*; *or, was an* Impoſter, *and* a S— of a Wh—? *for his* Enemies indeed, *they did not know but ſome of* them *might poſſibly have been affrighted at the Sound of his* Name, *becauſe they knew* it had been made a terrible Bugbear for ſome Years paſt: *But, after all, they were ſatisfied, many of them were Men* of much more Courage than they *pretended*; *nay*, Philalethes *told* them, *That he did not doubt but ſome of them were brave enough* either *to hear any Story told of the* Giant, *or even to tell it themſelves*; but, for his own Part, he proteſted, *he never cared to hear his Name mentioned as long as he lived*; *and was glad with all his Heart, that* Manes *had not told the Story of him. A Bleſſing on his Heart* (ſays he) *that hinder'd him, whoever he was: Pray, Gentlemen, who was He? Ariſtos* anſwer'd, *That, to his certain Knowledge, it was* Ariſtides *that hinder'd him*; and that a *Time*, when all *his* Enemies would have been glad with all their Souls, that he had let him told it out: That *immediately upon the firſt Report of* Manes's *Intention*, Ariſtides *and his* Colleague, *ſent an Officer* to ſeize all his Papers, *and among the reſt* this Story; *by which he was prevented from telling it:* That, *not content with this, they immediately order'd him* to be proſecuted with the utmoſt Severity of the Law: That *he was proſecuted accordingly*; *till he was oblig'd* to fly his Country, *and* was well nigh ruin'd;

and

and all this for an Intention of a Miſdemeanor, *for which, the* Ephetæ *declar'd,* They could not by Law fine him more than a *few Oboli: After this,* upon * *Manes*'s humble Petition *to the High Court of* Eliaia, *when the* Synegori *had declar'd their Opinion,* That a Man's ſaying he *would* do a Thing, did not in the Senſe of the Law, involve him in the Guilt *of doing it. The whole High Court* (and not *Ariſtides* alone, as they would unjuſtly inſinuate) *did, as well for that Reaſon, as becauſe* Manes *had before that Time done the* Ariſtocracy *ſome Service, and was beſides in very low Circumſtances,* repreſent *his Condition,* juſt as it was, *to the* Ariſtocracy *of* Athens, *and* they, *upon that* Repreſentation, *were graciouſly pleaſed to* pardon him.

Now he would fain know, whether any of them would ſay, That the High Court *of the* Eliaia *had not, in this Caſe, acted agreeably both to* Juſtice *and* Mercy?

As for Ariſtides, *he could not,* he ſaid, *but think him in the moſt difficult Circumſtances imaginable: At one Time, they accus'd him for* Acting up *to the Law; at another, for* not going beyond it. *In the Caſe of* Amauros's *Father, his Crime was,* That he had proſecuted him as far as Juſtice would allow: *In the preſent Caſe, his Crime was,* That he had not proſecuted him ten Times farther; *though if it be a Crime, you know 'tis not his alone, 'tis the Crime of the* whole *Court. Would you then cenſure the whole* High Court? or rather, *is it the* Ariſtocracy *you are angry with, for exerciſing a Power, which no* Body ever denied them? *We all know, that, That Power has lately been pretty much employed in Favour of ſome of your own* admir'd *Favourites and Friends: Nay,* not very long ſince, *(if I miſtake not) in Favour even of* young Ericos; *and that, not for an* Intention, *but an Act of* Treaſon; *is it then at ſome Times, a very deſirable and happy Power; and only Criminal, when it is employ'd in Favour* of your Enemies.

They anſwer'd, that *they had nothing to do either with the* Ariſtocracy, *or the* High Court *of the* Eliaia: Ariſtides *was their Man, and he ſhould anſwer for what was done. How! ſays* Philalethes, *ſhall* Ariſtides alone *anſwer for all the Acts of the* whole *High Court? No,* ſays *Momus, he ſhall only anſwer for thoſe we don't like; and you may call this an* Act of the High Court, *if you pleaſe; but it was* Ariſtides *that* did it. *Sir, ſays* Philalethes, *Can one Man do the Act of* many *free and independent Men? 'Tis a Contradiction. And pray, Sir, What if it be, ſays* Momus, *can't this Honourable Aſſembly* reconcile *it, if they pleaſe? Do you think* this *is the* only *Contradiction they have* reconcil'd *ſince their Meeting? You know it is not; and, if you had open'd your Eyes, you might have ſeen* from the Beginning, *That all the Contradictions that were reconcil'd, were only* in order to reconcile *This* One. *Beſides, Sir, perhaps 'tis not ſo much a Contradiction as you make it; for, if Twenty Men do* One *Act, then* every One *of the Twenty* does it: *And therefore, though others did this Thing of* Manes's, *yet* Ariſtides did it too: *And therefore, this Honourable Aſſembly might juſtly charge it upon him: For, let me tell you, Sir, That if we think ourſelves obliged to tell* Truth; *yet we are not obliged to tell the* whole

* Lloyd *the News-Writer.*

Truth:

Truth: *And, in my humble Opinion, we are not oblig'd to tell the* Truth at all: *For in all Matters that come before us; we* only *give our Opinions*, Sir, *and not our Oaths; which is a plain Proof, that we* are not obliged *to determine any Thing*, but juſt as we pleaſe. *Nay, more, Sir, we cannot be oblig'd, Sir: For, if we could, Sir, if Aſſemblies were tied down to Truth, and confin'd within the narrow Bounds of Juſtice and Equity; What would become of their* Freedom, *Sir?* My Friends, *if we have not Freedom, we are no Aſſembly; and if we cannot do what we pleaſe*, we have not Freedom. *Gentlemen, 'tis the* Freedom of Aſſemblies, *which* Momus *contends for; 'tis the* Cauſe of Liberty, *Gentlemen; 'tis that Liberty, which* Ariſtides *would* take away from you; *and therefore*, while you have it, *employ it againſt him. Liberty! Liberty! Liberty!* the Aſſembly echo'd the Sound, as it were with one Voice, and nothing but *Liberty* was heard in it for a conſiderable Space. At length, when the *Cry* was over, *Belides* roſe up, and told them, that, *truly he could not ſay, but that* Ariſtides *was a good* Man, *and an excellent* Archon *(for he had heard his greateſt Enemies in that Aſſembly own as much) but then on the other Hand, it muſt not be deny'd; That, though the Man was* innocent; *yet his* Places *were* very Criminal (for great Places always were ſo with thoſe that wanted them;) *And therefore, they were not fit for a Man* of plain and inartful Simplicity of Manners; *becauſe*, ſuch a Man *could not do half ſo much Good, either to his* Cauſe, *or his* Friends, *or his* Family; *as a Man* that knew the World: *And therefore, he humbly propos'd, that, at the ſame Time they petition'd* for the Removal of *Ariſtides, they would alſo petition*, That their worthy Preſident might ſucceed him; *for what ſhould we make it any longer a* Secret *to the Aſſembly* (ſays he) *How we have determin'd to diſpoſe of theſe, and many other Employments: all* Eubæa *are* already *acquainted with our Deſigns* in this Point; *and why ſhould we conceal them from* one another? *Ericos ſhall be* Archon, Palaiographes, Chief of the *Ephetæ, Daneios* next him, *Momus* next him, and ſo on. The Aſſembly did not ſeem to attend to what he ſaid, but immediately proceeded to the Oſtraciſm, which was perform'd in this Manner; Every one taking the *Oſtrakon*, or Shell, and writing upon it the Citizen's Name, he would have baniſh'd, carried it to a certain Part of the Town, not far from a Place that was ſurrounded with Iron Nails; Firſt, the Magiſtrates number'd all the Shells in groſs (for if there were leſs than three hundred, the Oſtraciſm was imperfect) then laying every Name by itſelf, they pronounc'd him whoſe Name was written by the Major Part, baniſh'd for *ten Years*.

As therefore, they were inſcribing their Shells, 'tis reported, that a very illiterate clowniſh Fellow, giving *Ariſtides* his Shell, as to one of the Aſſembly, entreated him, *to write* Ariſtides *upon it*. But he being amaz'd, and aſking, *If* Ariſtides *had ever done him any Injury? None at all* (ſays he) *neither know I the Man, but I cannot bear to hear him ſo much ſpoken of every where as a* juſt *Perſon. Ariſtides* hearing this, is ſaid to have made no Reply; but return'd the Shell, with the Inſcription of his own Name.

Now, beſides the Reaſons already aſſign'd, for the Baniſhment of *Ariſtides*, 'tis ſaid, *That the Spirits of the People were now grown high, and ſet upon great Matters*,

Matters, by reaſon of their late *Victories; inſomuch that they could not bear any Perſons of* eminent *Fame and Reputation*; coming therefore together from all Parts into the principal City, they decreed that *Ariſtides* ſhould (with the Conſent of the Ariſtocracy of *Athens)* be baniſh'd by *Oſtraciſm*; giving their *Envy* to his Reputation, the Names of *Love*, of *Liberty*, and *Eubæa*, and fear of *Tyranny*; for it was not the Puniſhment of any flagitious Act: but ſpeciouſly term'd, the Depreſſion and Reſtraint of exceeding Greatneſs and Power, it was a gentle Mitigation of Envy, determining its Malice, to work Injuries in no intolerable Thing, only a ten Years Baniſhment.

I Should have told the Reader two Hours ago, that this Volume contains only the firſt Part *of the Life of* Ariſtides; *and that the next Volume (that's Great!) will give an Account* of the Proceedings of the Senate of *Eubæa* in relation to *Ariſtides*; *and alſo* ſome further Decrees of the Aſſembly againſt him. Of *Ericos*'s Converſation with *Themiſtocles*, upon the Subject of *Ariſtides*'s Baniſhment; *of* the Aſſemblies Petition, and the *Anſwer* they receiv'd from the *Ariſtocracy*; *with many other Particulars, not leſs true than wonderful; all which will be publiſh'd ſooner or later, according as the World approve themſelves worthy of this.*

But now methinks I hear one of my ſmart Readers take me up very handſomely in this Place.—— Hey day, *ſays he*, What's here to do, *a Preface at* the End of a Book! Marry, that's New indeed! For my Part, I always thought that a *Preface* was ſomething that was to go before; now for a Thing to come *after* which goes *before*, to me, is —— *Nay, nay, Sir! pray ſpeak out; I know what you'd be at very well; you mean, Sir*, 'tis a Contradiction in Terms: *Alas, Sir! I have been ſo familiar with theſe ſame* Contradictions *of late, that I can't apprehend the leaſt Danger from them: I have ſeen ſo many of them* reconciled *to one another, that I begin to believe they are the moſt harmleſs, beſt natur'd Things in the World: and 'tis a thouſand Pities they ſhould ever quarrel again: But beſides, you muſt know, Sir, that I am a great Lover of Regularity; now thinks I*, ſince I deſign to divide this Life into *two* Parts, of Neceſſity I muſt divide the Preface into *two* Parts too; for otherwiſe it would not be regular.—— *Well, but ſay you*, the ſecond Part of your Preface might have been annex'd to the ſecond Part of your Life; whereas, now, here is a whole Preface, and but half a Life; and pray, Sir, is that Regular? I *muſt confeſs, it is* not, *Sir*; *but then, if it were, it would not ſhew my Deſign*; *writing* half *a Book, is like Building* half *a Houſe, and a Preface at the* End, *is like the Stones and Bricks that jet out, on that Side the Houſe, where the* otherHalf *is to be added*; *'tis true, they look a little awkard, and irregular, but then they ſhew the Builder's Deſign: And when the Houſe comes to be finiſh'd, they add both to the Beauty and Strength of it: So, Sir, you ſhall ſee, that when the* ſecond *Part of this Life is publiſh'd, and bound up with the* firſt; *then, that which was at the* End *of the firſt Vol. will be at the* Beginning *of the* ſecond, *and ſo will be ſtrictly and truly ſpeaking, a* Preface *to it.*

But abſtracting from this Reaſon, if I pleas'd, I could quote many and great Authorities to ſupport me in this Practice; *but* (as Palaiographes ſays) *I'll give*

you

you one inſtead of a thouſand; and that ſhall be irrefragable: *Namely, the Authority of the Prince, and Flower and Cream of Criticks, the renown'd and ever celebrated Dr.* B——y *in his Annotations upon the firſt Ode of* Horace —— Proæmii ut res ipſa indicat, &c. (ſays he) *That is, (as it is tranſlated for the Benefit of the Engliſh Reader:) This* Ode *ſtands for a* Proem, *or* Prologue: *The Thing ſhews itſelf plain: And was made the laſt in the Book, and then added to the reſt* —— upon which, the ingenious Author of the *Notes upon Notes*; who has a happy Sagacity of ſifting the Doctor's Mind: has made this curious *Remark:* Whereas *(ſays he)* it may poſſibly enter into the Heads of ſome paultry Judges, That a Proem or Prologue, (or Preface, 'tis the ſame Thing) may be ſuch a Sort of a Creature, as that an Author might think fit to compoſe it *firſt*, and affix it to the *Beginning* of his Book: Theſe are to give Notice, *that a* Decree is now come forth from the great *Bentivoglio*, by which, *Prologues* are appointed to be made laſt, and immediately to precede.

Reaſons againſt reſtraining the PRESS. 1704.

[*As it is impoſſible, that every Article in Collections of this Kind, ſhould be ſuited to every Taſte, a Pamphlet on ſo trite a Subject as the* Liberty of the Preſs, *may give Diſguſt to thoſe who expect and require to be regal'd on ſuch Topics only, as tho' old in Point of Date, are new to them: But as this Tract happens to be writ with a ſuperior Spirit and Manner, the Editor has ventured to inſert it notwithſtanding, in hopes to receive the Thanks of the* Few, *though he incurs the Cenſures of the* Many.]

IF any Reſtraint is to be put on the Preſs, it muſt be either on a RELIGIOUS or CIVIL Account.

All that can be pleaded for it on the Score of Religion, is, that 'tis neceſſary to prevent Mens being led into Error; and as a Conſequence of that, nothing is to be printed that may tempt them to queſtion the Truth of any Part or Point of the eſtabliſh'd Religion.

In order to anſwer this, I muſt beg Leave to obſerve, That nothing is more certain than that GOD does not require of Men Impoſſibilities, as a Means to obtain their future Happineſs; and conſequently all that he deſires of them, *is to uſe their rational Faculties after the beſt Manner they can, for the Diſcovery of his Will.* He therefore that does this, though never ſo much miſtaken, is as acceptable to GOD, *who is no Reſpecter of Perſons, as he that's not miſtaken, ſince he has done all* GOD *requires of him, and the other could do no more.*

To affirm his Miſtakes are ſinful, is to make GOD the Author of Sin, in ſo framing his Underſtanding, that after he had done all he could to avoid Error, he neceſſarily fell into it. And if it be the Height of Impiety to condemn one of Sin for obeying GOD's Commands in impartially examining, it

can

can be no leſs impious to affirm the Opinion unavoidably cauſed by ſo doing to be a Sin.

How happy would Men be, if, notwithſtanding their Difference of Opinion, they would allow on all Sides, that Impartiality and Sincerity were ſufficient to recommend them to God, and by conſequence to one another? Going a Step further than this, juſtifies the ſevereſt Method of the Inquiſition: For if Men can be guilty of Impiety, Blaſphemy, and other damnable Opinions, tho' on the ſtricteſt Examination they judge them agreeable to the Will of God; and if it be the Duty of thoſe that are in Power in every Nation to prevent this, they are bound to reſtrain not only the Liberty of Printing, but of Preaching; and to uſe the ſevereſt Methods they can, to hinder the ſpreading of whatever they apprehend to be ſuch Opinions. But,

If God will judge Men as they are accountable, that is, rational Creatures; their Reward, whether they hit or miſs of Truth, will be in an exact Proportion to the Uſe they make of their Reaſon: and conſequently no Opinion can be a Sin, but for want of an impartial Examination; and according as that has been more or leſs omitted, ſo one is more or leſs accountable.

If this, how paradoxial ſoever at firſt Sight it may appear to ſome, is upon Examination demonſtratively true; what can be more unreaſonable, than on Pretence of preventing the Growth of dangerous Errors, to reſtrain the Preſs, and thereby hinder Men from ſeeing, and conſequently from examining the Reaſons that make againſt the Eſtabliſh'd Religion? when, without an impartial Examination, let our Religion be never ſo true, we hold it guiltily, and with it, tho' never ſo falſe, innocently. But,

What can be more inconſiſtent with this grand Duty of Examination, than a Reſtraint on the Preſs, ſince there can be no other Cauſe aſſigned why 'tis unlawful to publiſh Arguments againſt the State Religion, but becauſe 'tis unlawful to read them, that being the ſole Reaſon of forbidding the publiſhing of them? And if it be once ſuppoſed unlawful to read, it muſt be as unlawful to hear or think on any Thing, that inclines one to queſtion the Truth of any Part or Point of the National Religion: And conſequently it makes it every ones Duty, in all Countries whatever, to profeſs that without the leaſt Examination. But,

If one has no Reaſon to expect a Heaven, who will not be at the Pains to examine what 'tis God requires of him, in order to his coming there; what a Condition muſt he be in, who not only neglects this himſelf, but labours to obtain a Law to make all others do the ſame?

The examining the Reaſons on all Sides (for Prevention of which the Preſs is to be reſtrain'd) not only makes the Miſtaken acceptable to God, but is the only Method that can be taken to prevent Miſtakes; for which End God has commanded every one to *judge* of *himſelf*, to *try the Spirits*, to *prove all Things*, &c. And therefore thoſe Divines that are for Mens trying nothing, or knowing nothing, but what pleaſes the Licens'd Guides in every Country, give God himſelf the Lie, after the worſt Manner that can be. And,

The more People are ſubject to Miſtake, the leſs Reaſon there is to rely on any one Side, but with Care and Diligence to examine the Reaſons of all, and conſequently the *Preſs ought to be open to* all. And when a Diſcourſe is printed, Men by viewing and reviewing it, may form a better Judgment, than when 'tis only ſpoken.

In anſwer to this, 'tis ſaid, and alike ſaid every where, that Men may have an impartial Information from the Clergy of the Eſtabliſh'd Church. But,

Are not they under a greater Reſtraint than others, being oblig'd to profeſs thoſe Opinions to which their Preferments are annex'd, or elſe to ſtarve? So that in this Caſe, 'tis not the Man, but the Biſhoprick, the Deanery, the Prebend, the Rectory that preaches and prints *nemine contradicente*, Popery in one Place, Lutheraniſm in another, Calviniſm in a third; and they poſſibly may think it but fair to maintain ſuch Opinions as maintain them; though to ſpeak the Truth, the Opinions generally maintain the Prieſts, better than the Prieſts maintain the Opinions. Are Men ſo bound and ſhackled, likely to give a fair Repreſentation of what can be ſaid againſt them, when the only Cauſe they can alledge for reſtraining the Preſs, is to hinder People from knowing it? Do not the Blind lead the Blind, when the Guides on which others are wholly to depend, are not truſted to guide themſelves?

In a Word, all other Methods but this of examining, will equally ſerve to promote any Religion, though never ſo falſe, and conſequently cannot be the Way to diſtinguiſh the true from the many falſe ones; but are the pious Frauds and holy Cheats, of not very pious and very holy Men, to keep the People in a blind Obedience.

As this Method is the only Way to diſcover Truth, ſo 'tis this that makes it moſt effectual: Where Men without Examination entertain a Religion, it will have but little Influence on their Practice. What does not convince the Underſtanding, can have but a ſmall Effect on the Will: And as far as the Reaſonableneſs of an Opinion is ſeen, ſo far only can it operate on a rational Creature; and the more Examination renders it ſo, the more Force it will have on the Affections, which are not mov'd without ſome ſenſible Connexion between the Cauſe and the Effect. For this Reaſon thinking Men, Truth being endear'd to them as the Diſcovery of their own Induſtry, are for the moſt Part very conſcientious; while thoſe that owe their Religion to the Chance of Education, have generally no more Regard to it, than if they ow'd it to the Chance of a Die. If then the Freedom of the Preſs contributes not only to endear Truth when diſcovered, but to the Diſcovery of it; and if that fails, to make even Error itſelf innocent, all the Arguments on the Account of Religion do moſt religiouſly contend for its entire Liberty. To which let me add, that,

The Noble Art of Printing, that by Divine Providence was diſcovered to free Men from the Tyranny of the Clergy they then groaned under, and without which the Proteſtant Religion muſt have prov'd abortive, ought not to be made a Means to reduce us again under Sacerdotal Slavery. And

If

If our Anceſtors could not ſecure themſelves from more than *Egyptian* Bondage, which the Pulpits brought on them, without the Aſſiſtance of the Preſs: What Hopes have we to defend ourſelves againſt both, when by the Means of the latter, the Clergy have much greater Opportunities, as well as Abilities, to accompliſh their Deſigns?

The Reſtraint of the Preſs is conſiſtent enough with Popery; but for Proteſtants to attempt it, is ſtriking at the Foundation of their Religion, which is built on the natural Right every one has of judging for himſelf in Matters of Religion. But what can ſavour more of a blind Popiſh Compliance, than ſo entirely to give up the Conduct of Religion to a few Licenſing Prieſts, as that nothing ſhall be publiſhed but what they think fit? The Learned Dr. *Clagget* ſaith, (and after the ſame Manner do all our Clergy write, when they have to do with the Papiſts) ‘ * They that have a good Cauſe, will not fright ‘ Men from conſidering what the Adverſaries ſay by their Books, but rather ‘ encourage them ſo to do, that they may ſee the Difference between Truth ‘ and Error, Reaſon and Falſhood, with their own Eyes. This is the Effect ‘ of a well-grounded Confidence in Truth, and there's the Sign of a good ‘ Cauſe apparently diſcernable, in the Application of the Clergy of the Church ‘ of *England*, both to their Friends and Enemies. They deſire the one and ‘ t'other to conſider impartially what is ſaid for us, as well as againſt us; and ‘ whenſoever Guides of a Party do otherwiſe, they give juſt Cauſe to examine ‘ their Doctrines more carefully, by how much they are unwilling to have ‘ them examined. 'Tis a bad Sign, when Men are loth to have their Opi- ‘ nions ſeen in the Day, but love Darkneſs more than Light.

Every one thinks he has a natural Right in all Matters of Learning and Knowledge, except what relates to Religion and Government, to ſee what can be ſaid on all Sides, in order to form his Judgment aright; and there can be no Reaſon why theſe ſhould be excepted, ſince to have a right Underſtanding in them, is what is moſt worthy a rational Being.

The more uſeful any Science is to Mankind, the greater will its Abuſes be: Divinity, Law, Phyſick, are ſad Inſtances of this. But how can theſe Abuſes be diſcovered, if the Preſs be in their Hands that gain by them? What can be more uſeful than Hiſtory, eſpecially of one's own Country? and can we expect a true Information, when only one Side is to print? And there are few Perſons, eſpecially at a Diſtance from *London*, but would think it a Hardſhip to be deprived even of ſuch Trifles as the common News-Papers, which would not be allowed under a Reſtraint of the Preſs. Nay, we could not then hope for an impartial Account even in Natural Things, ſince an evident Truth in Philoſophy has been thought a monſtrous Error in Divinity; and a rational Diſcourſe on any Subject may be hinder'd from being printed, leſt, as the late Biſhop of *W———r* ſaid of the moſt rational that ever was writ †, it might be applied to other Uſes than what the Author deſigned.

Nothing can more diſcourage Men of Abilities from Writing, than to ſubject their Diſcourſe to the Mercy of an Ignorant, or at leaſt an Unleiſured

* *Perſuaſive to an ingenuous Trial*, p. 28. † *The Eſſay of Human Underſtanding.*

Licenſer: Such an Hardſhip on the Commonwealth of Learning, will be apt to make an *Imprimatur* ſignify no more, than that the Book is fooliſh enough to be printed.

As the People retain a Right to offer their Advice to their Repreſentatives, ſo there cannot but happen ſeveral Things, wherein they may receive Satisfaction from what is publiſhed by thoſe without Doors (as happened in the Caſe of the *Standing Army*, and ſeveral other Matters) which may in a great Meaſure be hinder'd, by the *Licenſers* of the Preſs being influenced by thoſe, who have an Intereſt to ſtifle Truth.

In a Word, as many Things as are worth underſtanding aright, ſo many Arguments are there for the Liberty of the Preſs; though the only Reaſon that is pleaded for its Reſtraint upon a Civil Account, is to prevent falſe Repreſentations of People's Deſigns and Actions, eſpecially ſuch as are dignified with a publick Character. But,

Though this may be done by Speaking, who ever thought it reaſonable, that all but one Party of Men ſhould have a Padlock on their Lips? And yet this is all that's meant by a Reſtraint of the Preſs, ſince what is to be printed, is left to the arbitrary Will of Men of this or that Party. And there can be no Manner of Reaſon, why Writing and Talking ſhould not be on the ſame Foot; ſince what's contrary to Law is in both Caſes equally puniſhable; and a Reſtraint of the Preſs cannot hinder Books from coming out by Stealth.

What can be more unconſcionable, conſidering how the Nation is divided, than to have all but one Party reſtrain'd from Writing in their own Defence, whilſt that is at Liberty to uſe them as barbarouſly as they pleaſe? With what unchriſtian Temper and inhuman Inſolence, will Party-Men treat thoſe they are employ'd to write againſt? and what Miſrepreſentations, Lies and Calumnies will they not then be guilty of? 'Tis the Danger of being detected and expos'd, that makes Men write with more Temper, as well as more Regard to Truth.

If the Honourable Houſe of Commons have, upon a ſolemn Debate, thought fit to publiſh their Proceedings to prevent being miſrepreſented, why ſhould they deny thoſe they repreſent the ſame Liberty? And when both Houſes have thought it neceſſary to print, (and one may venture to add, that neither Houſe, without this Liberty, would have thought their Reputations ſafe) it cannot be preſum'd that either Houſe will be putting ſuch a Hardſhip on the Nation.

As Honour and Reputation ſecure their Votaries from committing ill and baſe Actions, ſo they incite them to all good ones; but if the Preſs be in the Hands of deſigning People, it may have a quite different Effect, and be wholly employed to traduce, as it was in former Reigns, the beſt Men both in Church and State. And

It will be a great Encouragement for Men above the ordinary Reach of the Law, to cruſh thoſe beneath them, when the Preſs ſhall ſpeak only in their Favour, and the Injur'd are depriv'd of the laſt Satisfaction that oppreſs'd Vertue has, of appealing to the People, and juſtifying their Innocence to the World. And therefore I cannot ſee how one, that has any Value for his Reputation,

putation, will be content to run the Hazard of having it put out of his Power, to juſtify himſelf as publickly as he is injur'd. Whether what is ſaid of Truth, that none is againſt Truth but where that is firſt againſt them, may be applied to the Preſs, I will not determine; but thoſe whoſe Actions cannot bear Examination, will, no doubt, be glad of its Reſtraint, and poſſibly may add Iniquity to Iniquity, by pretending they deſire it out of Affection to the Government, or Zeal to the Church.

The reſtraining the Preſs may not be ſo much for the Intereſt of any Party, as ſome fondly imagine; becauſe their being for it, will be apt to make Men believe the very worſt Things their Enemies ſay to be true; and that 'tis the Fear of having their pernicious Deſigns diſcovered, which makes them take a Method, that till now they themſelves oppos'd, and which in former Reigns was made uſe of to advance Slavery and Popery. But

If this be of no Weight, let it be conſider'd, that the Preſs, Jackanapes like (as a *Scots* Gentleman ſaid of their King) *may be made to bite whomſoever they, in whoſe Cuſtody it chances to be, think fit*; and a reſtraining Law no ſooner made, but the Scene of Affairs may ſo alter, that the Party which promoted it may be ſcourg'd with Rods of their own providing, and be themſelves debarr'd of that Liberty they deſign'd to exclude others from. And poſſibly ſome may be glad of ſuch a Bill, the better to deprive them of thoſe Advantages, which without it they would not think prudent to attempt. But tho' this might not be the Conſequence at preſent, who can *be ſure in what Hands the Preſs hereafter may be plac'd?*

As the chief Happineſs, as well as Dignity of rational Creatures, conſiſts in having the Liberty of thinking on what Subject they pleaſe, and of as freely communicating their Thoughts: So all good Governments that have allow'd this Freedom, were ſo far from ſuffering by it, that it wonderfully endear'd them to their People. And no Miniſtry can be hurt by the Liberty of the Preſs, ſince they have a Number of Dependants, ready upon all Occaſions, to write in Juſtification of their Conduct; nay, to gild over the worſt of their Actions, and give a fair Colour to their *moſt pernicious Deſigns*; and at the ſame Time ſo to miſrepreſent the true Patriots of their Country, that the People, their real Friends, being deprived of the Liberty of publickly juſtifying themſelves, may miſtake them for their Enemies, and careſs thoſe that are truly ſo.

The Liberty of the Preſs muſt keep a Miniſtry within ſome tolerable Bounds, by expoſing their ill Deſigns to the People; with whom if they once loſe their Credit, they will be very unfit Tools for a Court to work with. But

The Arts of State in moſt Places being to enſlave, or keep the People in Slavery, it became a Crime to talk, much more to write about State Matters. *And the Preſs in moſt Countries of* Europe *ſpeaking nothing but Court Language; the People, who till the Invention of Printing, had tolerably well preſerved their Liberty, were by degrees gull'd and cheated out of thoſe ineſtimable Bleſſings.* And there's nothing, either with reſpect to Religion or Politicks, ſo deſtructive to Mankind, but may be made, where the Pulpit and Preſs conſpire together, to paſs for Divine Truths.

The

The ſlaviſh Condition the greateſt Part of Mankind in all Ages have been in, ſhews how much they have been wanting to themſelves in not taking Alarm ſoon enough at the Chains that were preparing for 'em. And as there are few, very few Inſtances of Peoples having perceived the intended Slavery, ſoon enough to prevent it; ſo there are fewer Inſtances of *their having taken Arms, but upon very juſt Occaſions.*

In a Word, as there's no Freedom either Civil or Eccleſiaſtical, but where the Liberty of the Preſs is maintain'd; ſo wherever that is ſecur'd, all others are ſafe. That like a faithful Centinel prevents all Surprize, and gives timely Warning of any approaching Danger. And therefore 'tis to be hop'd, that *the Truſtees of the People's Liberties will preſerve its Freedom entire; for if its ſacred Liberty is but once affected, though by never ſo gentle a Law,* 'tis to be feared that this will be uſed as an Argument to reſtrain it as much as ever; for then 'twill be eaſy to engraft a new Law, on Pretence that the old did not anſwer the End, as we ſee 'twas urged in the Caſe of *the Conformity Bill.*

As to the obliging Authors to ſet their Names to their Works, that can only ſerve to hinder the Publiſhing the moſt uſeful Books, *viz.* thoſe deſigned to rectify Abuſes. Beſides, this prejudices People for or againſt a Book, and ſerves as a Handle for fulſom Flatteries, or groſs Abuſes; and we have too frequent Inſtances of Mens thinking to atone, for not anſwering the Arguments, by railing at the Authors. And therefore thoſe Writers, ſuch as the Author of *The Whole Duty of Man,* &c. that deſign the utmoſt good, have induſtriouſly concealed their Names.

[*The following Tract is an Anſwer to a Pamphlet, intitled,* The Conduct of the Allies; *but as that Piece is inſerted in all the Editions of Dean* SWIFT's *Works, we were unwilling to re-print it here, as that would have the Appearance of a mercenary Deſign, which in the Courſe of this Work, we have been very careful to avoid.*]

The ALLIES and the LATE MINISTRY defended againſt *France,* and the preſent Friends of *France.*

1711.

Nulla ſalus bello? Capiti cane talia demens
Dardanio, rebuſque tuis ———

THE Pamphlets that have been hitherto publiſhed in Favour of an inſecure and falſe Peace, have been moſt of them ſo meanly writ, that I have of late thought it loſt Time to look into them; and by that Means this curious Piece of the *Conduct of the Allies and the late Miniſters,* had eſcaped me, had it not been for the mighty Commendations *Abel* gives it in his *Poſt-Boy* of the 29th paſt; for whoſe Judgment I have ſo much Deference,

Deference, that I could no longer delay looking into a Paper, in which I was to expect an infinite Number of undeniable Truths, and Truths indeed they are in *Abel*'s Style, who has inverted the Senſe of Words, and with his Friends is teaching the Nation a new Language, and to call Things by the contrary Names to thoſe they have hitherto been known by. I could not read even a few Pages of this great Performance, without thinking of the *Medley*'s Story of the *Colliers* and the *Sailors*, and methinks I ſee this Writer in almoſt every Page engaging to his Friends in the *Colliers* Words, that *tho' we can't make ourſelves as clean as they are, we ſhall quickly make them as black as ourſelves.* This is plainly the Deſign of this elaborate Piece, with what Succeſs, we ſhall ſee by going over it. But my Concern is not ſo much with the *late Miniſtry*, and the Arts uſed to blacken them, which are all in vain, and can only ſerve to make their Merit ſhine brighter in the End, which will infallibly be the Conſequence of ſuch an unjuſt and violent Perſecution, as that with which they have been and are ſtill purſu'd. What affects me in this and the like Attempts made upon the Reputation of the *late Miniſtry*, is the Purpoſe all this is chiefly intended to ſerve; and that is, to perſuade us out of our Senſes, to change all the Notions we have had of Things for theſe twenty Years and more, and to give up contentedly all the Fruits of a moſt ſucceſsful War in a mean inglorious Peace. I don't know what Effect this Maſter-piece of the Party may have on other People, but I muſt confeſs, a very haſty Reading of it has convinc'd me, that if what is advanc'd in it be the Senſe of the Nation, a Peace is indeed neceſſary; for 'tis high Time to make Peace with our Enemy, when we declare open War againſt all our Friends: Nay, could I ſuppoſe the Senſe of the Nation would not be firſt aſked in Parl———t upon ſo important a Subject, the Spirit of this Pamphlet would convince me of what ſome People have a good while ſuſpected, that our Peace was already made, and that a *Congreſs* was to be held for no other End, but for us to act the Mediators, and tell our Allies what Terms we expect each of them ſhould be contented with. For, if we were not ſure of Terms for ourſelves, to inſult our Allies in ſo open a Manner, and to expoſe the Weakneſs of the Nation, and our Inability to continue the War, *would*, to uſe this Author's Words, *not only be very indiſcreet, but might perhaps be dangerous.* Which is one of the Reaſons this Writer gives, *p.* 78. for *not publiſhing his Diſcourſe ſooner*; but ſure 'tis even now too ſoon, if the Bargain be not already made. Another Reaſon for his coming out ſo late, is, he ſays, *becauſe he would give Way to others, who might argue very well upon the ſame Subject from general Topicks and Reaſon*, (that is, declaim well) *tho' they might be ignorant of ſeveral Facts, which he had the Opportunity to know*, from which alone a true Judgment can be made, and which he therefore knew how to miſrepreſent; for I hope to convince every impartial Reader, that is all the Uſe this Writer has made of his great Knowledge.

Theſe are the two Reaſons this Author thinks fit to give for *not publiſhing his Diſcourſe ſooner*, to which I will venture to add a third, as true a one as the laſt, and much truer than the firſt; for no body can believe he declined appearing ſooner, becauſe it might be *dangerous at this Juncture* to expoſe the

ill

ill Condition we are in, for that his Friends have already done in very ample Manner; and if that were a Reaſon for not publiſhing two Months ago, 'tis as good a Reaſon ſtill, unleſs, as I have ſaid, the Bargain be made. The principal Reaſon therefore for publiſhing his Diſcourſe no ſooner, was to wait the critical Minute, which might be moſt likely to give it its Effect. The great Skill of Dealers in *Political Lies* conſiſts in knowing how to time them nicely, and to proportion the Strength of the Colours to the Length of the Time 'tis intended they ſhould laſt. How much the Welfare or Miſery of this Nation depends on the firſt Reſolutions of the next Seſſion, no body wants to be told; on them depends a good or bad Peace, provided it be not a Thing already done. 'Tis therefore of great Conſequence to the Promoters of an ill one, to have a Flood of Lies in Readineſs to let out of a ſudden on thoſe, whom 'tis ſo much their Intereſt to ſurprize into wrong Meaſures, by the moſt artful Diſguiſes they can uſe. It was with this View this Book did not make its Appearance, till the Day appointed for the Seſſion; in hopes the Members, deluded by the falſe Lights of ſo many pretended Facts, would go whither they ſhould lead, without ſuſpecting they were going wrong: And becauſe there was, for Reaſons of State, a Poſſibility that the Seſſion might ſtill be put off a few Days longer, as it has proved in the Event, it was contrived to be of ſuch a Length, as might find many Readers Work for ſome Days, or at leaſt make it impoſſible to give a timely Anſwer to it before the Reſolutions were taken, which it was deſigned to influence.

But the Strength and Force of Argument, with which the oppoſite Side of the Queſtion has been maintain'd in many Pamphlets, the evident Goodneſs of that Cauſe, the groſs Miſrepreſentations of this Writer and his Friends, and the many Marks that appear throughout, of Malice and Falſhood? the great Court that is made to *France*, and the ſtrange rude Treatment of our beſt Allies, make me greatly hope, that theſe new Politicians will find themſelves extremely diſappointed; and that a *Britiſh* Parl———t will not, in a Matter of the utmoſt Conſequence, believe what comes from ſo ſuſpected a Hand, without hearing both Sides, and examining into the Facts themſelves.

As this Writer finds his Account in coming out late, and in ſaying a great deal to ſerve an ill Cauſe, I ſhall, to ſerve a good one, take the contrary Courſe, and be as ſhort as poſſible, that I may not appear too late in the Defence of that, which, when 'tis once gone, is never to be retrieved.

I ſhall therefore paſs over many Pages of this Book, which contain nothing in them but general Reflections and Repetitions of the ſame Thing; of which, in this elaborate Piece of Scandal, there are many Inſtances, as if it were not enough to miſrepreſent one Fact once, but it muſt be made, by Repetition, two or three; by which Artifice, all the Dirt that is thrown is multiplied, that the Allies, and the late M———y might be ſure to look black enough.

After many wiſe Reflections upon War in general, in order to tincture the unwary Reader's Mind with uſeful Prejudices of what is to follow, this Author

Author deſcends to conſider thoſe Wars *England* has been engaged in ſince the *Conqueſt*; upon which he wiſely obſerves, That while we make War in our own Country, we carry no Money out of it; a great Commendation, this, of Civil Wars! Even the *Dutch* Wars, in King *Charles* II's Reign, did *not carry out any Money, nor did it leave any Debts upon the Nation:* And thus this Reign is paſs'd over, without any other Remark on't, but that thoſe Wars were carried on under *a very corrupt Adminiſtration*; ſo corrupt an one, that I hope this Nation, in many Years to come, will not have ſeen above one more ſuch: 'Tis to this Adminiſtration we owe the Change of the Balance of *Europe*, and the great Difficulties which the *exorbitant Power* of *France* has ſince reduc'd us to. Thoſe *Dutch* Wars, as this Writer obſerves, were *much to the Diſhonour of the Crown*; and ſo *Dutch* Wars very probably will always be, though this Author, in many Places, is ſounding an Alarm, raiſing all the ill Blood he can, and infuſing Jealouſies between the two Nations, whoſe Intereſt it is to be in the moſt inſeperable Union. Speaking of our Succeſſes in *Flanders*, *p.* 28. he ſays, *We are deſtroying many Thouſand Lives, exhauſting all our Subſtance, not for our own Intereſt, not for a Thing indifferent, but perhaps to our own Deſtruction; we may live to feel the Effects of our Valour more ſenſibly than all the Conſequences we imagine from the Dominions of* Spain *in the Duke of* Anjou: *We have conquer'd a noble Territory for the* States, *&c.* And, *p.* 71. *We, inſtead of labouring to make them ſafe* (the *Dutch*) *muſt beggar ourſelves to render them formidable.*

Had King *Charles*, inſtead of thoſe ſcandalous Wars againſt the *Dutch*, exerted himſelf with Vigour againſt *France*, the Expence of a few Millions then would have ſav'd us an hundred ſince; but by his Treaties with *France*, and his Wars with *Holland*, he ſhew'd he was not in the true Intereſt of his Country; nor can any Prince be ſo, who, in ſucceeding Times, ſhall tread in the ſame Steps: Even his Parl———t, as corrupt as they were, could not be brought to give Countenance to ſuch ruinous Meaſures; much leſs can any other M——y, expect a *Britiſh* Parl——t will deſert the Intereſt of the Nation, when its Liberties are eſtabliſh'd upon ſo much a better Bottom than they were at that Time.

From the *Dutch* Wars, our Author paſſes to the *Revolution*, when *a general War broke out, to check the ambitious Deſigns of* France; *and here the* Emperor, *the* Dutch *and* England, *were Principals.* A little after we are told, *That the Ground of this War, as to the Part we had in it, was to make* France *acknowledge the late King, and to recover* Hudſon's *Bay.* That theſe were two of the particular Ends we propos'd by the War, is true; that it was the whole, is not true; for as he ſays himſelf, the War was general, *to check the Ambition of* France, who had been for thirty Years encroaching upon their Neighbours, and had ſhewn they could be bound by no Treaties; to *check this Ambition*, therefore, was a general Concern, and a juſt Cauſe of entring into the War, to prevent that *univerſal Monarchy*, which had been compaſſed long ſince, if we had tamely ſat ſtill; for the King of *France* had begun the War by the Invaſion of the *Empire* the Summer before the *Revolution*; and had the Revolution been prevented or diſappointed, there had then been an End

of the Liberty of *Europe*, and of our own too; and therefore I beg Leave to obſerve by the Way, that the End of that War was not chiefly to ſettle the *Revolution*, which the Enemies of it would inſinuate; 'twas neceſſary for the Preſervation of ourſelves, and the Powers in Alliance with us, who, without us, would have made no Stand againſt *France*, and we muſt have neceſſarily been involv'd in the ſame Ruin with them. And to pretend the *Sea was neglected, and the greateſt Part of Six Millions annually employed, to enlarge the* Dutch *Frontier, becauſe the King was a General and not an Admiral*; *and although King of* England, *a Native of* Holland, is all ill grounded Scandal, has at the Bottom no Foundation; the Increaſe of the Power of *France*, upon the Continent, made it neceſſary to make the greateſt Efforts againſt him there; and all that were made, were, as appear'd by the Event, too little: Nor did that Service, after all, employ the greateſt Part of Six Millions, as any Body may ſee by the Eſtimates laid before the Commons every Seſſion, for the *Flanders* War. As to the Fleet, 'twas ſo far from being neglected, that we not only recovered the Diſgrace we received in the Beginning of the War off of *Beachy*, but afterwards in a ſucceſsful Engagement we made ſuch a Deſtruction of the Naval Strength of *France*, that they never appear'd again at Sea all that War. But let us ſee what an Account is given of the End of this War, *After the Loſs of an hundred thouſand Men, and a Debt remaining of Twenty Millions, a Peace was concluded with great Advantages to the* Empire *and* Holland, *but none at all to us, and clogged ſoon after by the famous Treaty of Partition.* I would be glad to know, whether *England* has no Advantage in a War they engage in, to *check the Ambition of* France, if *France* be conſiderably weaken'd, by the advantageous Terms given to the *Empire* and *Holland?* Whether thoſe Terms are not transferring ſo much Strength from the Side we would weaken to thoſe we would ſupport? And if ſo, whether the Reaſon of going into ſuch a War is not anſwer'd; and we may not properly be ſaid to find our Account in it? But had it not been to raiſe an Odium againſt the late *King*, this Author would not have ſaid, *that War was concluded with great Advantages to the* Empire *and* Holland, *but none at all to us*; for he very well knows, it was a very diſadvantageous Peace to the Allies, very ſhort of what they propos'd, and the natural Effect of an unſucceſsful War; and why that War ſucceeded no better, he can tell us too if he pleaſes: It was the Effect of the Oppoſition of a diſcontented Party, of unhappy Miſunderſtandings between Prince and People, of late Seſſions, and ill Trade, and a bad Credit, which was the neceſſary Conſequence of the reſt. Theſe and the like Cauſes made it impoſſible for the King to carry on the War with Vigour; and if *France* made better Offers to put an End to it, than the Confederates from their ill Succeſſes could expect, 'twas no Secret what that was for, 'twas that he might be at Leiſure to purſue his Deſign upon the *Spaniſh Monarchy*, which ſucceeded but too well by his Management of the *Partition-Treaty*, which this Author knows the King was forced into, as the leſſer of the two Evils, the Nation in all Appearance being neither in Temper, nor as he was made to believe, in Condition to begin a new War; and having no Body of Troops that could be able to make Head againſt *France* upon the King of *Spain*'s

Spain's Death, who was in a moſt languiſhing Condition at the Time the *Reſwick-Treaty* was made; which was the true Reaſon the King of *France* was in ſo much Haſte to put an End to that War, and promis'd ſo readily to give up many Places to *Spain*, which, if his Deſign on that Monarchy ſucceeded, was in Effect giving to himſelf. But as to the Advantages to the *Empire* and *Holland*, I know none he gave the laſt but an advantageous *Tariff*, of which he never executed one Article; and for the *Empire*, People muſt have ſhort Memories to forget, how he embroiled them by the 4th Article about Religion; with what Contempt he treated the Emperor about *Straſburg*; and how he, after the Peace, refuſed to ſurrender *Old Briſac*, till he had built *New Briſac* juſt over againſt it, which was to all Purpoſes defeating the Deſign of the Reſtitution of that important Place. But to comfort ourſelves for the Loſs of Men and Money in this War, this Writer could have told us, that Monſieur *Vauban* in his *Diſme Royal* reckons *France* at the End of that War weaker by Two Millions and more than before, and gives us ſuch a miſerable Account of the Poverty of the People, and of the Increaſe of the King's Expence, beyond what the Kingdom could bear, as might be ſome Conſolation to us at the End even of ſuch a War; if the Uſurpation of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy had not been built upon the Peace that concluded it. In this War *began the Cuſtom among us of borrowing Millions upon Funds of Intereſt.* This is repreſented in this and other Places of this Book as *a moſt deteſtable Project*, a Plot to ruin the Landed Intereſt, and there is nothing bad enough to be ſaid of it. Sometimes 'tis imputed to *the Security* of a new Prince not firmly ſettled on the Throne, ſometimes to a Deſign of a few cunning Men, to involve the Nation in Debt, and enrich themſelves; ſometimes to the ambitious Views of a M———y. Any Reaſon, in ſhort, is given for it, but the true one; for 'tis certain, this Method of raiſing Money was not taken up by Choice, but Neceſſity: There were a Set of Men in Parl——t at that Time, whoſe Merit it was to oppoſe the Court right or wrong; and there was nothing theſe Patriots ſo much abhorred, as any thing that look'd like an Exciſe, which the Nation has inſenſibly in great Meaſure come into ſince; and had they done ſo at firſt, there might have been almoſt the ſame Sums rais'd without any Debt upon the Nation. And after all, there is nothing in this Method of raiſing Money by Funds of Intereſt, but what all other Nations engag'd in theſe Wars have come into as well as our ſelves, and before us; ſo that in this Reſpect we are upon the ſame Foot with other People; but ſo much better, as our Debts are leſs than thoſe either of *France* or *Holland*, as every Body knows that is acquainted with foreign Affairs, and has any Inſight into Political Arithmetick.

Our Author having brought down his Hiſtory to the preſent War, and ſpent ſix Pages in raiſing as much Duſt as he thought neceſſary to ſhew his Tricks in without being preſently diſcover'd, which, conſidering how ignorant moſt Readers are of Foreign Affairs, how generally we love Scandal, how weary we all are of a long War, and how pleaſing that has made the very Name of Peace, to thoſe whom Sounds perſuade as well as Senſe, is no very hard Matter for a Perſon much leſs ſkilled in the Arts of Juggling, than this

Writer muſt be allowed to be. After a Prologue of 20 Pages, this Farce of a Hiſtory opens with this noble Propoſition, *That no Nation was ever ſo long or ſo ſcandalouſly abuſed by the Folly, the Temerity, the Corruption, the Ambition of its domeſtick Enemies, or treated with ſo much Inſolence, Injuſtice and Ingratitude by its foreign Friends.* And this he undertakes to make appear by plain Matters of Fact.

Tho' I can't by any Means conſent my Country ſhould be ruined by an ill Peace, when we have ſo fair a Proſpect of a good one, which is the plain Deſign of this Writer and his Friends; yet if this Propoſition can be prov'd, I will readily conſent the late M———y ſhould be given up to the Fury of their Enemies, provided the ſame Juſtice may be done on their Accuſers, if it cannot.

The Propoſition to be proved, is, indeed, at firſt Sight, ſo ſtrange a Paradox, that the Undertaker muſt have a great Opinion of his Skill in ſecret Hiſtory to venture at it: and I have Reaſon to think this is not his firſt Eſſay: He is much improv'd ſince this Time Twelve-month, and now boldly affirms the groſſeſt Falſities, which he then ſcarce dared to hint at. Then the M———y only were attack'd, and that upon ſome Points only, the Allies were ſpared; or rather good Words were given them; but now there is nothing too bad to be ſaid of the late Miniſtry; all is wrong in their Adminiſtration from Beginning to End; and, for their Comfort the Allies are as bad as themſelves. In ſhort, both Allies and Miniſters are Fools and Knaves, and all the Virtue and Wiſdom in the World lies in two or three Hands, where no body before ever thought there was any; but with this ſurprizing Difference, that Affairs have for many Years ſucceeded to a Miracle under this ſottiſh and corrupt Management, when 'tis next to a Miracle if this new Virtue and Wiſdom do not ruin us. But to come to our Author's Proofs of what he has with ſo much Truth and Modeſty advanced; he will make his Propoſition good by proving theſe three Points.

'Firſt, That againſt all Manner of Prudence or common Reaſon we engag'd in this War as Principals, when we ought to have acted only as Auxiliaries.

'That we ſpent all our Vigour in purſuing that Part of the War which could leaſt anſwer the End we propoſed by beginning it; and made no Efforts at all where we could have moſt weaken'd the Common Enemy, and at the ſame Time enrich'd ourſelves.

'Laſtly, That we ſuffer'd each of our Allies to break every Article in thoſe Treaties and Agreements by which they were bound, and to lay the Burden upon us.

Every one of which Propoſitions I will ſhew to be ſcandalouſly falſe, and conſequently the Propoſition they are to prove is no leſs ſo. And the hard Words of *Folly*, *Temerity*, *Corruption*, and *Ambition*, can properly belong to none but thoſe from whom they come.

His firſt Propoſition, That *to engage in this War as Principals, is againſt all Manner of Prudence and common Reaſon*, is ſo very new and extraordinary, that I heartily congratulate him upon this great Diſcovery. He is the firſt Writer

I have

I have met with of his Side, who has had the Hardineſs to ſpeak ſo plain, tho' 'tis what I have long ſuſpected to be their Meaning; and 'tis no Wonder they are in ſo much Haſte to get out of the War any how, ſince they now openly declare 'twas wrong to go into it. This a Key to the whole Book, and nothing that follows, no Reflections on the late M———y, no ill Uſage of our Allies, no Endeavours to explain away Treaties, no abſurd Opinion about Credit, not even his thinking the Fall of Stocks upon the Change of the M———y, *a good Omen*, can ſeem ſtrange after ſuch an extravagant Declaration as this, which contradicts the Senſe of all the Parliaments we have had, ſince the Uſurpation of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, the unanimous and conſtant Senſe of the Queen and her Allies, the Senſe even of the preſent Parliament, nay, what's more, the Senſe even of theſe Writers themſelves a Year ago. For then they had not brought themſelves to think at this abſurd Rate, or did not think it Time to tell the Nation ſo. That the Juſtice and Neceſſity of the War has been all along allowed and inſiſted on by the Queen and her Allies, and by all our Parliaments till this laſt, has been ſhewn by ſo many Collections of Speeches, Addreſſes and Votes, as well as by the Articles of the ſeveral Treaties made with our Allies, that I ſhall not repeat any Thing that has been already publiſh'd of this Kind, but ſhall take Notice rather of what has not been ſo much obſerved, and that is, the Senſe of the preſent Parliament, eſpecially of the Lords in their *Repreſentation* preſented to her Majeſty the 10th of *February* laſt, in the ſecond Paragraph of which, they applaud her Majeſty's '*engaging generouſly* in this War for aſſerting the Li-'berties of *Europe*, and the Rights of the Houſe of *Auſtria* to the *Spaniſh* 'Monarchy, which had been wreſted from them by the Artifices and Uſurpa-'tions of the *French* King, when a Prince of that illuſtrious Family came to 'her Majeſty for Refuge againſt Oppreſſion; and that her Majeſty had re-'ceived him into her Protection, moved thereunto, not only by her own 'innate Goodneſs, but by the Voice of her People too, who were ready to 'ſacrifice their Lives and Treaſure for the Support of her Majeſty in defence 'of ſo righteous a Cauſe: And as the Fruits of a ſucceſsful War they 'mention *the Honour of her Majeſty*, *the Safety*, *Wealth*, *and Proſperity of her* '*own Dominions*, *and the laſting Peace of* Europe. And the Commons in the ſecond Paragraph of their *Repreſentation* ſpeak of the *abſolute* 'Neceſſity of 'carrying on the War, to ſay nothing of the Aſſurances both Houſes gave 'her Majeſty in their Addreſſes at the Opening of the Seſſions. So that our Author's firſt Propoſition is directly contrary even to the preſent Parliament, which I recommend to the Conſideration of thoſe Gentlemen, who have in due Veneration and Eſteem the Sentiments of this Parl———t, how much ſoever they may undervalue all preceding ones; tho' I can't but put them in Mind that there has been even in their own Opinion one Parl———t in this Reign as good as the preſent; I mean the firſt, which yet declar'd their Senſe of the Juſtice of the War, and the Neceſſity of puſhing it with Vigour, as much as any that came after them; but this Writer's Aſſertion is not only contrary to the Senſe of the preſent Parl———t, but, I preſume I may add of the preſent M———y laſt Seſſion, ſince no body can have any Pretence to

ſuſpect

ſuſpect that their Sentiments upon this Point differ'd at that Time, whatever they may do now: But what makes the monſtrous Abſurdity of this Propoſition ſtill more evident, is, that 'tis inconſiſtent with the Senſe of theſe Writers themſelves a Year ago. For in the many ſcandalous Pamphlets of that memorable Year, which came no doubt out of the ſame Mint with that now before me, there is not one Word to condemn our Manner of engaging in the preſent War, as imprudent or unreaſonable, or ill adviſed; and yet thoſe Writers have ſufficiently ſhewn, they wanted no Inclination to blacken the late M———y, their Malice was work'd up to the laſt Pitch, and 'twas extremely for their Purpoſe to ſay all the Ill of them they could deviſe, true or falſe; and by what they have ſaid, one may be ſure they left nothing unſaid, which they thought could hurt their Reputation; and the Silence of ſuch keen Adverſaries muſt be allowed to be a conſiderable Argument, that they did not then think the engaging the Nation in the preſent War any Crime; and that ſuch an Accuſation was at that Time too groſs to paſs upon the Nation.

But how now comes that which was right a Year ago to be exclaim'd againſt as *imprudent* and *againſt all Reaſon*, and to be made a capital Crime in the late M———s? How comes it to be now declar'd, that the Reſtitution of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy was none of the Ends that engag'd *Britain* in the preſent War, that her Majeſty by the Grand Alliance is not oblig'd to it, and that 'tis Madneſs to think of it? How can this mighty Difference in the ſame Perſons in ſo ſhort a Time be reconciled? Is it that they have really changed their Sentiments, and by the Force of Wrong thinking for a Twelvemonth together, have at laſt brought themſelves to be in Love with ſuch abſurd Notions, in oppoſition to their own Senſe, as well as to that of all Mankind beſides? Or are they indeed not in theſe Sentiments themſelves, but think it convenient to impoſe them on the People, as ſoon as they are prepar'd by the Poiſon they have with ſo much Diligence for ſome Time infuſed into them? If this laſt be the Caſe, I confeſs, a Twelvemonth is but a reaſonable Time to prepare a Nation for ſuch Abſurdities; a Nation, not trained up in Ignorance and Slavery, can't bear to have all the Notions they have been bred to, with reſpect to publick Affairs contradicted at once; a free People, that have been uſed to reaſon about *Liberty*, and *Trade*, and *Alliances*, and *Peace* and *War*, can't of a ſudden reſign their Underſtandings implicitely to the ſtrange Dictates of their new Maſters: 'Twill require Time to manage ſuch a People to their own Turn; and if this mighty Change can be compaſſed even in a Year, they muſt be allowed to be able Politicians. And this, I confeſs, I take to be the true Reaſon why theſe Secrets in Politicks have not been produced ſooner. Things were not ripe for it; and even now, it ſeems, they don't think fit to bring theſe monſtrous Propoſitions into the Light, without a Guard of Reaſons, ſuch as they are, before to make Way for them, and another to ſecure the Rear. To judge of the Strength and Goodneſs of theſe Reaſons, I ſhall take them out of the confuſed Order they are in, which is not confus'd by Chance, 'tis the *moſt proper* for the Nature of Deceit, and moſt agreeable to the Genius of the Author, if I am not extremely miſtaken in my

my Gueſs of him. The Subſtance then of what he argues in Proof of his firſt Propoſition, is this: *Upon the Duke of* Anjou's *ſucceeding to the Monarchy of* Spain, *in breach of the Partition-Treaty, the Queſtion here in* England *was, Whether the Peace ſhould be continu'd, or a new War begun?* Let me add, that the King had a little before chang'd Hands, and taken in a *Tory* M———y, but was thought to be ſtill influenc'd very much by thoſe he had parted with. The new M———s and their Friends, were againſt beginning a new War, *by reaſon of the Debts and Difficulties we labour'd under*, that *France* was now much more formidable than in the laſt War, by the Acceſſion of the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy, and the Alliance of *Cologn* and *Bavaria*: By which Means he reckons the Allies would be weaker upon the Ballance by One Hundred and Twenty Thouſand Men than laſt War, *the Succeſs of which we had no Reaſon to boaſt of.* He might have added, that beſides *Cologn* and *Bavaria*, *France* had engag'd on their Side the Duke of *Mantua*, the Duke of *Savoy*, and the King of *Portugal*; but the firſt perhaps was paſs'd over, becauſe the Mention of it would make too much for the Honour of the then Emperor, who had the Courage to begin this War alone, and made a ſucceſsful Campaign in *Italy* againſt the whole Power of *France*, and made his Way into the *Milaneze*, between the Duke of *Mantua* on one Side, and the Duke of *Savoy* on the other. 'Tis hard to ſay, whether the Courage or Wiſdom of the Court of *Vienna* in this Enterprize was moſt wonderful; for 'twas impoſſible to begin a War under greater Diſadvantages; It put the Emperor to a vaſt Expence, which his Condition could very ill bear, and ruined a Body of the braveſt Troops and beſt Officers then in *Europe*; but he thought all was at Stake, and therefore was reſolved to venture all: The Juſtice and Neceſſity of his Caſe, which would draw the Fate of all *Europe* after it, made him wiſely judge, that *England* and *Holland* would not be idle Spectators, while *France* was graſping at Univerſal Monarchy, and, I may ſay, had it in her Hands. Thus he judg'd, and thus it prov'd: And to that glorious Enterprize of his we owe it, that there was room for beginning a new War, without which the Liberty of *Europe* had been long ſince loſt without Retrieve; and therefore if ſome of the Failures charged on the Houſe of *Auſtria* in the Sequel of this Libel, were as great as this Author would have them thought, this firſt and wonderful Campaign in *Italy* makes no ſmall Amends, and at the ſame Time accounts for them; for it waſted ſo much of the Emperor's Treaſure, as he has no Way been able to make up; and that great but neceſſary Expence there has unavoidably made all their Efforts weaker ever ſince.

This impartial Writer ſinks this Campaign upon us, and that we might not think of it, declines mentioning the Duke of *Mantua* and the Duke of *Savoy* here in their proper Place. But there was another Reaſon for his not mentioning the laſt and the King of *Portugal*. 'Twas very much to his Purpoſe to tell us, they were in Alliance with *France*, ſince that increaſed ſo much the more the Danger of the War; but then it would have led his Reader to reflect on the Wiſdom and Abilities of the M———y he was to run down, that they were able to bring off from *France* two ſuch conſiderable Allies: And it would at the ſame Time have furniſh'd an Anſwer to the Objections he

he makes to the Treaty entered in with *Portugal*; for can any body ſuppoſe a Prince actually engag'd in Alliance with *France* could be brought off, without offering him very favourable Articles, or engaging to ſecure him as effectually as we could againſt the Reſentments of the Side he left, whoſe Nearneſs and Naval Force he had great Reaſon to be apprehenſive of; and therefore if ſuch an Alliance was worth having, as I dare ſay every body then thought it was at any Rate, 'twas not only juſt and reaſonable, but abſolutely neceſſary, to give him all poſſible Aſſurances of Protection: which could no way be done but by a Squadron of Ships at his Service. This was the leaſt we could promiſe; and no body but a Fool can imagine, that this was giving up a Part of our Fleet to his Caprice or Humour, as this Author would inſinuate, ſo as that the Queen or her Admirals would not uſe their own Diſcretion, if he pretended to ſend our Ships upon ridiculous or unreaſonable Services, which could not be ſuppoſed to be within the Meaning of theſe Articles.

The *Portugal* Alliance, when rightly underſtood, is highly for the Honour of the late Miniſtry; and therefore the true State of it is concealed. And there was alſo a good Reaſon for taking no Notice in this Place of the Duke of *Savoy*. This was another great Service of the late M———y; but 'tis plain this Author acts with ſtill further Views, with regard to that Prince; for this is not the only proper Place in which he omits to mention him; he might have found, had he been in Humour, as many Faults in our Treaty with *Savoy*, as in that with *Portugal*; for as the gaining him from *France* was a great Point, ſo very advantageous Articles were granted for it; how then could he eſcape the Laſh of this unmerciful Cenſor? This we may be ſure is not for nothing; there is a Myſtery in it which perhaps I may explain before I end theſe Papers: But at preſent I ſhall only ſay, that in this Author's Scheme ſome Uſe is hop'd to be made of him towards diveſting the Houſe of *Auſtria* of their Right to the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, and by that Means facilitating an ill Peace.

Having thus accounted for our Author's Silence, with reſpect to the Duke of *Mantua*, the Duke of *Savoy*, and the King of *Portugal*, when the Mention of them was ſo much for his Purpoſe, they being all in Alliance with *France* at the Beginning of the War, I proceed now to conſider the Force of his Argument. The Debts of the Nation, and the Power of *France*, were the Arguments the *Tories* uſed againſt engaging in a new War. Very well! and they were the ſame Arguments that frighten'd the King into the *Treaty of Partition*. Yet his Miniſters were impeach'd upon a bare Preſumption of their having adviſed it. But *France*, by the actual Poſſeſſion of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy and the Alliances it had made, was ſo much an Over-match for us, *that human Probability ran with mighty odds on that Side*; and in that Caſe, ſays our Author, *nothing under the moſt extreme Neceſſity ſhould force any State to engage in a War*. I ſay ſo too; but then I affirm, that was our Caſe, and ſo thought all thoſe who adviſed entring into the War: *They alledged how dangerous it would be for* England, *that* Philip *ſhould be King of* Spain, *that we could have no Security for our Trade, while that Kingdom was ſubject to a Prince*

Prince of the Bourbon *Family, nor any Hopes of preſerving the Balance of* Europe, *becauſe the Grandfather would in Effect be King, while his Grandſon had but the Title, and thereby have a better Opportunity than ever of purſuing his Deſign of Univerſal Monarchy.*

The Arguments for entring into the War may be ſet in a ſtronger Light, but I am content to take them in his own Words: The Preſervation of our *Trade*, of our *Eſtabliſhment*, and of the *Balance of Europe*, which could none of them be tolerably ſafe while the *Spaniſh* Monarchy was ſuffer'd to be in the Houſe of *Bourbon*, were of the utmoſt Concern for the Welfare of the Nation, and *nothing*, to uſe this Author's Words, *but the moſt extreme Neceſſity, ſhould force* a Nation tamely to ſubmit to ſuch a *Uſurpation*, as in all human Probability muſt in a few Years bring on them certain Deſtruction. But that we were not under that extreme Neceſſity, the Event, GOD be thanked, has ſufficiently ſhewn. To ſet now this Matter in a true Light, whether we ſhould enter into a new War or not, was a Point that deſerved the moſt careful Conſideration; a great deal might be ſaid on both Sides: The Danger of ſuffering *France* to continue in the quiet Poſſeſſion of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy was allow'd on all Hands; the Diſpute was, Whether there was a Poſſibility of preventing by a War the Danger that threaten'd us? Thoſe who were againſt a War, thought of two Evils the leaſt was to be choſen; that if we kept Quiet, the Danger was at ſome Diſtance; and the greater the Diſtance, the more Room for ſome lucky Chance that might alter the Face of Things; and with theſe Reaſons and Fears, Party and Paſſion mixed themſelves, as it almoſt always happens in free Countries. The *Tory* M———y the King had taken, found they were but upon a very uncertain Foot, and that he did not heartily come into their Meaſures. This made them apprehenſive he would in a little Time change Hands again, as in Effect he began to do before he dy'd, that then the Adminiſtration would return into the Hands of that Sett of Men, that they had the greateſt Averſion to. All the ill Conſequences that aroſe from the ill Humour of the Parliaments, from their Slowneſs to give Money, and the Inſufficiency of the Funds, which unavoidably occaſion'd high Intereſt and great Diſcounts, were imputed ſolely to theſe Miniſters; and while Credit was in ſuch an ill State at home, 'twas impoſſible any thing could go well abroad; the Differences would have continu'd between the King and his Parl———ts, and the Publick Credit and the Management of the War, muſt have been upon the ſame ill Foot as before, in ſpite of all the M———y could do. This made wiſe and honeſt Men exceeding fearful of the Conſequences of entring into a new War; in which 'twas impoſſible to ſucceed, without Credit and Union at home, and that under theſe Appearances there was little Hopes of. Beſides, the extreme ill State of the King's Health made it impoſſible for him to command in *Flanders* himſelf; and they did not then know how the Place of ſo great a General could be ſupply'd; or at leaſt his Authority and Influence over the *States* and a *Confederate* Army they thought could not: And his Death, at the Beginning of a new War, they apprehended would throw all Things into Confuſion, and diſſolve the Alliances, that his Credit and Reputation were the chief Cement of. 'Twas theſe Conſi-

derations made the *Tory* M——— and their Friends think, that upon the whole a War was not adviſeable; but others were of another Mind, they had a better Opinion both of the King himſelf and his M——s, and hoped that Things might be managed better than they had been; that the Greatneſs of the Danger we were expoſed to, would make us lay aſide our Heats, and unite us at Home, and that the People would join heartily with the King, and enable him with effectual Supplies to carry on the War with Vigour, and then Credit would revive of Courſe, and all Things would go well, which ever Side he took into the M———y. And in a new Parliament called to give his Majeſty the freſh Senſe of the Nation upon this important Subject, their Affection to the King appear'd by their Impeachments towards the latter End of the Seſſion, and adviſed him to make Alliances, and aſſured him, he ſhould be ſupported in them. But what is of moſt Weight in this Queſtion, was the King's own Senſe of it. He knew the Affairs of *Europe* better than all his M———y together, and was a very good Judge of the Intereſts of the Empire and the Houſe of *Auſtria*, of the Power of *France*, and of the imminent Danger *England* and *Holland* were expos'd to by the Seizure of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy. And he uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to make the Nation ſenſible of the Neceſſity there was for entring into a War, which alone could prevent the Ruin of them and the *States*. And that the King was very ſincere in his Opinion, we are very ſure from the Treaty of *Partition*, which ſufficiently ſhewed he had no Mind to enter into a new War, if it could poſſibly be avoided. For that was plainly the Deſign of that Treaty, the ill Succeſs of the former War, the Difficulties his Affairs were perplex'd with, the Heats and Diviſions of his Subjects, the Treatment he met with from his Parl——ts, and his own ill Health, all together broke his Spirits, he had no Heart to think of a new War; but was willing to purchaſe Reſt at any Rate for the Remainder of his Days. And this he has been very liberally upbraided with by thoſe who were ſo angry at the *Partition* Treaty, that he gave up the Intereſt of the Nation to his own Eaſe, and did not care what became of the reſt of the World, ſo he were but quiet himſelf. But if this Prince, who was ſo weary of War, ſo deſirous to be at Eaſe, if he was of Opinion a new War was, upon the Violation of the *Partition-Treaty*, abſolutely neceſſary, his Judgment will have more Weight with all impartial Men, than all that this Author or his Friends at this Diſtance can ſay to the contrary. To diſpute now of the Neceſſity of the *War*, is the ſame Thing as to diſpute the Neceſſity of the *Revolution*: we are ſure thoſe who were beſt Judges of both, when Things were freſh, and they had the full View of all before them, thought both neceſſary; but when the Diſtance of our Dangers has made us forget the Greatneſs of them, we are to be taught that neither was ſo, by deſigning Men, who take Advantage of our Ignorance or Forgetfulneſs to impoſe on us the falſeſt Reaſonings, by a Miſrepreſentation of Facts, which the Generality of Readers are to judge of at ten or twenty Years Diſtance, when many of the moſt material Circumſtances are forgot; and they are to judge by ſuch only as theſe Writers think fit to give them, and thoſe are pick'd and cull'd at their own Pleaſure, and either are partially repreſented, or quite alter'd,

as

as beſt ſerves their Turn. But honeſt and impartial Men will be upon their Guard; they won't be beat out of their Senſes, and believe every abſurd Notion that ſhall be ſtarted, becauſe they don't diſtinctly remember all that relates to a Matter that was tranſacted many Years ſince. A Man that was once perſwaded of the Neceſſity of the War, has as much Right to maintain his Concluſion that it is neceſſary, though he does not carry in his Mind exactly all the Proofs of it, as a Mathematician has to abide by a Propoſition in *Euclid*, though he has forgot ſome Part of the Demonſtration; he is ſure he could demonſtrate it once, and therefore is ſatisfied 'tis true, tho' he can't readily prove it, it being many Years perhaps ſince he look'd into the Truth of it. And as it would be great Impudence to tell ſuch a Man a Propoſition is falſe that he knows is true, and to go about by ſpecious Arguments to make him believe the contrary, 'tis no leſs impudent or abſurd to pretend to prove at this Time of Day to a true *Briton*, that there was no Neceſſity for our entring into the War, when we are under the greateſt Conviction of the Truth of the contrary; and it has been ſo long the unanimous and undiſputed Senſe of the Nation.

This Author does indeed allow the Caſe of the *Dutch* to be extremely dangerous, as they have ſet forth in their Declaration of War; but then he ſays, *The Grounds of their Quarrel are ſuch as only affect themſelves, or at leaſt more immediately than any other Prince or State*; and that *they were neareſt and moſt expoſed to the Fire.* What then? Were not we near enough to be burnt, becauſe they were a little nearer? Men that can remember that Juncture of Affairs, muſt own they could not think of it without Trembling, the Danger was ſo extremely great; and what is very remarkable, 'tis probable nothing ſaved *Holland* ſo much as the Backwardneſs *England* ſhew'd to come into the War. *France* hop'd we ſhould be content to lie ſtill, if they did not preſs too hard upon *Holland*, and that Conſideration diverted the Storm, and gave them Time to make Alliances, and provide for their Defence; but the very Sight of ſo near a Danger was ſufficient to convince us it was not our Buſineſs to lie ſtill, but to rouſe ourſelves while we could, ſince ſuch an *exorbitant Power* might at any Time execute the Deſtruction it then threaten'd; and when they ſhall ever be ruin'd, our Turn is next; and next to the neareſt ſure is near enough, though this Author would perſuade us, we are no more concern'd to be one of the *Principals* in this War than *Pruſſia*, or any other Power that came afterwards into that Alliance; than which nothing can be more falſe, unleſs the Preſervation of *Great-Britain* be of no more Conſequence, than that of a little Dukedom or petty State. Shall we be no more concern'd at the *exorbitant Power* of *France*, which brings our *Liberty* and *Trade* into the utmoſt Danger, than People who have neither Liberty nor Trade to be concern'd for, and can ſuffer little by the Change, whatever Maſters they are under? Is the Preſervation of *England*, which is the great Support of the Proteſtant Religion, of no Conſequence? And if it be, ſhall we not think it in Danger from *France*, becauſe ſome other States have nothing to apprehend upon this Head, as being of the ſame Religion with the *French:* But ſuppoſe all other Princes and States in the Alliance as much expoſed to *France* by the Uſurpation of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy

as ourſelves; what if they are ſo feeble that they can't help themſelves, or ſo indolent that they won't, or that they are govern'd by a Faction in the *French* Intereſt, muſt we therefore be inſenſible of our Danger, or not exert ourſelves to prevent it? By this Author's Argument, *Pruſſia*, *Savoy*, *Portugal*, or any other ſmall State, ſhould contribute as much to the War as *Great-Britain*, becauſe they are as much intereſted in it; and if more, they ſhould contribute more. *Thoſe who muſt in Courſe be the greateſt Sufferers, ought*, he ſays, *to bear the greateſt Weight*, without conſidering their Strength. And this he illuſtrates by a very apt Compariſon: *If a Houſe be on Fire, the Owner is ſure to be undone firſt, and it is not impoſſible that thoſe at next Door may eſcape by a Shower from Heaven*, &c. Lord have Mercy upon us, if this is all we have to truſt to. 'Twould be a pretty Sight when a Houſe is on Fire, to have a Conſultation held in the Neighbourhood what each ſhould do towards extinguiſhing it, and if it ſhould be ſeriouſly debated how many Buckets and Hands each ſhould employ, and the Council ſhould end in this wiſe Reſolve, that the Number of Buckets and Hands ſhould be in exact Proportion to the Nearneſs each was at to the Houſe where the Fire began. This is ſo ridiculous a Rule, that it would be impoſſible to be comply'd with, unleſs Peoples Abilities alſo were exactly proportion'd to the Nearneſs of the Danger; and if no body would do their Part, or more than their Part, till the reſt of their Neighbours did theirs, I humbly conceive the whole Neighbourhood would be burnt out. Suppoſe a *Lord*, a *Merchant*, a *Draper*, a *Mechanick*, and a poor *Alms Houſe* were next to one another; that a Fire broke out in this laſt, and the *Lord*'s Houſe particularly were next the Water, would not any body think this *Lord* a Madman, who had a great Number of Servants about him, and more Buckets perhaps than the whole Street, if he would not ſuffer a Bucket to be touched, or a Hand to ſtir, till the poor *Alms-Women* had furniſh'd their Part, in proportion to the Danger, though they have not perhaps one Servant nor one Bucket, and muſt inevitably periſh without Help? Or ſhall he ſtay to ſee this Houſe burnt, and the next on Fire, and whether the *Mechanick* and the reſt do their Part, for Fear of doing more than his Share? If what this Author advances concerning other States, to prove that we ſhould do no more, be Senſe, ſo is this; and if this be not Senſe, no more is the other. 'Tis his own Compariſon, and there is in the Caſes no Difference. If a Houſe is in ſo much Danger of Fire, that nothing can ſave it but *a Shower from Heaven*, a Man muſt be mad that won't do all he can to extinguiſh it; and ſo are we if we don't exert ourſelves to our utmoſt, in caſe our Danger be as great.

But becauſe the Danger was neareſt *Holland*, our Author thinks we ought to have acted only as *Auxiliaries:* This is ſo extraordinary a Reaſon, that if it be good, it muſt deſtroy all Alliances. If *England* ought not to have enter'd into the *Grand Alliance*, becauſe *Holland* was more concern'd, no more ſhould any other Power in *Europe*, ſince neither the Dangers nor the Abilities of any two *States* can be exactly equal; and therefore there can be no Allowance where all Parties ſhall be *Principals*. Tho' in the laſt War this Writer allows the *Empire*, *England* and *Holland*, were all *Principals*, and he does not pretend

pretend to find any Fault with it. I muſt obſerve, that a Year ago the Cant of the Party was not ſettled, nor were they agreed what Senſe certain Words were to be uſed in; for in the *Letter to the Examiner*, *Principals* is oppoſed to *Confederates*, and means the engaging further than any of the other *Confederates*, in the Expence and Burden of the War; but no Fault is there found with our entring into the *Grand Alliance*; on the contrary 'tis commended: but here, in this Writer, *Principals* is taken in a new Senſe, and oppoſed to *Auxiliaries:* By which the Author means, that we ought not to have gone into the *Grand Alliance* at all, but contented ourſelves to aſſiſt *Holland* with 10,000 Men only, according to an old Treaty; this, he ſays, *would have been prudent and generous*, and *that the States demanded no more.* True, they did not demand more, becauſe we were by no Treaty then in being obliged to do more for them; but where is the Generoſity of furniſhing this ſmall Quota according to the Treaties we were bound by? Or where would have been the Prudence in giving an Aſſiſtance that muſt needs come to nothing? But our Author, who with his Friends is greatly ſkilled in Foreign Affairs, *makes no doubt* but *Holland*, with that Aſſiſtance alone, *would have been able to defend their Frontiers*; and if they could not, he makes no doubt in the ſecond Place, *but the* Spaniards *would not have ſuffered the* French *to poſſeſs themſelves of* Flanders. Now I, in my Turn, *make no doubt*, but this Author is convinced as much as I am, that all this is egregious Nonſenſe: Firſt to fancy that the *Spaniards* would hinder the *French* from poſſeſſing themſelves of *Flanders*, when by the Treachery of the Elector of *Bavaria* they were at that Time in one Night put into the actual Poſſeſſion of all the ſtrong Places in it. When this Author writes again, I deſire the Favour of him to let us know, which Way they could have been diſpoſſeſs'd? And his other Fancy is ſtill more abſurd, that *Holland*, who could not in Conjunction with *England* and *Spain* keep their *Frontiers* laſt War, ſhould now be able to defend themſelves when their Frontier is loſt, againſt the united Force of *France* and *Spain*, with no other Aſſiſtance from *England* but that poor one of 10,000 Men. And as if theſe two ridiculous Aſſertions wanted no other Proof, but were as plain as firſt Principles, by Help of this ſhort Charm, *I make no doubt*, he gravely infers from them, *That there was no ſort of Neceſſity for us to proceed farther, although we had been in a better Condition; but our Politicians had other Views, a Grand Alliance was therefore to be made between the* Emperor, England, *and the* States-General. Well is it for us our Politicians then were not of the Size of thoſe who now preſcribe to us; ſince it has been ſhewn to the greateſt Degree of Evidence, that the War was neceſſary, and that nothing could have been ſo fatal to us, as to ſit ſtill and look on, while *France* was over-running the reſt of the World. Nothing was ſo much for the Service of *France* as this nonſenſical Doctrine of *Auxiliaries*, ſince upon the ſame Foot they would have acted as *Auxiliaries* to the Duke of *Anjou*; by which Means *Holland* and the *Emperor* would ſoon have been out of Breath, and muſt, by their own Submiſſion to *France*, have ſhewn us the Way to ſubmit to: For had not we come into the War, neither of thoſe Powers could have held out another Campaign; and what would have been the Conſequence? Should we ſuffer them

them to be over-run? Or ſhould we then think fit to help them? If the laſt was for our Intereſt, ſure it was much more to our Purpoſe to help them in Time, when our Aſſiſtance could be of ſome Uſe, and not when they had exhauſted themſelves beyond Recovering, by exerting their Strength all at once, and that without Succeſs, as it muſt have been againſt a Power that was ſo much an Over-match for them: For this Author has before told us: That the Balance was alter'd ſince the laſt War no leſs than *One Hundred Thouſand Men on the Side of* France; and the Balance he owns was much too ſtrong on that Side before. And yet the ſame Author who ſays this, would make us believe *Holland* and the *Emperor* might have been a Match for *France* by themſelves. Men muſt be ſtrangely in Love with Contradictions, that can take up with ſuch Stuff as this. The Plain of the Caſe is this: The Power of *France* was ſo *exorbitant*, that if *England* won't engage in the War, the Liberty of *Europe* muſt be loſt, let the other two Powers do what they will. If they hazard a War, they are ſo over-match'd, that it can end in nothing but the Ruin of them: If for fear of an ill War, they leave *France* in the quiet Poſſeſſion of their Uſurpations, they muſt reſolve to ſubmit to ſuch Conditions as ſhall be impoſed on them. Nothing could hinder this but a vigorous Union of all the Allies; and if it were done at all, it muſt be done at firſt, without giving the Enemy Time to take the proper Methods to ſecure the Poſſeſſion of what they had uſurped. This was the only Part theſe Powers could take to reſcue the expiring Liberty of *Europe*, and *England* wiſely came into it, as the only poſſible Way to ſecure their *Religion*, *Trade*, *Government*; and what is the only laſting Security of all the reſt, the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*. And this was ſo far from being a haſty Step in *England*, that it had like to have been delayed too long; for though the King of *Spain* died the Firſt of *November*, N. S. 1700, the Parl——t in being was diſſolved, by whoſe Advice I deſire this Writer to inform us, by which Means the King was diſabled from giving any Aſſurances of Aſſiſtance to the Elector of *Bavaria*, and that determin'd the latter to throw himſelf upon *France*, and betray to them the whole *Spaniſh Netherlands*. The new Parl——t did not meet till *February*, about ten Days after the *Netherlands* were given up, 'twas almoſt the End of the Seſſion before they adviſed the King to make Alliances; and the End of that Year another Parl——t was called, who approved the Advice of the former, and War was not actually proclaimed till *May* 4, 1702, about two Months after the King's Death. What now is there in this that can be ſaid to be haſty or precipitate? When did any State deliberate ſo long in a Caſe of ſo much Danger? What odds was it but the *Emperor* had been beat in *Italy*, and *Holland* had been made a Province to *France?* 'Twas what all Men will allow *France* might have done, and it was Infatuation they did not: But if they had done what they had in their Power to do, what had become of our wiſe and mature Deliberations? What then can be more falſe or impudent than to ſay, as this Author does, *That without offering at any other Remedy, without taking Time to conſider the Conſequences, or to reflect on our own Condition, we haſtily engaged in a War that hath coſt us Sixty Millions.*

But

But to proceed, As this Author declares our Entrance into the War to be *againſt all Manner of Prudence or common Reaſon*; ſo he undertakes to prove that *England* is not obliged to purſue the Ends of it; or rather, that the *Reſtitution of Spain* is not one of thoſe Ends. *The Queen's Declaration of War*, he tells us, *does not take Notice of the Duke of* Anjou's *Succeſſion to that Monarchy, as a Subject of Quarrel.* This he ſays, *p.* 22. and *p.* 16. he gives us a Part of this Declaration. Now the grand Deſign of this Book being to perſuade the Nation to an ill Peace againſt the Conſent of their Allies, and the Senſe of Juſtice and Honour, which have always govern'd our Parl——ts in Matters which the *Dignity* of the *Crown* and the *Reputation* of their *Country* are concerned in, being a great Obſtruction to ſuch pernicious Meaſures, in order to remove the Scruples that will ariſe from hence in honeſt Minds, our Author labours this ſecond Point extremely, and is at Abundance of Pains to explain away the Senſe and Meaning of the Treaties we are under. An ill Peace is what the whole Scheme of this Author aims at, this is the great Point which all his others center in, which he hopes thus to bring about. 1. To go into the Grand Alliance was wrong in itſelf. 2. The Terms of it don't oblige us to inſiſt upon the *Reſtitution of the Spaniſh Monarchy.* 3. The Allies are a Pack of Rogues, and if this was ſtipulated in the Articles of the *Grand Alliance*, they not having performed their Parts, we are not obliged to ſtand to it. Is not this a noble Scheme? Who now can ſcruple conſenting to a Separate Peace without *Spain* and the *Indies?* What Difficulty can any one make againſt giving up ſuch Allies? How can we think ourſelves bound by what is not expreſly mentioned in the Articles of our Treaties with them? And in a doubtful Caſe how can we be ſo nice in departing from an Alliance, which we ought not at firſt to have entred into? This is the Scheme contrived to break the *Grand Alliance*, and I will undertake by the ſame Arguments to undermine the Revolution, which Purpoſe this Scheme will with little Alteration as well ſerve, as that for which it is now uſed. And I doubt not but in a little Time this Uſe will be made of it; our Author having given us a plain Intimation he has it in his Thoughts, as ſoon as he has enabled his Friends to carry the firſt great Point of an *ill Peace.* For what elſe can be the Meaning of that ſcandalous Intimation he gives of this, *p.* 39. That the *Legiſlature* may have Occaſion *to change the Succeſſion, if the Neceſſities of the Nation may require it.* Till this Author tells us what thoſe *Neceſſities* can be, and proves the *Legiſlature* have ſuch a Power, I humbly beg Leave to tell him, there can be no ſuch Neceſſities, except what his Friends ſhall create by an *ill Peace*; nor have the *Legiſlature*, I conceive, Power to change the *Succeſſion in the Houſe of* Hanover, without ſuch Neceſſities, it being made by the *Union* a Fundamental Article, which our *Repreſentatives* are choſen to preſerve, but have no Power to deſtroy; but I ſhall have more Occaſion to ſpeak of this, when I come to conſider the *Barrier-Treaty*, by which the *Succeſſion* is ſecured, and which for this Reaſon chiefly I preſume our Author is ſo angry at, and makes ſo many Objections againſt, every one of which I promiſe to ſhew, is malicious, and ridiculouſly falſe.

But

But to return, Of the three Parts of which this noble Scheme conſiſts, I think I have pretty well confounded the firſt, and ſhewn it was not wrong for *England* to go into the *Grand Alliance*; but that on the contrary it was highly reaſonable and abſolutely neceſſary. I come now to ſhew there is as little Senſe or Reaſon in what he advances in Proof of his ſecond Point: But muſt firſt obſerve, That if all his three Points were fully proved, they don't prove what they are brought for. For if our Treaties don't oblige us to inſiſt on the Reſtitution of *Spain* and the *Indies*, and our Allies don't deſerve it of us? Shall we therefore be falſe to ourſelves, becauſe we need not be true to them? Shall we make a Peace without *Spain* and the *Indies*, in the Reſtitution of which we have ourſelves the greateſt Intereſt, becauſe the Houſe of *Auſtria* have not done ſo much as we expected, tho' perhaps they did all they could? Shall we not inſiſt upon a good *Barrier* for the *Dutch*, or rather ſhall we oblige them to quit that which they have Poſſeſſion of, becauſe ſome Men are not pleaſed with them, and therefore take a great deal of Pains to make us out of Humour with the beſt Ally we ever had or can have, and who inſtead of being falſe to us, have this War outdone themſelves, and ſhewn the moſt generous Concern for the Intereſt of *England*; but ſuppoſing all that this Writer ſays of them were true, ſhall we expoſe ourſelves to Danger for the Pleaſure of expoſing them? Shall not we inſiſt on a good Barrier, becauſe we are told they don't deſerve of us all we have done towards it? Shall we lay ourſelves open to all the Conſequences of an inſecure Peace, and in complaiſance to the *old inveteráte perpetual ſworn* Enemy of our *Religion* and *Country*, ſacrifice ourſelves as well as our Allies, by receding from the eſſential Points of a good and laſting Peace? If this won't follow from our Author's Propoſitions, as 'tis certain it will not, all he endeavours to prove, in Truth proves nothing as to the main Point, which is all is aimed at. For though our Honour might be diſengaged, our Intereſt is not, the Safety of *England* and *Holland* eſpecially are inſeparably interwoven, and neither can ſtand long without the other.

Having ſhewn the Reader in few Words, how wide a Difference there is between this Author's Concluſion and his Premiſes, and that tho' the laſt were proved, the other would remain to be proved as much as ever: I come now to ſhew, that the ſecond Propoſition is abſolutely falſe, and that *England* is obliged by her Treaties to inſiſt on the Reſtitution of the *Spaniſh Monarchy*, particularly of *Spain* and the *Indies*. To prove this, we need only look into the Words of the Treaties themſelves. This is ſo evident in the Treaties with *Savoy* and *Portugal*, that there is not ſo much as a Pretence for denying it. And I would be glad to know why the Articles of theſe Treaties are not as obligatory as thoſe of the *Grand Alliance*. I am ſure there is one Reaſon why they ſhould be more, and that is, that when the *Grand Alliance* was made, the Allies were in the utmoſt Conſternation. The ſudden Invaſion and Seizure of the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy made the Danger that threatned them appear ſo terrible, that any Terms while they were in that Fright, which a moſt unjuſt Uſurpation had put them into, ſeem'd tolerable. And therefore their

true

true Senſe can't be ſo well judged by what they did then, as when they were come a little to themſelves, and a good Campaign in *Flanders* had made them think they were in a better Condition to make a ſtand, than they could hope to be, when the *French* were under the Walls of *Nimeguen.* This gives a greater Validity to the ſubſequent Treaties, than to that *of the Grand Alliance*, and the true Senſe of the Allies can be much better ſeen by them. Beſides that, General Articles are to be explain'd by particular ones, and not particular ones by ſuch as are conceived in general Terms. And therefore the beſt Way to know what is meant by *an equitable and reaſonable Satisfaction to the Emperor for his Pretenſion to the Spaniſh Monarchy*, is to ſee how the Allies have expreſſed themſelves in their other Treaties, which Treaties can on no Pretence be called the Contrivance of a Faction, having been made in the ſecond Year of the War, when all Places of Truſt were in the Hands of Men moſt zealouſly affected to the Church, and the Parliament perfectly of a-piece with them. So that there can be no Room for weakening the Force and Authority of Treaties made before this pretended Faction was formed, or ſo much as thought of, no body pretended to complain of wrong Meaſures, every body was pleaſed with the Reſtoration of Credit, the Succeſſes of the War, and the wiſe and frugal Management of the Treaſury. It may therefore juſtly be preſumed, that no Treaties were better conſidered, or more prudently entered into by her Majeſty than thoſe with *Savoy* and *Portugal*, in which the Reſtitution of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy to King *Charles* is expreſly ſtipulated. But what puts this Matter paſt all Diſpute, and undeniably proves that the Reſtitution of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, eſpecially of *Spain* and the *Indies*, is no *new Incident*, ſtarted ſince the Grand Alliance, as this Author pretends, is the firſt ſeparate Article of the Grand Alliance in 1689, wherein *England* and *Holland* engage, *That in caſe the King of* Spain *ſhould die without Iſſue, they will with all their Forces aſſiſt his Sacred Imperial Majeſty, or his Heirs, in taking the Succeſſion of the* Spaniſh *Monarchy lawfully belonging to that Houſe.* Is this now a *new Incident*, when it appears 'tis what the Allies obliged themſelves to a dozen Years before; is this the Work of a late Faction, which is plainly as old as the *Revolution?* And ſince the Reſtitution of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy is ſo expreſly articled for in our Treaties both before and ſince the ſecond Grand Alliance, ſhall we pretend 'twas not ever intended by the Allies, nor within the Meaning of the Grand Alliance, but the Contrivance of a Faction here to perpetuate the War, becauſe 'tis not in ſo many Words expreſs'd, but only that *an equitable and reaſonable Satistisfaction* ſhall be procur'd the Emperor for his Pretenſion to the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion? Is it not apparent, that this was always the Deſign of the Allies, though it was not at the Time of the Treaty thought proper to be ſo expreſs'd? And don't this Writer know what the Reaſons were for their expreſſing themſelves as they did? Had not *England* and *Holland* been frighted into an Acknowledgment of the Duke of *Anjou*, though in a very private, obſcure, unauthoritative Way? And did not the Apprehenſion they were then under make them think it impoſſible to recover the whole Monarchy, though they thought it juſt and neceſſary for their own Defence? But when People think

themſelves upon the Brink of Ruin, they are glad to compound on any Terms; and would *France* have taken them at that Advantage, and hearkned to an Accommodation, they would, to prevent a War which ſeem'd ſo hazardous, have given up many Points which they had Right to inſiſt on, and ought to do, as ſoon as they felt their Ground, and were in a Condition to ſupport their juſt Pretences by the Sword: 'Twas the particular Circumſtances of that frightful Juncture, and nothing elſe, that made the Allies expreſs themſelves in ſuch general Words, which they reſerved to themſelves the Power of explaining; and have both by previous and ſubſequent Treaties ſufficiently ſhewn their true Meaning and Intention. If God ſhould bleſs their Arms, 'tis evident they thought the Reſtitution of the whole Monarchy ought to be inſiſted on as the Emperor's Right, and neceſſary for their own Defence.

It appears then that this Reſolution againſt any Peace without *Spain*, which, he ſays, *is a new Incident* GRAFTED *upon the Original Quarrel by the Intrigues of a Faction*, is an expreſs Article of the firſt Grand Alliance; and that I take to be the proper Place to look for the Grounds of our *Original Quarrel*. This *new Incident is alſo grafted* in the 21ſt Article of the Alliance between the Emperor, *England*, *Portugal*, and *Holland*; and in the 6th Article of her Majeſty's League with the Duke of *Savoy*. *This new Incident* has likewiſe been five Times *grafted* in her Majeſty's Speeches from the Throne, or Anſwers to the Addreſſes of Parliament. It has been four Times *grafted* in the Addreſſes of the Houſe of Commons; and five Times in thoſe of the Houſe of Lords; and by both our Parties ſucceſſively. This *new Incident was grafted* in the Preliminary Articles concluded by the Miniſters of the Allies with thoſe of the *French* King in the Year 1709; and it was *grafted* in the Reſolution of *the States* in the Year 1710, in which the other Allies concurr'd. So that if this *new Incident*, which her Majeſty herſelf ſays, was the *chief Inducement of the War*, or of this Author's *Original Quarrel*, has ſince been *grafted* upon it by the Intrigues of a Faction, as he ingenuouſly obſerves, her Majeſty, her Parliaments, and her Allies, are the *Faction* that have done it. And is not this now a very modeſt and judicious Reaſoner, fit to be employed in writing for ſuch a Peace? Not to mention that quaint Expreſſion of *grafting an Incident upon a Quarrel*, becauſe we muſt always expect to meet with thoſe Tinſel Figures, when ſuch Men or their Maſters will be ſcribling about Politicks; but ſhall the Reſolutions of both Houſes, confirm'd by the Queen, be call'd by ſuch Writers *the Intrigues of a Faction?* What will become of our Conſtitution, if the moſt ſacred Sanctions of it are to be treated in ſo inſolent a Manner? Nay, what will become of the Nation itſelf? Who will treat with us, or truſt us? And what a Figure ſhall we make in *Europe*, if as often as Alterations are made at Court, thoſe that come into Power ſhall pervert all that has been done by their Predeceſſors, and cancel the Reſolutions of her Majeſty and our Parliaments, which have been made by both Parties alternately, and in which they themſelves have concurr'd?

To explain away the Meaning of all Treaties by the Help of a few general Words in one, which at the ſame Time 'tis ſo eaſy to account for, is juſt as

reaſonable

reaſonable as the Pretence of the *Jacobites* and their Friends to deſtroy the Validity of the *Revolution* by vertue of a ſingle Clauſe of *Non-Reſiſtance*, in the famous Act of 12 *Ch.* II. in Contempt of, and in Contradiction to all the Laws made before and ſince in Defence of the Rights of the People; as if it were fitter for the whole Body of our Laws to be explain'd away by vertue of a few Words in a ſingle Act made at an extraordinary Juncture, than that ſingle Clauſe ſhould be interpreted in a Senſe agreeable to the Spirit of our Laws, and the very Fundamental of our Conſtitution. The *Revolution* will run in my Thoughts while I am upon this Argument, for I can't but fear, that the ſame Faction, that are in ſo much Haſte to overturn the *Grand Alliance*, mean no leſs to deſtroy the *Revolution*, and whether they do directly mean it or not, there is ſo cloſe a Connexion between the two, that the confounding of one, will, in all humane Probability, draw after it the Subverſion of the other. But had we no other Treaties to explain the general Words of the Treaty of the Grand Alliance by, the Meaning of the Allies is ſufficiently plain from the Articles of this very Treaty; for if they propoſed nothing elſe to themſelves but the procuring for the Emperor *Milan*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*, *the Lands upon the Coaſts of* Tuſcany, *and the Iſlands in the Mediterranean that belong to the Crown of* Spain, which is expreſly covenanted for in the 5th Article, they would always have expreſs'd themſelves in that Manner, and not made Uſe of thoſe general Words, of *an equitable and reaſonable Satisfaction*, under which *England* and *Holland* meant *Spain* and the *Indies*, which the Emperor knew was their Concern as much, or rather more, than his; and therefore, if they were for certain Reaſons content that *Spain* and the *Indies* ſhould not be mention'd by Name, the Emperor was ſatisfy'd, as long as thoſe Parts were named, in which his own Safety was moſt immediately involved. That the Allies intended to explain theſe Words, ſo as to take in the Reſtitution of the whole Monarchy, if they were in Condition to inſiſt on it, is plain from hence, and has ever ſince been ſo underſtood; and no longer ago than laſt Year, the Author of the *Letter to the Examiner* ſo little dreamt of the Notions that have been ſtarted ſince, that he freely owns, That *to reſtore the* Spaniſh *Monarchy to the Houſe of* Auſtria, was one of the *wiſe Motives of this War*. And the ſame Thing is confeſſed by the Lords in their *Repreſentation* in *February* laſt; and from thence we may be ſure 'twas then the Senſe of the M———y. And to take away all Poſſibility of a Pretence, that this was not a wilful and deſigned Corruption, a *Satisfaction* for the Emperor, and a *Security* for *England* and the *States*, is the Language that runs through the whole Treaty; and in the Article but juſt before this, we have theſe Words, *For obtaining the Satisfaction aforeſaid for his Imperial Majeſty, and the aforeſaid Security for his Britannick Majeſty and the States.* Can we ſuppoſe this Writer did not read the whole Treaty, or not ſo much as caſt his Eye upon the Article immediately preceding this, which it was ſo much for his Purpoſe to pervert? No ſure, this *Corruption* in ſo important an Article, muſt be allowed to be a Maſter-Piece of Cunning, not the Work of a vulgar Hand, or of a *Swift* Pen; and the Author with Reaſon thought himſelf ſafe from

a Diſcovery by the very Greatneſs of the Crime, which is ſuch, that a Man muſt be loſt to all Honeſty, before he can be ſuſpected to be guilty of it.

But 'tis Time to have done with this Argument; I ſhall now turn myſelf to my Author, and let the World ſee he is as good at corrupting Witneſſes, and thoſe not private ones, but the moſt publick and ſolemn Acts, as he is at impoſing weak and falſe Reaſons, of which we have three ſcandalous Inſtances in a very ſmall Compaſs: One in the Piece he gives us of the *Queen's Declaration of War*, and two others in the Tranſlation of one ſingle *Article* of the Grand Alliance, *p.* 16. he tells us, the *Queen's Declaration* is grounded on the Grand Alliance, and then gives this Extract of it, that it recites the *French* King's *keeping in Poſſeſſion a great Part of the* Spaniſh *Dominions*, *ſeizing* Milan, *and the* Spaniſh *Low-Countries*, &c. Now in the *Declaration* between *Spaniſh Dominions* and *ſeizing* Milan, are theſe very remarkable Words, *exerciſes an abſolute Authority over all that Monarchy*, *having ſeized* Milan, *&c.* Were theſe Words, does any body think, left out by Chance, or for nothing? No, by no Means; 'twas for our Author's Purpoſe to affirm, as he does, *p.* 22. that the *Q—n's Declaration takes no notice of the Duke of* Anjou's *Succeſſion to that Monarchy*, *as a Subject of Quarrel.* But don't the Words I have quoted in Effect ſay the Thing, though they forbear the Name? They certainly do, and that no doubt was the true Reaſon they were left out. But our Author is not content to ſuppreſs a very material Part of one Evidence, but does in the moſt ſhameful Manner falſify another in two Places of the 8th Article of the Grand Alliance, *p.* 68. firſt in theſe Words: *Nor is Peace to be made without having firſt obtain'd a juſt and reaſonable Satisfaction for his Cæſarean Majeſty, and for his Royal Majeſty of* Great Britain, *and a particular Security to the Lords the States General, of their Dominions, Provinces, Titles*, &c. Now the true Tranſlation of the Original Words is this: *No Peace ſhall be made unleſs an equitable and ſeaſonable Satisfaction for his Imperial Majeſty, and the particular Security of the Kingdoms, Provinces, Dominions*, &c. *for his Majeſty of* Great Britain *and the* States General *be firſt obtain'd*; whence now ariſes this great Difference between the two Tranſlations, was it becauſe our Author did not underſtand the Original? Why then did he not give us this Article as 'tis tranſlated in the *general Collection of Treaties*, which was much eaſier to do, than to be at the Pains to tranſlate ſo long an Article himſelf, had it not been to ſerve a Purpoſe. He would have us believe *we had no Quarrel with* France but his owning the *Pretender*, p. 16, 22. and other Places, which he thinks was a trifling Quarrel, and might eaſily have been made up. *For the* French *Court declar'd they did not acknowledge the Pretender, but only gave him the Title of King which was allow'd* Auguſtus *by the King of* Sweden; how much Falſhood in ſo few Words! Firſt what King *Auguſtus* was allow'd, was by Treaty: Secondly, He was not allow'd to ſtile himſelf *King of* Poland, but *King* only; and therefore this is not applicable to the Caſe of the *Pretender*, who was ſtiled not ſimply King *James*, as the other was King *Auguſtus*, but his *Britannick* Majeſty, and King of *Great Britain*; for the Truth of which I refer to all the *Paris Gazettes*, and other publick Papers. 'Tis

therefore

therefore falſe to ſay he had only the Title of King, but was not acknowledged; but the Author's Scheme requir'd he ſhould ſay this; and to ſupport it, he tranſlates the 8th Article in ſuch a Manner, as to make us think, nothing elſe was meant but that Satisfaction ſhould be made the King for this *Indignity* and *great Affront* put on him. But if we let this Article ſpeak its true Senſe, it covenants for the Security of his *Majeſty's Kingdom, Dominions, Navigation and Commerce*, as well as for thoſe of the *States General*, the contrary to which this Author would feign have thought, both to reflect upon the King, and leſſen as much as may be the particular Intereſt *England* has in the Grand Alliance.

So much for this Paſſage; the other is ſtill more ſcandalous. A little lower in this Article, 'tis covenanted, *Particularly that the* French *may never be in Poſſeſſion of the* Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, *and that they may not have the Liberty of Navigation for Conveniency of Trade, under any Pretence whatſoever, neither directly nor indirectly; except it is agreed, that the Subjects of* Great Britain *and* Holland *may have full Power to uſe and enjoy all the ſame Privileges as they did uſe and enjoy at the Time of the King of* Spain's *Death.* Would not any Man think by theſe Words, that the *French* by this Article are no otherwiſe excluded from trading to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, but on Suppoſition that *England* and *Holland* are deny'd the Uſe and Enjoyment of the ſame Privileges they had formerly? And that if they are allow'd to uſe and enjoy thoſe Privileges, that then the Excluſion of *France* from that Trade is at an End? This and nothing elſe can be the Meaning of theſe Words; and it moſt admirably ſuited our Author's Deſign, which is to perſuade us to ſuffer the *French* to have a free Trade to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, if they will allow us the ſame we had before, in direct Contradiction to the Intereſt of *England*, and the plain Senſe of this Article, which ought to be, and in the *Collection of Treaties* is tranſlated thus —— *And particularly that the* French *ſhall never get into the Poſſeſſion* (or make themſelves Maſters) *of the* Spaniſh Indies, *neither ſhall they be permitted to ſail thither* (or ſend any Ships thither) *on the Account of Traffick* (or to exerciſe Trade there) *directly or indirectly, on any Pretence whatſoever*; there ends that Clauſe ——Then follows, *And laſtly*, (the ſaid Peace ſhall not be concluded) *unleſs full Liberty be granted to the Subjects of the King of* Great Britain *and the* States General, *to exerciſe and enjoy all the ſame Privileges*, &c. as they did uſe and enjoy at the King of *Spain*'s Death. Thus we ſee it is an expreſs and full Excluſion of the *French* from the *Spaniſh* Trade in the *Indies* upon any Pretence whatſoever. And a Peace made on other Terms will be made in Violation of a very material Article, which this Writer has the Impudence to falſify to that Degree, as to make it ſpeak contrary to its true Meaning, to cover Deſigns they dare not own.

But this Article, he ſays, was quoted *to put the Matter out of Diſpute:* And ſo indeed it does: For if there were no other Article in all our Alliances, we are bound not to give *Spain* and the *Indies* to the Houſe of *Bourbon* by this very Article which he has produc'd to juſtify it. The Article ſays, No Peace is to be made *without a Security that* France *and* Spain *ſhall never be united:* But if the Houſe of *Bourbon* has both, what poſſible *Security* can be given

given that they ſhall never be united? Is it impoſſible for the *Dauphin*, or the Duke of *Anjou*, to die without Children? And what then can hinder thoſe Kingdoms from being united under one Prince, as they already are under one Management? Shall we depend upon a new Renunciation made by any of the Deſcendants in a right Line from *Lewis* XIV? I ſhould be glad to ſee any of the Friends of *France* propoſe to us for Security a *French* Renunciation. This is I believe one of thoſe few Things which they will not have the Confidence to do.

But the Article ſays further, as I have already ſhewn, That no Peace ſhall be made till we *have Security that the* French *ſhall never be in Poſſeſſion of the* Spaniſh Weſt-Indies: And I would fain know how we ſhall be ſecur'd of this, if *Spain* be given to the Houſe of *Bourbon*. Are not the *French* at this Time in Poſſeſſion of the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies?* Have they not Settlements there in *Lima* and other Places? Or have they promis'd our Negotiators of Peace, that for their Sakes they will quit thoſe Settlements? If they have not done this, and will not be as good as their Word, then, I ſay, we cannot make Peace with them upon the Terms propos'd, if there were no Article againſt it but this, which is here judiciouſly referr'd to: We neither have, nor ever can have, a *ſufficient Proviſion that* France *and* Spain *ſhall never be united.* And we are ſo far from being aſſur'd that *the* French *ſhall never be in Poſſeſſion of the* Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, that we know they are poſſeſs'd of good Part of them already, and have *more* granted to them by a Treaty with the Duke of *Anjou* and his Grandfather; ſo that I might venture to put the whole Iſſue of the Diſpute between this worthy Author and his Opponents upon the Conſtruction of this ſingle Article, which he has obliged the World with a Tranſlation of: Such an admirable Reaſoner he is upon Matters of Fact! Nay, allowing all he contends for, that the *Allies demand no more for the* Emperor *and* Great Britain *than a juſt and reaſonable Satisfaction*, I would even in this Caſe aſk the Reader, whether it is any more than a juſt and reaſonable Satisfaction for the *Emperor*, that he ſhould have thoſe Dominions, which the King of *France* has ſolemnly renounc'd for himſelf and his Deſcendants, and which the Houſe of *Auſtria* has an undoubted Right to? Is it any more than a reaſonable Satisfaction for *Great Britain*, that *France*, which has ſo lately broken two Treaties with us, that of *Ryſwick*, and that of the *Partition*, ſhould never be truſted again without effectual Security, nor left in a Condition to bring hither the Pretender? And can there be a ſufficient Security to the *States General*, or to any other State in Chriſtendom for their Dominions, when the exorbitant Power of *France* ſhall be ſtrengthened by the Riches of the *Indies?* What! after this, will the *French* give, that when ever they pleaſe they cannot take away, and what will they leave that they can? How often muſt one repeat, that the King of *France* governs his Grandſon, which if he lives but three Years more will be enough to do our Buſineſs? And that in the mean Time he has Treaties for Ports, for Forts, for Settlements, and for Trade, which are already executed? What therefore do theſe Peace-makers mean by telling us of a *reaſonable Satisfaction*, or a *ſufficient Security*, without *Spain* and the *Indies?* Theſe Arguments are ſo noiſy,

and

and yet ſo empty; ſo weak, and yet ſo ſufficient; ſo florid, and yet ſo ſenſeleſs, that GOD forbid the chief Director of the Work ſhould be truſted alone with any cunning *Frenchman*, though his Intentions were never ſo zealous for the Intereſt and Safety of his own Country.

Thus has this uſeful Author explain'd an Article in one Treaty; and I doubt not but we ſhall find him acting with the ſame Sincerity in the Account he gives of other Treaties when we come to look into them: But that I have not now Time for.

Having ſufficiently diſcover'd the wicked Deſign of this vile Book, and pointed at general Solutions of almoſt all the Fallacies 'tis filled with; and given ſuch ample Proof of the Writer's Integrity and Honeſty, which has ſwelled theſe Papers much beyond my Expectation, I ſhall conclude with deſiring all honeſt and impartial Men not to believe upon this infamous Author's bare Word, that we are under any real Neceſſity of concluding, againſt the Conſent of our Allies, and in Breach of ſo many Treaties, a moſt juſt, neceſſary, and ſucceſsful War, by a ſcandalous and inſecure Peace.

A ſhort and ſure Method propos'd for the Extirpation of Popery, in the Space of a few Years.

By a Perſon of QUALITY.

The PREFACE. 1716.

THE enſuing Piece ſeems to have been written ſoon after the Revolution, *and as appears to me, to have been deſign'd for the Conſideration of the* Convention-Parliament. *It does not appear by whom it was writ, otherwiſe than by a* Perſon of Quality: *But this is certain, it was penn'd by a good* Patriot, *as having at Heart the future Peace and Security both of* Church *and* State, *then happily eſtabliſh'd in theſe* Nations, *by the Glorious King* WILLIAM, *whom God made the happy Inſtrument of delivering Us from* Popery *and* Arbitrary Power, *when we were juſt ready to be overwhelm'd with both.*

That the Author *was guided by a Prophetick Spirit, to fall upon the only Means, humanly ſpeaking, poſſible, to deliver this* Church *and* Nation *from the miſchievous Machinations of* Papiſts, *utterly deſtructive of both, may with ſome ſeem too much to be ſaid of him. But that by Divine Direction he has fallen upon the only Method, both* effectual *in itſelf, and* merciful *in the Nature of it, to free us for ever from the Bane of* Popery, Papiſts *and* Prieſts: *I crave Leave, with all Deference and Submiſſion, to offer, in Way of* Preface, *a few Reaſons.*

And to convince us, as to the Fact, that of the numerous Laws *againſt* Popiſh Recuſants *and their* Prieſts, *even* All *put together, have not hitherto been found* effectual *to rid us of ſo fatal an* Evil *as both; it may ſuffice to obſerve,*

obſerve, that from the firſt Enacting of ſuch Laws, *to this Day, we have ſuffer'd under the Effects of the* Voiſinage *and* Cohabition *of* Papiſts; *and have been ſometimes brought in every Reign ſince, upon the very Brink of total Ruin by their various Contrivances: But the Reaſons thereof may not perhaps be ſo obvious as the Effects, permit me therefore to tender a few, of the many which may be offer'd.*

And the firſt ſhall be the Merciful, *I had almoſt ſaid, the* Weak Genius *of the* Engliſh Nation; *from which it ſeems to proceed, that as in the like particular Caſes, when we firſt hear of a* Bloody *and* Barbarous Murther, *though we are ready to tear in Pieces the cruel Creature, yet upon the Day of Execution, from* Newgate *to* Tyburn, *there ſhall be hardly one in the whole Crowd, but will pity the Criminal, and ſecretly wiſh his Pardon; And when we firſt hear of the breaking out of a* Plot *or a* Rebellion *of* Papiſts, *though our Paſſions ſuddenly riſe high againſt them, as the Peſt of* Human Society, *yet after Condemnation we would have them all pardon'd, as at preſent is the* Weakneſs *of many, who are really* Friends, *as well as of others, who are* Enemies *to the* Government: *So in this more general Caſe of the* Laws *againſt* Popery, *and the Execution of them; Though immediately upon an Attempt of an* Aſſaſſination *of any of our* Princes, *as in the Days of Queen* Elizabeth; *Of a* Gun-Powder-Plot, *as in the Reign of King* James I. *Of another* Popiſh Plot, *as in that of* Charles II. *Of an* Uſurpation, *through* Popiſh *Bigotry, upon the whole* Rights *both* Religious *and* Civil, *of a* Nation, *as in that of his Brother* James II. *Though upon ſuch Occaſions I ſay, our* Legiſlature *immediately fell upon* Bills *to curb* Popery, *and indeed upon ſuch Occaſions all our* Penal Laws *againſt* Popery *had their Riſe; Yet when the Paſſion is over, even the very Perſons who were moſt zealous in enacting theſe* Penal Laws, *do often themſelves ſoon grow cool in the Execution of the ſame.*

This may ſeem to proceed from Benignity of Nature, which when duly qualify'd, the Goſpel *that inclines to* Mercy *and* Toleration, *does indeed juſtify and highly encourage: But has nothing in it of the Maſculine Dictates of our moſt* Holy Religion, *which is ever impregnated, as with the moſt exalted Goodneſs, ſo with the Height of Wiſdom; but 'tis indeed nothing but Feminine Weakneſs, when this Tenderneſs of Diſpoſition is carry'd to ſuch a dangerous Exceſs of Indulgence, as would greatly endanger the whole* Conſtitution *in* Church *and* State, *and that the* beſt *in the* World, *in order to introduce the* worſt *in both.*

But in the other Reaſon of the Non-Execution of our juſt, and good, and neceſſary Laws *againſt* Popery, Prieſts, *and* Papiſts, *there ſeems ſomething elſe in the Cauſe more blamable than a mere* Weakneſs; *and therefore I ſhall preſume to reflect upon it with greater Freedom; and that chiefly becauſe it has brought us ſo often upon the very Brink of Ruin, and will continue to do ſo, I fear, till ſomething like what is propos'd by our* Author, *ſhall be brought into our* Laws, *for the further Security of* Prince *and* People.

And the Reaſon I will aſſign, ſhall be taken from the Voiſinage *and Intermixture of ſo many* Popiſh Lords *and* Gentlemen, *both in* Town *and* Country, *among our* Quality, *who as* Juſtices of the Peace, *and in the* Lieutenancy, *have the chieſeſt Share in the Execution of our* Laws.

And

And indeed our Popiſh Gentlemen *ſeem to have ſome Advantages whereby they have the Aſcendant over the Generality of our other* Engliſh Gentlemen, *which does greatly compenſate for the Diſproportion of their Numbers. They are almoſt all of them ſent for their* Education *into the* Engliſh Seminaries *Abroad*; *and there, beſides the polite and engaging Behaviour they learn by Travel, they are induſtriouſly train'd up by the* Jeſuits, *the uſual* Maſters *of their* Education, *in all the* Arts *of obliging Addreſs and Diſſimulation, by which they are often found to work themſelves into the good Opinion of their* Proteſtant *Neighbours, to Admiration. And even as to thoſe few who know the* Genius *of* Popery *too well one would think, to be capable of being at all ſo fatally impos'd upon by them*; *Theſe artful* Gentlemen *prove often too cunning, even for them*; *and it is not eaſy better to account how elſe it ſhould come to paſs, that inſtead of being uſed in our Taxations harder, they have been commonly tax'd lower, if Reports are true, than their* Proteſtant Neighbours, *by ſome indulgent* Commiſſioners. *And there being at preſent in every* County of England, *more or leſs of theſe wily and deſigning* Gentlemen, *and thoſe of great* Eſtates, *it need not be wonder'd at, that they ſhould be able to enervate the Execution of any of our* Laws *which reſpect them.*

But alas, it is not from the Popiſh Gentlemen *immediately, from whom our Miſchiefs and Dangers do ſo much ariſe, as from the numerous* Prieſts *who take Shelter among them. That there are more of that* Peſtilent Tribe *of* Men, *annually educated in the* Engliſh Seminaries *Abroad, both* Colleges *and* Monaſteries, *than in all our* Univerſities, *may with great Probability be concluded from the vaſt Number of ſuch* Seminaries, *and the large* Eſtates *they have in* England *to ſupport them. And that their* Prieſts, *according to the* Oath *taken at their Admiſſion, do at the Command of their* Superiors *return among us in great Numbers, eſpecially when ſome horrible Miſchiefs are* hatching *here, may be judg'd from one ſingle Inſtance which I had of a* Gentlemen, *who in his Paſſage through* Liege, *a few Years ſince, found, that of the great* College *of* Engliſh Jeſuits *there, conſiſting of about* Eighty, *as I have been inform'd, they had almoſt all troop'd over hither, ſo as to leave in their Places only a few* Novices, *and thoſe ſcarcely enough to do their Offices. And it is well known that the* Roads, *and* Paſſage-Boats, *and* Coaches, *from* France *and* Flanders, *from* Portugal *and* Spain, *were crowded with them at the late ſeaſonable Juncture for them. And now theſe when they arrive, where can they take up their Head Quarters but in the* Popiſh Families *both in* Town *and* Country? *It is here they throw off the* Cowl, *and here they put on the* Maſk. *It is hence they ſally out among us in a* Thouſand *Diſguiſes*; *firſt to create* Diviſions, *and form* Parties *among us, and then to ferment our Animoſities to ſuch an Height of* Uncharitableneſs, *as to render our uniting in the Common Intereſts of* Church *and* State, *impracticable, and to make our* Breaches *ſo wide, that they in the Scuffle may enter through them: Or at leaſt that we may never arrive to the Happineſs our Great* Deliverer *with his dying Breath bequeathed us, to have no other Diſtinction but of* Proteſtant *and* Papiſt, *of* Engliſh *and* Frenchmen, *remaining among us. 'Tis from theſe Dens theſe cunning* Foxes *come out to ſeize us* Geeſe *in the gloomy Nights of our threatning Dangers*; *and it is here they retreat towards Morn-*

ing, when we begin to perceive the Miſchiefs they have been doing us all the Night.

I ſhall not here dwell upon the Miſchiefs theſe Popiſh Gentlemen *dwelling among us, do us, in* covering *the vaſt* Eſtates *given to the* ſuperſtitious Uſes *of the* Prieſts *and* Jeſuits, *as vaſt a* Fund *as thoſe Eſtates undoubtedly are, for the carrying on of* Conſpiracies, Plots, Aſſaſſinations, *and* Maſſacres, *of* Foreign Invaſions *and* Domeſtic Rebellions; *as alſo for the vending and diſperſing* ſeditious News *and* Pamphlets, *and for forming and widening our ſenſeleſs, but fatal* Diviſions. *And I do thereſore forbear aſſigning the keeping this* Pandora's Box *of innumerable and mortal* Plagues *to our* Popiſh Gentlemen *alone, becauſe I doubt they alone are not acceſſary in the Criminal Guilt, of* covering, *in Truſt for* Popiſh Prieſts, *ſuch pernicious* Eſtates. *Not but that I flatter myſelf I could lay a* Scheme *as effectual to pull the Prey out of the* Teeth *of theſe* State Foxes, *the* Popiſh Prieſts, *as the ſucceeding one would be to dig up their* Kennels. *But enough of the Miſchiefs ariſing from our not removing our* Popiſh Gentlemen *from among us.*

And now give me leave to add a few Words, of the Mercy *in this Way of Proceeding above all* Methods *hitherto thought of, for the Publick Security and Tranquility of His* Majeſty *and His* Kingdoms. *But that I may not be miſapprehended, as if I were about to intimate there were any Thing* unmerciful *either in our* Laws *now in Being, or in the due Execution of them; I muſt premiſe that I conceive nothing more* juſt, *than that after the* Bloody *Reign of Queen* Mary; *after above* fifteen *deſperate Attempts upon Queen* Elizabeth, *to* aſſaſſinate *her* Perſon, *or* invade *her* Dominions; *after a* Breve *of the* Pope, *to prevent King* James *from coming to the* Crown, *and ſoon after a* Gun-Powder Plot, *to blow him, and both* Houſes of Parliament *up; after the* Iriſh Maſſacre *of* Two Hundred Thouſand Proteſtants *in cold* Blood, *in the Reign of King* Charles I. *As alſo the* Troubles *and* Great Rebellion, *and the* Murther *of the ſame* Prince, *firſt hatch'd, and ſecretly carry'd on, and finally accompliſh'd by* Prieſts *and* Papiſts; *after the* Grand Popiſh-Plot, *in the Reign of King* Charles II. *And a much more fatal one yet by King* James II. *and his* Prieſts, *to pawm upon the* Nation *an* Impoſtor *to* ſucceed him; *and when that ſucceeded not through the* Goodneſs of God *to the moſt* ungrateful *of all* People; *after an* Aſſaſſination *attempted upon the Perſon of his glorious* Succeſſor *King* William III. *of* Immortal Memory, *and other* Conſpiracies *to* dethrone *him: If after all theſe Provocations, and ſo many imminent Dangers brought upon this* Church *and* Nation, *to the total Ruin of both, ſhould they have ſucceeded in their Deſigns; can it be deem'd* unmerciful *either to have enacted, or executed any of the ſevereſt of our* Laws *made againſt them, not form'd but upon theſe Occaſions? And now in the happy, thrice happy Reign of Our Excellent King* GEORGE; *if after an open* Rebellion *headed by* Papiſts, *a* Rebellion *which may coſt for any Thing I know,* Two Millions *before it can be totally ſuppreſs'd; if beſides the* Forfeitures, *a greater Proportion than ordinary, in the* Taxes *ſhould be laid upon them, 'till that Debt ſhall be paid off; I can ſee no unreaſonable Severity in this; but on the contrary it may rather ſeem very hard that we* Proteſtants, *except ſuch as*

have

have acted in Concert *with them, ſhould bear the Burthen brought upon the* Nation *by their* Crimes.

But admitting for the preſent there ſhould ſeem ſome Severity in the former Laws *againſt* Papiſts *and their* Prieſts, *as alſo in the Execution; however in the Packing away theſe troubleſome* Gentlemen, *and giving them Leave to carry off the Value of their* Eſtates *along with them, I cannot ſee they will have the leaſt Shadow of Complaint; but, on the contrary, the* Humanity *and* Mercy *ſhewn to them therein, as well as the Security to ourſelves, I humbly conceive may fairly be demonſtrated from ſeveral Topicks, particularly theſe.*

Firſt, *That as they will be at Liberty to chuſe the* Country *to plant Themſelves and Families in; ſo very likely it will be in* France, *or ſome other* Popiſh Nation, *where they will ſettle themſelves. And in theſe they will meet with two Things agreeable enough to their Genius, ſuch as they muſt never more, I hope, expect in* England; *namely, to live under a moſt* arbitrary Government, *where every Thing will be at the Prince's Will, and that actuated by* Jeſuit Councils; *and next, either they may enjoy the ſweet Pleaſure of ſatiating themſelves with* Proteſtant Blood, *and have the noble Entertainment once a* Year *to behold from their* Balconies *an* Auto de Fé, *or occaſionally once in* Seven Years, *perhaps, a* Bloody Dragooning, *and ſomething oftner to ſee a Chain of* Fifty *or an* Hundred Hereticks *dragg'd from* La Tournelle, *as was lately in the midſt of* Winter *from under our* Garriſon *at* Dunkirk, *of* Nineteen, *quite down to the* Gallies. *And would it not be worth their while to follow thoſe Miſerables from* Paris *to* Marſeilles, *though near* ſix Hundred Miles, *there to behold their Entertainment, when arriv'd, to view on board their* Baſtinado's, *or to peep down into their dark and naſty* Dungeons? *Alas, theſe are Sights they muſt now never expect to be gratify'd with in* England.

But, Secondly, *ſo long as theſe* Popiſh Gentlemen *ſhall continue here, their* Caſe *will remain moſt unfortunate, becauſe of the Entanglements and Perplexities of their* Conſciences, *or the dangerous Riſques they muſt often run, in ſacrificing their* All, *their* Lives *and* Fortunes, *their noble and ancient* Families, *whenever they ſhall be put upon a ſecret* Plot *or an open* Rebellion, *in Obedience to the* Papal *Dictates, and the Inſtigations of their* Confeſſors, *the private Guides of their* Conſciences.

The Unhappineſs of their Caſe *with us in ſhort is this: Beſides the Obligation* Papiſts *in general are perpetually under, to diſtreſs and exterminate* Hereticks, *if they poſſibly can, by Virtue of various* Canons of Councils, *down from the Great* Lateran *to the* Council of Trent: *There are divers* Bulls *of* Popes *ſince the* Reformation, *which have a ſcurvy Aſpect upon us particularly, and all our* Proteſtant Princes: *And as antiquated as theſe* Bulls *and* Breves *may ſeem to be, ſhall be ſtill in Force, according to the* Doctrine *of their* Canoniſts, *againſt even Our preſent* Sovereign (whom God long preſerve) *and His* Proteſtant Succeſſors, *whenever Circumſtances ſhall favour.*

The Bulls *I mean, are thoſe againſt King* Henry VIII. *and Queen* Elizabeth; *the two* Breves, *the one to prevent the* Succeſſion *of King* James I. *and the other to forbid his* Vaſſal-Papalins *here, to take the* Oath of Allegiance. *All theſe may ſeem to the Unwary among us, to have terminated, as to their Obligation,*

tion, with the Lives *of the* Princes *againſt whom they were fulminated; but are really ſtill in Force, by the* Doctrine *of their* Canoniſts, *when it ſhall be practicable to put them in Execution. And to be ſatisfy'd about the* Bloody *Import of them, you need no more but to read them, as you will find them in the* Papal Uſurpations, *p.* 115.

And therefore, whenever an utter Alienation of Minds, and divided Intereſts, ſhall be thoroughly wrought by the Popes Emiſſaries, *between* Prince *and* People, *as in the Reign of King* Charles I. *Whenever the next* Succeſſor *ſhall be wrought up to the Heighth of* Popiſh *Bigotry, the Caſe of King* James II. *And it ſhall be thought neceſſary to make Way for his* Succeſſion, *that the more Indolent and leſs Zealous* Prince *in* Poſſeſſion, *ſhould march off, as is very ſuſpicious was the Fate of King* Charles II. *But above all; whenever an* Impoſtor *can be brought upon the Stage to carry on the Miſchiefs to all future* Generations, *and 'tis likely he may be ſtrongly ſupported by a poiſon'd* Party *at Home, and by potent Succours from Abroad, which is our preſent Caſe: Whenever Matters ſhall be thus ripen'd for Execution, then* Rebus non ita Stantibus, *as before, the Suſpenſion of thoſe ſeemingly antiquated* Bulls, *as alſo of the annual* Bull *of* Cœna Domini *ſhall be taken off, and they ſhall be bellow'd by the* Popiſh Prieſts *and* Emiſſaries, *into the Ears of all the* Popiſh Gentlemen, *and alſo into thoſe of Inferior* Rank; *and, upon Pain of* Damnation, *they ſhall be rous'd up to an immediate private* Aſſaſſination *and* Maſſacre, *or an open* Rebellion.

And now what a miſerable Condition muſt our Engliſh Papiſts, *eſpecially thoſe of* Quality, *live in among us? What a hard* Dilemma, *once in* Twenty *or* Thirty Years *at leaſt, have they been, and are they likely to be brought into? On the one Side* Damnation *if they ſhall not, upon the Signal from* Rome, *immediately* rebel; *on the other, the utmoſt Hazard of* Lives, Eſtates *and* Honours, *if they ſtir? And is it not then better for Them, as well as more ſafe for Us, that they remove into* Countries *entirely* Popiſh, *where they ſhall be brought into none of theſe miſerable Streights? Our* Proteſtant Brethren *would take it as a Favour, might they be permitted to depart* France, *and come over to us with their* Skins; *and why ſhould our* Papiſts *grudge to tranſport themſelves thither with* Lives *and* Fortunes.

There may indeed be a ſtrong Averſion in their Prieſts, *that the* Popiſh Laity *ſhould comply with this; and that for many* Reaſons. *They will in Conſequence of this, loſe the greateſt Part (I do not ſay all, as long as* Proteſtants *ſhall* cover *any) of the* Eſtates *given to* ſuperſtitious Uſes: *They will hereby be depriv'd of thoſe Places of Shelter they have now among us; and they will loſe the* Fiend-like *Satisfaction of perpetually putting this* happy Iſland *together by the Ears, and their own* native Country *into* Flames. *But yet the* Romiſh Prieſts *need not be ſo much frighted into a Departure from us, as the* Laity: *For tho' they themſelves come often into the* Nooſe, *as well as the* Popiſh Laity, *by Reaſon of their deſperate Efforts to deſtroy us; yet they have not thoſe Family Tyes by Reaſon of their* Celibacy, *to deter them from ſuch hazardous Undertakings. But the* Lay-Gentlemen *having the weightieſt Motives, with regard both to their Perſons and Poſterity, to tranſplant themſelves, 'tis hoped they will more eaſily be perſuaded to conſult their own, as well as our* Preſervation, *by ſo gentle a Mi-*

a Migration as the leaving a cold Northern Climate, *to enjoy, without Moleſtation, its* Northern Hereſy; *and to take up their Habitations on a* Southern Continent, *far more agreeable, as moiſten'd with the* Tears of Confeſſors, *and fatten'd by the* Blood of Martyrs; *and where they may with a wanton Luxury, to the mighty Improvement of thoſe* Foreign Nations, *form together with them, new Methods of Perſecuting* Proteſtants, *by* Gags *and other* Engines, *of rare Contrivance, and of lateſt Invention. But, however, whether they ſhall be willing or not, for their own Eaſe and our Safety, to take this neceſſary Farewell of us; for* GOD, *our* King, *our* Church, *and* Country's *Sake, let us effectually conſult now at laſt our own Security and Intereſt, by ridding ourſelves of ſuch troubleſome* Gueſts, *as both out of* Principle, *and urg'd perpetually thereunto by their* Domeſtick Confeſſors *on Pain of* Damnation, *think themſelves oblig'd utterly to ruin and extirpate us. And ſurely this* Nation *never had ſo* fair *an Occaſion, and ſo* juſtifiable *a Pretence, to do it* effectually *as now.*

Soon after the Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot, *a conſiderable Attempt was made to rid us of the* capital Miſchief, *that of a* Popiſh Succeſſor: *But the reigning* Prince *with his* Brother, *were too much* Papiſts *themſelves, to give into ſuch a ſovereign Remedy. Upon the ever* memorable and happy Revolution, *the* Prince *indeed was intirely* Proteſtant, *but too much embarraſs'd by an adverſe* Party, *to compleat our* Deliverance: *But now what may not be expected from a* King, *a* Miniſtry, *and both* Houſes of Parliament, *ſo entirely* Engliſh *and* Proteſtant, *as we never enjoy'd all at one Time, ſince the* Reformation? *The Juncture is* favourable; *the univerſal* Conſpiracy *at leaſt, if not* Rebellion *of* Papiſts *and their* Adherents, *renders alſo what is here propos'd, were it really ſevere, as it is not, highly* juſtifiable: *And therefore 'tis to be hoped a* Legiſlature, *ſo wiſe as the preſent is, will lay hold on this Occaſion, to take, if not this, ſome other* Short and Sure Method, *to clear for ever this miſerably Divided* Nation, *of* Papiſts, Popiſh Prieſts, *and* Popery, *the prime Source of all its* Schiſms *and* Parties, *its* Dangers *and* Miſchiefs, *both in* Church *and* State.

But yet after all, if in what has been here offer'd by our Perſon of Quality, *in his following Piece, or by myſelf in this* Preface, *there may appear ſomething that will ſavour too much of Hardſhip, in the Method propos'd to rid us of the Miſchiefs of* Popery, *as if not altogether ſo agreeable to the Mildneſs of the* Proteſtant Religion, *and the* Engliſh Conſtitution *and* Genius, *that the* Legiſlature *ſhould eaſily give into ſuch a* Method, *as will look like a forced Baniſhment of the* Lay Papiſts; *being I am myſelf an avowed Enemy to any thing that looks like* Perſecution, *even of theſe Men, though the Profeſſors of the Bloodieſt of all* Superſtitions *in the World that I am acquainted with: I muſt intreat the Pardon of my* Readers, *if with all Deference and Submiſſion to my* Superiors, *I ſhall wiſh, that ſo long as* Lay-Papiſts *are permitted to live amongſt us, they may be alſo allow'd to have a proportionable Number of their* Prieſts *to abide with them (excluſive indeed of all* Jeſuits, *as being the Great* Incendiaries *of the World, and the very Peſt of Human Society;) and this for the various Exerciſes of their* Superſtition; *it being certain, that the* Laity *of the* Popiſh *Perſuaſion can the leaſt of all Men be without their Prieſts, either* Living *or* Dying; *their very* Salvation *hereafter, as they think, and what may be dearer*

to

to them, their Liberty *of* Sinning *here, ſo much depending upon their* Prieſtly Abſolutions.

And indeed how uncomfortable muſt be the Condition of the Popiſh Laity *of all Men, whether Living, or Dying, or after Death, without their* Prieſts *always attending them! What? is this your* Proteſtant *Clemency? will they ſay: What? no* Prieſtly Spittle *to be put into their Childrens Mouths in Baptiſm! No petty* Penances *afterwards in their youthful Years, for the Slips of* Fornication, Adultery, Murder! *No* Commutations *to enrich their Foreign* Seminaries, *upon the Commiſſion of theſe or other Enormities; and this in order to furniſh us with more of their Apoſtolick* Miſſionaries, *we not having half enough of them already! No diverting* Pilgrimages, Mummings, *nor* Maſqueradings, *during their* Carnivals! *No pretty* Agnus Dei's *to divert* Thunderbolts, *to quench* Lightnings, *to ſtill* Storms at Sea *or* Land! *in a Word, to deliver them from imminent* Dangers *in both! No* Indulgences *for* Sin, *Living nor Dying! Oh hard! No* Dirges, *no* Requiems, *no* Maſſes *to refrigerate their* Souls *in the Flames of* Purgatory *after Death! Oh Barbarous! It is true, indeed, we* Hereticks *know all theſe to be meer Arts of* Legerdemain, *to entertain their Fancies, meer Cheats put upon them to pick their Pockets: However, They themſelves are otherwiſe perſuaded; and though we make theſe their Tricks the Subject of our Deriſion, they reckon they find in them great Matter of Conſolation. They will tell us, we may as well deny them the Uſe of* Mountebanks, *and ſuch infallible* Practitioners, *to cure the Sores of their* Bodies, *as of theſe* Operators *to heal the Diſtempers of their* Souls. *And, indeed, ſince* Fools *and* Knaves *are ſo naturally fitted one for another, it is Pity they ſhould not* go, *or* ſtay *together.*

So that upon the whole, for my Part, I can ſee no Medium, *but that if we will permit the* Popiſh Laity, *we muſt alſo ſuffer the* Popiſh Clergy, *be the Event what it will, to practiſe among us. We muſt continue on to* tempt *Divine Providence, without our Co-operation, ſtill to deliver us in all Extremities, as alſo by ſlighting it when deliver'd! We muſt take no Precautions of ourſelves, nor uſe any human Means in Subſervience to Providence.* Jupiter *indeed, in the* Fable, *ſaid to the* Countryman, *praying to him to lift up his* Cart *for him, when overturn'd,* ſupponito humerum; *but we, being better inſtructed, when thrown in the* Ditch, *muſt it ſeems lie quietly and indolently down, crying,* Lord have Mercy upon us.

A ſhort and ſure Method propos'd for the Extirpation of Popery, in the Space of a few Years.

THE dreadful Revolutions, Plots and Conſpiracies, which have been promoted by the *Roman Catholicks* ſince the *Reformation*, are of that Nature; and have cauſed ſuch fearful Convulſions in our Church and State, that it is a great Argument of the Goodneſs and Providence of God, that we have been able to bear ſo many Shocks, and to avoid ſo many deep Deſigns as have now twice, within the Memory of Man, brought us to the Brink of Ruin.

We

We muſt be very impious, or very ſtupid, if our laſt Deliverance has not been able to make us adore the boundleſs Goodneſs of God towards us his ſinful and unthankful Servants; He, having defeated the Hopes, and totally overthrown the Contrivances of that reſtleſs, implacable, perfidious Faction, when they ſeem'd to be in ſuch a Condition that they need fear nothing but the Almighty Power of God, miraculouſly exerting itſelf as in the Caſe of *Sennecharib*, which they neither feared nor ſuſpected.

The *Non-Reſiſting* Doctrine had ſo ty'd the Hands of the *Church of England Men*, that they thought they might ſafely inſult over us and ridicule the Bond that bound us to our good Behaviour. The *Diſſenters* were as they thought ſo oblig'd by the *Liberty of Conſcience*, and the fulſome Applications they had made to them in many ill writ Pieces, and by the Favours beſtow'd on *Pen* and *Lob*, the two Patriarchs as they would have been thought, of that Party: That they not only ſuſpected no Oppoſition from them, but really conceiv'd they would have been more than Scaffolds in the ruining Deſign they had then on Foot. The Gentry were reduc'd to the utmoſt Degree of Contempt, and the Nobility, who only were capable of putting a Stop to ſuch notorious and impolitic Encroachments on our Birthrights and Liberties, were not only cloſeted, examin'd, re-examin'd, turn'd out of their Stations, brow-beaten, ridicul'd at Court, and in ſhort, driven into the Country; but they were alſo, by all the Arts that were poſſible, rendred odious to the Crown, contemptible to one another, and of no Uſe to their Inferiors.

The Army, which was the next great Engine to bring about their Deſign, was manag'd with more Art than is commonly conſider'd; for firſt there was a Party of *Roman Catholicks* mix'd with the common Soldiers, to be as it were Spies and Tempters, to creep into all the Places of their Reſort to obſerve their Words, Looks and Actions, and to take the Opportunity of all their Needs, Crimes, Vices and Follies, to pervert them, and draw them over to the Church of *Rome*; and in the mean Time to ſecure them from contriving any Thing that might interrupt their Projects upon us. Secondly, they puniſh'd all who deſerted the Service with the utmoſt Rigour and Severity to keep up their Numbers; and thirdly, they ſent them to quarter in thoſe Places that had in any Degree refuſed to comply with their Wills, and not only ſuffer'd, but encourag'd them to outrage, and ſometimes to murther their Hoſts; but be ſure in all Places they very much impoveriſh'd thoſe that entertain'd them, and in the Interim, they kept all in Awe and Quiet, whilſt theſe State-Mountebanks practis'd upon their Lives, Conſciences, Liberties and Properties.

A People thus harraſs'd and beſet, one would have thought had been conſign'd to Ruin and Deſtruction; for where could our Deliverance begin? The *Parliament*, which is our laſt Reſort, was at the ſame Time practis'd on with all the Art and Addreſs that the Wit of Men or Devils could invent; and he muſt be of a deep Reach, or a ſanguine Complexion, who in the Beginning of *September* laſt could hope to ſee a free and a quiet *Parliament* meet and ſit one Month, to repreſent with any Degree of Liberty, our deplorable

plorable State and Condition, much leſs to redreſs any of our Grievances.

We had one Hope, which if they had left us ſtill, we had certainly been as quiet and patient as *Job* himſelf, and that was, that the Princeſs *Mary* of *Orange*, would, when God thought fit, ſucceed his Majeſty, and then we promis'd ourſelves a Day of Redemption from all our Calamities and Oppreſſions; ſo that our Poſterity would at once ſee better Days. To deprive us of this remote Comfort, that Scene was laid, and the Lady of *Loretto* ſolicited to procure a *Prince* of *Wales*, thereby to reduce us to an utter Deſperation of any Redreſs for ever. And now they thought that they were ſo ſecure of the Day, that they might attack the Heretical Biſhops, and the whole Body of our Clergy at once, and make them *eat their own Dung* in the Faces of their reſpective Congregations. If they had complied, the whole Nation would have abhorred them, as a Parcel of Cowards. If they did not, the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion was to have mowed them down by Wholeſale; and when the People had been once depriv'd of their faithful and learned Shepherds, the Wolves in Sheeps Clothing hop'd to have had much better Succeſs than hitherto. But the Biſhops interpoſing ſo, united the inferior Clergy, that this Deſign prov'd abortive, and the declaring the Biſhops Petition, a *ſeditious Libel, and ſo much the more dangerous becauſe penn'd with great Modeſty and Humility:* This ſo far open'd the Eyes of all Men, that the moſt ignorant ſaw nothing leſs than the Extirpation of the Proteſtant Religion was aim'd at.

The Army however, which was the great Wheel in this dreadful *Machine*, was for the moſt part Proteſtant, and had expreſs'd ſo much Joy at the acquittal of the Biſhops, in the Camp at *Hounſlow-Heath*; that they clearly ſaw till it was new modell'd it could not be relyed on; and therefore the *French* and *Iriſh* were to be invited over, and the Companies changed by Degrees. And when ſix of the Officers at *Portſmouth*, had with the greateſt Humility imaginable, only deſir'd leave *to fill up their Companies with ſuch Men of this Nation as they judg'd moſt ſerviceable to the King, or otherwiſe that they might be permitted with all imaginable Duty and Reſpect to lay down their Commiſſions*; For this Offence they were brought up Priſoners to *London*, and it was given out they ſhould be hang'd, as perhaps they had been, if *Monſieur de Avaux*'s Memorial given in at the *Hague*, had not come in that very Poſt to enlighten our little *Stateſmen*, and ſhew them their approaching Danger: And yet after all, the 10th of *September* laſt, theſe brave Men were caſhier'd at *Windſor*.

And when the Storm from *Holland* ſeem'd unavoidable, with what Inſolence did they treat the Eleven Propoſals made by the Biſhops, and the Petition preſented the 17th of *November* laſt, by the Biſhops and Peers about the Town? So that 'till the Army began to go over to the *Prince of Orange*, and the greateſt Part of the Nation had declar'd for him: No Parliament was to be thought of, and the *Diſpenſing Power* was the moſt ſacred of all the Prerogatives of the Crown.

That we may not imagine all this was undertaken, and entred upon without good Conſideration of the Difficulties the *Roman Catholicks* were to meet with,

with, I would desire my Reader to peruse a small Piece by them publish'd in the Year 1685, during the first Session of Parliament of *James* the Second, stil'd, *Salus Britannica, or the Safety of the Protestant Religion, against all the present Apprehensions of Popery, in Folio.* 'The Design of which, as the 'Author himself tells us, is to examine what National Operation or Influence 'a real Popish crown'd Head **can** have over the Lives, Liberties, or Estates 'of *Englishmen* as now enjoy'd, and the Religion of the Kingdom, as at 'present establish'd, and by confuting even the most substantial of their 'imagin'd Dangers, to dissipate those false Fears of Popery," *&c. pag.* 1. And in Truth I believe no Man can deny but he has very effectually proved, that it is utterly impossible for a Popish Prince, who has none but these three Kingdoms, to set up Popery in this Nation, and that all he can gain by the Attempt will be the Ruin of himself. And certainly they could not but apprehend this might possibly, if not probably, be the Event; yet after all, King and Kingdom was at last to be sacrificed to the See of *Rome*; and on they went when they had proved it impossible to succeed.

I need be the less exact in setting down what they have done, it being within the Space of four Years last past, that they have had the Management of Affairs, and so all Things are as fresh in all Mens Memories, as if they had been acted but yesterday: I think then, that I may from these Premises safely conclude, that a more daring, restless, and implacable Faction never appear'd under the Sun than this is; and that it is the Interest of every true *English* Protestant, of what Persuasion soever he be, to do his utmost to free this miserable Nation from the Danger and Fear too, (if it be possible) of ever feeling again the dire Effects of Popish Zeal, or rather Fury.

Our wise Ancestors, for above these Three Hundred Years, have been labouring to restrain this *Demoniac*, by *Laws*, *Oaths* and *Tests*; and when all the Methods of Severity fail'd, we have tried the Charms of Kindness, Trust, Friendship and Reliance: We set up a Prince of their Communion, and opposed all those that would have *excluded* him, with a Zeal, which made us look a little too much in Love with one who seem'd design'd to be our Scourge by Heaven itself. When he had declar'd his Religion, and some of his Party, amongst whom *Nevel Paine* was one, had given us clear Indications of their Rage against us; yet we in Parliament, not only attainted, and thereby ruin'd the late Duke of *Monmouth* and his Party; but when some Gentlemen propos'd to have the Security of the Protestant Religion taken into Consideration, the House declar'd they would *entirely rely upon his Majesty's Promise for the Security of their Religion, which they valued more than their Lives.* And before this, when *Charles* the Second the 30th of *April* 1679, to avoid the Exclusion Bill, propos'd very advantageous Restrictions of the Authority of a *Roman Catholick* Prince: The *Church of England Men* rejected them, for fear they should too much weaken and expose the Regal Authority; not to mention the Favours shewn to all the whole *Roman Catholick* Party, during the fierce Prosecution of the *Popish Plot* in that Prince's Reign. Well, what could have been done more than was, to oblige Men or Christians to treat us like Friends, when they had an Opportunity to express their Gratitude?

No, ſtay you there Gentlemen, we *Roman Catholicks* have but one Friend in this World, and if you are not for him too, ſtand off; expect nothing from us but Ruin and Deſolation. Will you *repeal the Penal Laws and the Teſts?* Why? I cannot betray my Religion: Then make room for one that will, turn out, *Ite Procul, Ite Profani.* And we all know what follow'd, and I ſuppoſe no body in this Generation will have ſo little Wit, as to pretend any more to oblige a *Roman Catholick* by any of theſe Things.

Well, will *Oaths* bind them? No, they have a *Pope*, and a Maxim that will fruſtrate that Ligament, whenever it is for their Convenience to be free; and of this we have ſeen and felt too much already. Will Laws? If you catch and hang the Prieſt, the Traitor, the Cut-throat, he is made a *Martyr*, his Crimes deny'd, palliated, excus'd, or it may be juſtified and defended as Occaſion ſerves, and yet after all, they ſhall have the Satisfaction of clamouring againſt you for a Perſecuting Church, and a Bloody Nation.

Well, what is to be done? Why, for my Part, I can ſee but one poſſible Method to quiet the Nation, and that is once for all, to clear it of theſe Monſters, and force them to tranſplant themſelves, not out of the *Engliſh* Dominions, but out of this Iſland: As long as they continue among us, they neither can nor will be quiet; Prieſts they muſt and will have, and that Ferment will ſuffer nothing near it to be at reſt. The Remembrance of what is paſt, will irritate the Minds of Men, and make them jealous of future Evils, ſo that no Care of the wiſeſt and beſt Governors can long keep the Nation in Tranquility and Peace, if theſe Men-catchers are ſuffer'd to neſtle among us. But then I would have this extended only to *England* and *Scotland*, becauſe *Ireland* would be laid deſolate by ſuch an Expedient; and if the *Engliſh* Nation, which has not above 40,000 *Roman Catholicks*, were once clear'd, it would very eaſily ſuppreſs and revenge any Attempt could be made in that Kingdom.

Beſides this, all Feme Coverts, all Perſons above ſixty or fifty Years of Age, all Day-Labourers and Handicrafts Men might be excepted. Theſe can maintain no Prieſts, nor much imbroil the Peace of the Nation, or at leaſt for no long Time, but then all the Nobility, Gentry, Merchants and rich Tradeſmen of that Religion, I think ought to be ſent packing, and for the future a Law be made to diſfranchiſe them, and make them incapable of poſſeſſing, purchaſing, inheriting or tranſmitting any Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments, to the Value of Forty Shillings *per Annum*, or upwards.

To make this the more eaſy, yet it were fitting that every individual Perſon ſhould be aſk'd whether he had rather leave his Country, or his Religion? And all that would promiſe the latter upon Oath, to be excuſed, but ſo as to forfeit their Eſtates if they relaps'd after the Oath ſo taken, or brought up their Children in that Religion.

Secondly, To allow all that would tranſplant themſelves the full Value of their Eſtates, both Real and Perſonal, their Debts being firſt paid and deducted. This would enable them to live in as great, or a greater Equipage and Grandeur in our Plantations, as they ever had here in *England:* And if they remov'd into *Germany* or *France*, *Italy* or *Spain*, their Eſtates would make

make their Lives eaſy, and their Baniſhment honourable. The World is wide, and if I were one of them I ſhould never ſtand for an *Act of Parliament*, but would certainly ſell what I had and be gone; that I might enjoy my Religion and my Eſtate in a warmer Climate.

But, alas, they love their Country too dearly to leave it: What is it in *England* they love? The Civil Liberties they had brought to the utmoſt Limits of Deſtruction. The Religion of *England* they hate above all other; the Earth is not more fruitful, and the Air is much colder than that of other Countries, and I am confident the *Engliſh* Humour is ſo far exaſperated againſt Popery, that half a Hundred Years will not allay the Fever the laſt Four Years have raiſed in the *Engliſh* Blood againſt Popery; ſo that they have nothing to attach them to *England*, but the ſullen Hopes of being a Plague and a Terror to us.

But it will be ſaid, the tranſporting ſo much Wealth out of the Nation will too much impoveriſh us? This ought well to be conſider'd, and a true Eſtimate made both of the Eſtates and Debts of the *Roman Catholicks*, and of the Methods of returning their Effects beyond the Seas, and then perhaps it would rather increaſe our Trade than abate our Wealth. And as for the weakning us by taking off ſo many of our People, this I am ſure is a meer *Chimera*, Two or Three Thouſand Perſons would be the utmoſt that we ſhould loſe: And thoſe who bought their Eſtates would be better Subjects and Neighbours, than ever they would be as long as they continue *Roman Catholicks*.

It is not to be imagin'd, that all, or any conſiderable Part of this Wealth will be tranſported in *Engliſh* Money in Specie, but Merchandize, Bills of Exchange, *&c.* So that I am confident we have more ſent away to the *Jeſuits Colleges* beyond the Seas in Seven Years, than would be carried out in Specie on ſuch an Occaſion; and hereby we ſhould at once rid ourſelves of one of the greateſt Plagues any Nation ever ſtruggled ſo long with.

Nor would it be only Profitable, but *Juſt*. They have given us the greateſt Provocation that ever was given by Men to Men. Did ever 40,000 Men, in any other Part of the World, ever before endeavour to do what they themſelves had prov'd to be impoſſible? Did ever ſuch an Handful of Men before by Fraud and Violence deſign to enſlave a Free, to impoveriſh a Rich, to ſubdue a Valiant and Generous Nation? What could they mean by the FORCE they in Print, and common Diſcourſe intimated, that was to compel us to give up our Laws, if fair Means would not do, but a *Maſſacre*, or a *French* Invaſion? Let them conſider how they have treated thoſe of our Religion in *France* and *Piedmont*; and then tell me, and all the World, if we have treated them in the ſame Manner, when we have ſent them away with all they can juſtly call their own, only that we might not be forc'd to ruin them by a ſlower Proſecution.

The Facility is equal to the Juſtice of this Method; they are few in Number, hated by all the reſt of the Nation; and, beſides all their former Miſdemeanors, have, by the late Attempts upon the Religion and Liberties of *England*, ſo far encreas'd the Averſion of all Degrees of Men amongſt us;

that they will find very few to pity them, and not many to ſpeak for them.

The only Objections I can foreſee, are, firſt, That it will impoveriſh *England* to ſuffer them to carry away their Eſtates, and look too like Popiſh Cruelty to turn them out deſpoil'd of what they have, or of a great Part of their Fortunes. Now this Objection muſt be conſider'd in Parliament, becauſe no one Man can make any thing near a true Eſtimate what the Value will be, their Debts being deducted, till a true Account is given of their Eſtates and Debts, and then I verily believe it will be found much leſs than it ſeems at firſt.

The ſecond Objection is, That it will weaken us, and ſtrengthen our Enemies, to loſe ſo many of our People. Now to this, I ſay, it is apparently otherwiſe; for if thoſe Eſtates were in the Hands of Proteſtants, they would much more contribute to the Union and Strength of *England*, than the Perſons of theſe *Roman Catholicks* can do, of whom we can make little or no Uſe in Civil or Military Affairs, at Home or Abroad, in Peace or War. And if they were added to any other Country, the Peace and Union they would leave us in, would infinitely over ballance the Loſs of their Perſons, and as I believe of their Eſtates too.

But now on the contrary, if they be continued ſtill amongſt us, we muſt ſtill ſtruggle with all thoſe Inconveniencies, which have neceſſitated our Anceſtors to make ſo many Laws againſt them: And the Severities which muſt be uſed to keep them under, will, by degrees, when the Memory of the late Tranſactions is worn off, beget Compaſſion, and that will grow greater as they grow fewer and leſs dangerous: And yet at laſt one ſingle *Jeſuit* may deſtroy the beſt of our Princes, and Two or Three Gentlemen of Eſtates may diſquiet and enjealous a whole Country: And when all is done, no Hopes is left that any laſting Peace can be made with them; ſo that as long as there is any of that Religion in *England*, there is a Ferment in the Veins of the Nation, which will cauſe dreadful Paroxyſms.

Their Emiſſaries will alſo ſow Diſſentions between us and the Diſſenters, and exaſperate the Parties againſt each other; ſo that the good Correſpondence which is now between us and them, will, in a ſhort Time, be turn'd into Hatred on both Sides, if all the Care imaginable be not taken on both Sides of theſe Incendiaries, which will never be wanting whilſt we have a Popiſh Nobility and Gentry, how ſmall ſoever it is in Number.

The Seminaries at *St. Omers*, *Doway*, &c. are kept up by the Nobility and Gentry of that Communion, and tend very much to the embroiling and weakening *England*, and the advancing the Intereſt of *France*; but would ſoon dwindle away if they had no Supplies from *England*, as they could have little if we had no Popiſh Nobility or Gentry, and the Lands of *England* were only in the Hands of Proteſtants.

The retiring of his late Majeſty into *France*, is another ſtrong Inducement; as long as he or the **Child** is living, they will have a Pretence to **Plot** and **Cut Throats**, and they will have ſome to Pity, and others to Applaud them; ſo that if there were no other Reaſon, this alone were ſufficient to determine

mine the Queſtion, unleſs we are reſolv'd to ſhew ourſelves as careleſs of a Proteſtant Prince, as we have been over-fond of a *Roman Catholick*; which will be an ill Recompence for our Deliverance.

Reflections on a Late Pamphlet, intitled, Prieſtcraft in Perfection.

By A. COLLINS, Eſq; 1710.

——— *Antiquam exquirite Matrem.*

THE Author of a late Pamphlet, intitul'd, *Prieſtcraft in Perfection*, has taken a great deal of Pains to prove, that the Clauſe of the *Churches Power* was not contained in the *imprinted Book of Articles* that was eſtabliſhed by Law; which in my Opinion was not abſolutely neceſſary to his Purpoſe: For upon a ſtrict Survey of the Words of the Act of Parliament, and calling to Mind ſome Paſſages I had met with in Books, I find that none of the Articles contained in that *imprinted Book* were confirmed by Law, except thoſe Articles which *only concern the Confeſſion of the true Chriſtian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments*; and that the Articles contained in the ſaid *imprinted Book*, which relate to *Diſcipline*, and to ſuch Doctrines as concern not the Eſſence of the *Chriſtian Faith*, and *the Doctrine of the Sacraments*, were not paſſed by the Parliament. And therefore that Author might have inferred, that the Clauſe of the *Churches Power* could not be confirmed by Law, tho' it was contained in the *imprinted Book* ratify'd by Parliament, becauſe that *Clauſe* relates only to *Diſcipline*. I wonder that a Gentleman ſo willing to deſtroy the Credit of *Church Authority*, ſhould overlook this Conſideration, when it tended not only to ſerve his Purpoſe of proving, That the Clauſe of the *Churches Power* was not eſtabliſhed by Law, but to take off from the legal Authority of ſo many other Articles of the Church, which are now univerſally thought to be eſtabliſhed by Law. But few Men's Acuteneſs is equal to their Zeal; and therefore our Author has, throughout his Book ſuppos'd, *That all the Articles, contained in the imprinted Book, referr'd to by the Act of Parliament, are eſtabliſh'd by Law.* But to carry on the Matter further than he has done, I ſhall produce the very Words of the Law, and then confirm the Senſe I ſhall give of it by ſome undeniable Authorities. The Articles confirmed by Law are, *All the Articles of Religion, which ONLY concern the Confeſſion of the true Chriſtian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments comprized in a Book imprinted, intituled,* 13 Eliz. *c.* 12.

'Articles, whereupon it was agreed by the Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, and the 'whole Clergy, in the Convocation holden at *London*, in the Year of our Lord 'God 1562, *&c.* Which Words plainly confirm only thoſe *Articles compriſed in the imprinted Book*, which can be reduced to theſe two Heads, *viz. Articles that concern only the Confeſſion of the true Chriſtian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments*; and exclude all other Articles, which fall not under thoſe two Heads.

This

This ſeems to me to be the obvious Senſe of the Words of the Law: and if the Reader will but conſider, when he reflects on the Words, That in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time Matters of Diſcipline and Ceremony were eſteemed of high Conſequence, and diſputed of with great Vehemence among the Proteſtants of *England*; and I may add, with a Zeal equal to that which we ſee at this Day in relation to *Paſſive Obedience*; it is impoſſible to imagine that the Parliament would not have mentioned *Articles* of Diſcipline, (which ran ſo much in their Heads) as well as Articles that *concerned only the Confeſſion of the true Chriſtian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments*; unleſs they had excluded all the Articles that related to *Diſcipline*. And the ſame may be ſaid in regard to other Doctrines contained in the *Thirty-nine Articles*, which fell not under the two Heads mentioned in the Act of Parliament.

I do not expect that the Senſe I have given of the Law (how juſt ſoever it is) ſhould of itſelf convince Men who are already ſtrongly engaged in the common Opinion. But when they come to conſider what I have further to ſay, and join what I have already ſaid with it, I am not without Hopes of convincing all unprejudiced Men, that I have given the true Senſe of the Law.

1. In the firſt Place, I ſhall produce the Authority of that great Lawyer, Mr. *Selden*. He tells us, * 'There is a Secret concerning the Articles: Of late 'Miniſters have ſubſcribed to all of them, but by Act of Parliament, that con-'firmed them, they ought only to ſubſcribe to thoſe Articles which contain 'Matter of Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments, as appears by the firſt 'Subſcriptions. But Biſhop *Bancroft* (in the Convocation held in King *James*'s 'Days) he began it, that Miniſters ſhould ſubſcribe to three Things, to the 'King's Supremacy, to the Common-Prayer, and to the Thirty-nine Articles; 'many of them do not contain Matter of Faith. Is it Matter of Faith how 'the Church ſhould be governed? Whether Infants ſhould be baptized? 'Whether we have any Property in our Goods, *&c.*

Theſe Words not only declare Mr. *Selden*'s Opinion of the Meaning of the Law, but make him teſtify a Matter of Fact that confirms his Opinion, and puts the Truth of his Opinion beyond all doubt: For if the *firſt Subſcriptions* were only to ſuch Parts of the Thirty-nine Articles, as *contain only Matter of Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments*, it muſt be becauſe the Law was at firſt underſtood to relate only to ſuch of the Thirty-nine Articles as come under one of thoſe Heads.

Whether the Fact be true or no that Mr. *Selden* relates, may I ſuppoſe at this Day be put out of all Queſtion; for I doubt not but there are Places where the firſt Subſcriptions of the Clergy to the Articles are kept. I am not ſkilful enough in Eccleſiaſtical Matters to ſay *where*; but wherever they are, I do, upon the Opinion I have of Mr. *Selden*'s great Integrity, appeal to thoſe Subſcriptions for the Truth of what Mr. *Selden* affirms.

2. But beſides the Authority of Mr. *Selden* as a Lawyer, and a Witneſs of a Matter of Fact, whereby it appears that the Parliament did confirm only *ſome* of the Thirty-nine Articles, I will preſent the Reader with a Paſſage that I find

* Table-Talk, *under the Head* Articles.

among

among the *Journals of Parliament*, publiſh'd by Sir *Simon D'Ewes*, in a Speech of *Peter Wentworth*, Eſq; one of the Burgeſſes for the Borough of *Tregony* in *Cornwal*, made in the Parliament of 1575. wherein, among Abundance of other Things worthy of Remark, 'tis affirm'd by him, *p.* 239. 'That he had 'heard of old Parliament-Men, that the Baniſhment of the Pope and Popery, 'and the reſtoring of true Religion, had their Beginning from this Houſe, and 'not from the Biſhops: and he had heard that few Laws for Religion had their 'Foundation from them. — I was, *ſays he*, amongſt others the laſt Parliament 'ſent to the Bp. of *Canterbury*, for the Articles of Religion that then paſs'd this 'Houſe. He aſk'd us, why we did put out of the Book, the Articles for the 'Homilies, Conſecrating of Biſhops, and ſuch like? Surely Sir, ſaid I, be-'cauſe we were ſo occupy'd in other Matters, that we had no Time to examine 'them, how they agreed with the Word of GOD. What, ſaid he, ſurely you 'miſtook the Matter; you will refer yourſelves wholly to us therein? No, by 'the Faith I bear to GOD, ſaid I, we will paſs nothing before we underſtand 'what it is; for that were but to make you Popes: Make you Popes who 'liſt, ſaid I, for we will make you none. And ſure, Mr. Speaker, the Speech 'ſeem'd to me to be a Pope-like Speech; and, I fear, leſt our Biſhops do at-'tribute this of the Pope's Canons to themſelves *(Papa non poteſt errare:)* for 'ſurely if they did not, they would reform Things amiſs, and not ſpurn againſt 'GOD's People for writing as they do.

1. Theſe Words of Mr. *Wentworth* are a plain Evidence of the Matter of Fact, *That the Parliament put out, or did not confirm, ſeveral of the* 39 *Articles*. For this Speech was delivered in Parliament in 1575. about five Years after the Parliament eſtabliſh'd the Articles: And therefore it is not to be imagin'd that Mr. *Wentworth* ſhould have affirmed, that any *Articles were put out by the Houſe*, unleſs they really were put out; when there muſt of Courſe have been ſo many Members of Parliament preſent, who were Members in 1571. (when the Articles were eſtabliſh'd) able to contradict him, had not what he ſaid been true.

Beſides, Mr. *Wentworth* was ſtop'd in the Progreſs of this Speech for his great Boldneſs, and afterwards examined before a Committee of the Houſe (to whom he gave it in Writing) on the Account of ſome Exceptions taken to ſome Paſſages which he had delivered: but no Notice was taken of this Particular, as appears from his *Examination*, printed immediately after his Speech, in the *Journal* of Sir *Simon D'Ewes:* And conſequently it is reaſonable to imagine, that the *Committee* was conſcious that what he delivered in that Particular was true.

2. The Words of Mr. *Wentworth* are not only an Evidence of the Matter of Fact, that the Houſe of Commons *put out*, or did not confirm, ſeveral Articles contained in the *Imprinted Book of Articles*; but do ſo fall in with the Expreſſions of the *Act of Parliament*, as to leave no reaſonable Doubt but that the Parliament paſſed not ſeveral Articles contain'd in the *Imprinted Book*.

For the Articles put out, according to Mr. *Wentworth*, were the *Article for the Homilies, the Article for Conſecrating Biſhops, and ſuch-like*; which is as much as to ſay, Articles relating to ſuch Doctrines as were not Fundamentals

tals or of the Eſſence of Chriſtian Faith, and Articles relating to Diſcipline. To which Heads, if you add thoſe two mentioned in the Act of Parliament, *viz. Articles that only concern the Confeſſion of the true Chriſtian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments*; you have all the Heads under which Matters of Divinity are uſually rank'd. So that the Words of the Act of Parliament, and of Mr. *Wentworth*, are like Tallies to one another. Wherefore I think I may conclude, *That ſeveral of the Thirty Nine Articles were not confirm'd by the Parliament.* For ſince the Words of the Law have ſo plain a Relation to the Diſtinction of Articles into different Kinds, and ſince a Diſtinction of Articles into different Kinds is confirm'd by Matter of Fact, and ſince that Diſtinction is a common Diſtinction in Divinity; I think the Words of the *Act of Parliament* ought to be underſtood conformably to it. For why ſhould any one ſuppoſe the Parliament expreſſed themſelves unaccurately, and that they meant all the *Articles compriſed* in the *Imprinted Book*, when they ſpeak of thoſe *only which concern the Confeſſion of the true Chriſtian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments*, compriſed in that *Imprinted Book:* While taking the Words in the obvious Senſe, and in the Senſe agreeable to Matter of Fact and the Nature of Things, makes them uſe the moſt accurate Expreſſion in the World?

How many of our 39 Articles are ſtruck out from being eſtabliſhed by Law by the foregoing Comment on the Law, cannot be known with that Certainty as if we had the *Imprinted Book of Articles* recorded, as our other Laws are. Then perhaps we ſhould have ſeen what Articles were confirm'd, and what were not confirm'd. But ſince we are deprived of that Light about Religious Matters eſtabliſh'd by Law, that we have in Civil Matters eſtabliſh'd by Law, we have no other Way to find the *Articles* eſtabliſh'd by Law, but by running over the whole 39 Articles, and conſidering the Nature of them. This I do not propoſe at preſent to take upon me; but only beg leave to obſerve, That we may be ſure we have no Homilies by Law eſtabliſh'd. For the *Homilies* are no otherwiſe ſuppoſed to be eſtabliſh'd by Law, than as they are a part of the Thirty Nine Articles; the 35th whereof affirms them *to contain a godly and wholeſome Doctrine, and neceſſary for theſe Times.* And Mr. *Wentworth* directly ſays, *The Article for the Homilies was put out by the Houſe.* Tho' had he not mentioned that *Article*, the Matter would have been otherwiſe very plain. For how can an Article, which affirms, *That* 33 Sermons or *Homilies do contain a godly and wholeſome Doctrine, and neceſſary for theſe Times*, be one of the Articles of Religion *which only concern the Confeſſion of the true Chriſtian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments?* The Articles which only concern the Confeſſion of the Chriſtian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments, are no more concerned whether there ſhould be any Homilies, or whether theſe Sermons or Homilies *contain a godly and wholeſome Doctrine, and neceſſary for theſe Times*; than they are concerned in the numerous Sermons and Books, cited by *Sacheverel*'s Council in Behalf of Paſſive Obedience.

What I have ſaid, is, I hope, ſufficient to carry the Point further than the Author of *Prieſtcraft in Perfection* has done, who has argu'd on the Suppoſition of, that *all the Thirty Nine Articles are eſtabliſh'd by Law*; and to convince any Man that is more concerned for Truth than his own Opinion, not only

that

that the Clauſe of the *Church's Power*, in the Beginning of the 20th Article, is not confirm'd by Law, but that *there are ſeveral of the Thirty Nine Articles not confirmed by Law.*

The Caſe of the Church of SCOTLAND. 1718.

IN the Year 1560, the Reformation of the Church of *Scotland* taking Effect, the Government thereof was founded in a *moderate Imparity*, by the Subſtitution of Super-intendants, in the Room of the Biſhops. In 1571, Epiſcopacy was Synodically eſtabliſhed in the firſt General Aſſembly of the Church, both Name and Thing; and the Epiſcopal Government diſtributed under two Archbiſhops and twelve Biſhops, as it had been before the Reformation. In 1592, the Preſbyterian Form of Government was, after a Rebellion of ſix or ſeven Years, introduced under a Minority. In 1597, Epiſcopacy again prevailed over Preſbytery. In 1598, the Articles of the firſt Aſſembly of the Reformed Church of *Scotland* were re-examined, and finally concluded, in oppoſition to the *Preſbyterian Party*. *An.* 1601, thoſe Articles of the Church of *Scotland* were confirmed and ratified in Parliament, and ſo were made Part of the *Conſtitution*. Thus the *Church of Scotland by Law eſtabliſhed*, continued in her Rights till the Rebellion againſt *Charles* I. which brought on the Abolition of Epiſcopacy, firſt in *Scotland*, then in *England*. In 1660, by the King's Reſtoration, Epiſcopacy began a little to lift up its Head. In 1661, The Solemn League and Covenant was condemned in Parliament; the pretended Parliaments from 1646 to 1649, with the Aſſembly of *Glaſcow*, &c. were annulled; and the Tranſactions at *Newcaſtle* 1646 and 1647 branded; and all Acts made in Prejudice of lawful Authority, Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, reſcinded. In 1662, the antient Eccleſiaſtical Government of the Church was reſtored, according to the former legal Conſtitution; and Dr. *James Sharp*, Profeſſor of Divinity at *St. Andrews*, made Archbiſhop of *St. Andrews*, Primate and Metropolitan of *Scotland*; who was, after a moſt barbarous Manner, murdered by ſome Ruffians, in *May* 1679. After the Reſtoration of Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*, the more zealous Party of the *Preſbyterians*, ſoon rejected *Charles* II. from being their King, made ſeveral Declarations of War againſt him, excommunicated him, murdered ſeveral of thoſe who ſupported his Government, and actually levied War againſt him. In 1679, The Covenant was proclaimed in the Weſt of *Scotland* by the Rigid *Preſbyterians*, then in Arms. Theſe Covenanters, tho' defeated at *Bothwell-Bridge*, ſtill perſiſted in their Practices againſt Monarchy and Epiſcopacy. In 1680, was another Inſurrection led on by their Field-Preachers, but ſuppreſſed by the King's Forces, *Cameron* their Chief being ſlain in *Airds-Moſs*. Several of the Arch-Rebels being taken and examined, juſtified both the Excommunication of the King, and the Archbiſhop of *St. Andrews*'s Murder; with other moſt horrid and barefaced Treaſons, as well as Barbarities towards the Epiſcopal Clergy. In 1684, a Sort of

Declaration was affixed on the Mercat-Croſſes of ſeveral Towns in *Scotland*, denouncing War againſt the King, by the Name of *Charles Stuart*, and Epiſcopacy by the Name of *Antichriſtian Idolatry*; and a Party of the Rebels at Night, murdered two of the King's Servants in their Beds, not far from *Edinburgh*.

Notwithſtanding all this, at the Death of *Charles* II. the Church of *Scotland* was left in a more peaceable Condition, than it had been a long Time before; all *Scotland* was (or appeared to be) of one Communion; the *Preſbyterians* having been divided into two Sects, the greater one had for the moſt Part returned to the Unity of the Church; the *Preſbyterian* Preachers were generally become Hearers of the Epiſcopal Miniſters, duly attended the Church Aſſemblies, and many partook too of the ſame Sacraments with them; and the ſmaller one, which was the *Cameronian*, was now almoſt entirely ſuppreſſed. So that when the late King *James* came to the Throne, there were no ſeparate Meetings kept, but very rarely and privately; and when *Argyle* in *Scotland*, and *Monmouth* in *England* at the ſame Time, made a bold Attempt in favour of them, and the former was earneſt to have had them join with him, his Conditions did not pleaſe the *Cameronian* Preſbyterians; and the reſt finding their Party weak, and how they had but lately ſmarted for Enterpriſes of that Nature, ſaw the Conveniency of continuing ſtill in the King and Church's Peace, and of waiting a fitter Opportunity. In 1685, and in 1686, the King attempting the Abrogation of the Teſt and Penal Laws, was therein diſappointed by an Epiſcopal Parliament. In *Feb.* $168\frac{6}{7}$, he ſuſpended by Proclamation all the Laws againſt Diſſenters; ſome Months after the Publication of which, the *Preſbyterians* generally refuſed to accept the Toleration granted them, and continued in the Communion of the Church. In *June*, 1687, upon the ſecond Edition of this Proclamation for Liberty to Chriſtians of all Perſuaſions; all the *Preſbyterians*, who were once very near a general Reſolution never to take the Benefit of it, upon ſecond Thoughts, and ſecret Inſtructions, unanimouſly cloſed with it. Thus after they had lived in Communion with an Epiſcopal Church for ſome Years before, and ſome Months after the Toleration, they violently ſeparated themſelves, and all Arts were uſed by them to increaſe their own Party, and render the Church and Church-men contemptible. Upon *Chriſtmas-Day*, 1688, the *Preſbyterian* Rabble was ſpirited up by that notable Fiction of an *Iriſh* Maſſacre (they being made to believe that many Thouſands of *Iriſh* were landed upon them, burning of Towns, putting all to the Edge of the Sword:) To ſecure the Nation, and reform the Church after their Manner, by tumultuouſly Ejecting the Regular and Orthodox Incumbents, as Popiſhly affected: tearing their Gowns off from their Backs, turning their Families and Furniture out of Doors, and exerciſing upon them, their Wives, and their Children, many incredible Outrages and Barbarities. In *March* following, the Government of the Church was put into the Hands of about fifty *Preſbyterian* Teachers, and of ſuch as they ſhould be pleaſed to aſſume. In the Parliament, 1690, the *Preſbyterian* Government was ſet up; all the Laws in favour of Epiſcopacy reſcinded; the Churches of the rabbled Clergy declared vacant from the Date of their Ejectment, and the ejected *Preſbyterians* reſtored to the Churches they had poſſeſſed at the End of the *Great Rebellion*. The Condition of the Suffering Clergy was made ſomewhat more eaſy, upon Queen *Anne*'s coming to the Throne, by a Letter which ſhe wrote to her Privy Council, and by two Acts of the *Britiſh* Parliament; One, To prevent the Diſturbing of thoſe of the Epiſcopal Communion in the Exerciſe of their Religious Worſhip; and the Other, For reſtoring Patronages: Epiſcopal Meeting-houſes were hereupon ſet up in ſeveral Towns and Villages, and the Uſe of the Liturgy of the Church of *England* introduced, not only into them, but even into ſeveral Pariſh-Churches; near Twenty Thouſand Common-Prayer Books having, in two Years only, been diſpoſed of among the People, to their abundant Satisfaction; Multitudes of all Ranks and Degrees becoming ſincere Converts to it. The great Enemies of Primitive and Catholick Chriſtianity, did nevertheleſs all that was poſſible, but

in

in vain, to run it down with Clamour and Calumny; calling it *Popiſh*, *Superſtitious*, and *Idolatrous*, and accounting it meritorious to decry in their Pulpits, what they vulgarly call the *Engliſh Maſs*. Yea, ſo uneaſy were they at this Liberty granted to the truly conſcientious Clergy and Laity, communicating with the *Church of England*, as fearing leſt the whole Nation might hereby come at length to be *Epiſcopal* again, they were continually alarming the People with the dreadful Proſpect of what might follow: And had the Queen lived a little longer, and proceeded to encourage by a *Toleration*, thoſe of her own Religion in *Scotland*, though without diſturbing the preſent Kirk thereof in what they poſſeſs; thoſe who had declared ſuch a Toleration to be *Intolerable*, and the Eſtabliſhment of it to be the *Eſtabliſhing of Sin by a Law*, were not unprepared to proceed againſt her *in the Way of their Fathers:* And ſome of the Chief of them beginning to open themſelves upon the Neceſſity and Expediency of *Taking Arms* in this Caſe, for the better Security of the *True Preſbyterian Religion*; and Confederating themſelves with their Brethren of *England*, they wanted no Will to have done unto Her, as they did unto Her Father and Grand-Father; and to give the *finiſhing Stroke* to Epiſcopacy and Liturgy. A favourable Opportunity for which laſt preſented itſelf to them, in *February* $171\frac{5}{6}$, whereof an Account at large is given in the *Repreſentation of the State of the Church in* North-Britain, lately printed. Upon which all the private Chapels and Meeting Houſes, where the Liturgy had been uſed, were on a ſudden ſhut up, without ſo much as the leaſt Proceſs or Form of Law; and the Epiſcopal Congregations being ſuppreſſed by the *Military Power*, the next Attack was made upon the *Clergy*, who were poſſeſſed of Churches, either threatning them with Impriſonment, and the Proſecution of the *Preſbytery*, if they continued any longer in the Exerciſe of their Miniſtry, or even refuſed to ſign ſuch a *Renunciation* of their ſacred Office, as they ſhould dictate to them. It was indeed generally pretended to be for Crimes againſt the State; but by the Narrative which is given in the aforeſaid *Repreſentation*, it will appear, *that theſe were only* pretended, *and that Epiſcopacy and Liturgy were the* real *Crimes:* And that if the Clergy would have *renounced* their Function, and relinquiſhed their Charges and Churches, in the Manner and Form propoſed to them, they *had never heard of the Libelling for* Treaſon *and* Sedition *that followed*; ſince thoſe who were well affected to the Civil Government, and every way alſo qualified, could find no Quarter with them; and that even, though at the ſame Time many of the *Preſbyterian* Teachers, both in the South and North of *Scotland*, were protected in their Kirks and Livings, notwithſtanding their not being qualified according to the preſent Laws. Some Part of the Sufferings of the Orthodox and Regular *Clergy* of the Church of *Scotland*, eſpecially in the Dioceſe of *Aberdeen*, hath been lately publiſhed, with Atteſtations beyond Contradiction; but it is, after all, but a ſmall Part; a fair and exact Hiſtory whereof would be very voluminous.

Since the publiſhing of the aforeſaid *Repreſentation*, there are a great many Letters come ſince to Hand from ſeveral of the *Suffering Clergy*, both in the North and South of *Scotland*, giving freſh Accounts of their deplorable Eſtate and Condition, for the Teſtimony of a good Conſcience, in the Worſhip of GOD, aocording to the Practice of the *Church of England*, their Siſter-Church; for whoſe Sake only, they are Criminals before the *Preſbyterian Judicatories*. One of theſe Letters, ſigned by ſeveral of the chief Sufferers, in the Name of themſelves, and of all the reſt, and afterward ratified by a Perſon of the higheſt Eminence in the Service of the Church; was in *June* laſt ſent to the Perſon whom they have thought fit to entruſt and empower, in order to ſollicit for them the charitable Relief and Aſſiſtance of all Well-diſpoſed Chriſtians: And is as followeth, *viz.*

The Copy of a LETTER from ſeveral of the Suffering *Clergy* in SCOTLAND, to their Correſpondent in LONDON.

Reverend Brother, Aberdeen, June 5th, 1718.

THE lamentable Deſolation of the Church in this Kingdom, and particularly in this Corner of it, which hath been gradually carried on near to theſe thirty Years paſt, being now almoſt compleated, after the Manner, and by the Methods faithfully narrated in our Repreſentation; *it needs not be told you, or any that look about them to what is doing in the World, That by this deplorable Deſolation, which the Cunning and Malice of prevailing Schiſmaticks have accompliſhed, the Church is not only trod under-foot; the Laity of its Communion expoſed as a Prey to ſeducing and erroneous Teachers; but moſt of thoſe who ſerved at the Altar, even to grey Hairs, together with their Families, are reduced into the greateſt Extremities; and ſo are obliged, under their preſent Diſtreſs, after the Example of the Primitive Church in the Days of the Apoſtles, to employ ſome* Paul or Barnabas *to collect for a Supply to their urgent Neceſſities. And ſince you are ſo diſintereſted, and perſonally known to moſt of us; we earneſtly intreat and requeſt, that you would be pleaſed to undertake this charitable Work in Behalf of your ſuffering and diſtreſſed Brethren; and that by applying in our Name, to all charitable and well-diſpoſed Perſons of the Communion of the Church of* England, *whether Clergy or Laity; certifying them in our Name, that whatever they lay out this Way, ſhall be faithfully diſtributed to the neceſſitous Sufferers only, for whom you addreſs, according to their ſeveral Circumſtances; and that they ſhall have the Return of our hearty Prayers to Heaven for them, which is the moſt becoming Requital can be made by ſuffering Prieſts, who now in the Deſolation of* Zion, *have no other Means of Redreſs left them, but* Preces & Lacrymæ. *We are,*

Reverend Brother,

Your affectionate Brethren, and humble Servants, *&c.*

Directed
To the Rev. Dr. SHARP, *at* London,
the 16*th of* Auguſt, 1718.

Vera Copia,
Ita teſtamur,
A. CAMPBELL. JA. GADDERAR.

☞ The Money collected on this Account is to be remitted to *Edinburgh*, and there diſperſed in the ordinary Way, by the Managers of the Charity for the poor diſtreſſed Clergy: So that all Care poſſible ſhall be taken, that whatſoever is contributed for ſo Good and Chriſtian an End, ſhall be effectually diſpoſed of in the beſt Manner, according to the Intention of the Benefactors, whoſe Hearts GOD ſhall touch. There are at preſent about an hundred and twenty Prieſts of the Church of *Scotland, whoſe melancholy Circumſtances cry loudly, and plead more powerfully than can be expreſſed by Words*; and ſince the Suppreſſion of the *Chappels* and *Meeting-Houſes* for the Service of the *Liturgy*, and ſome other *deſolating* Emergences, the Number of indigent Sufferers is growing daily greater, and GOD only ſeeth the End thereof: *Whoſe bleſſed Will be done.*

The End of the FOURTH VOLUME.